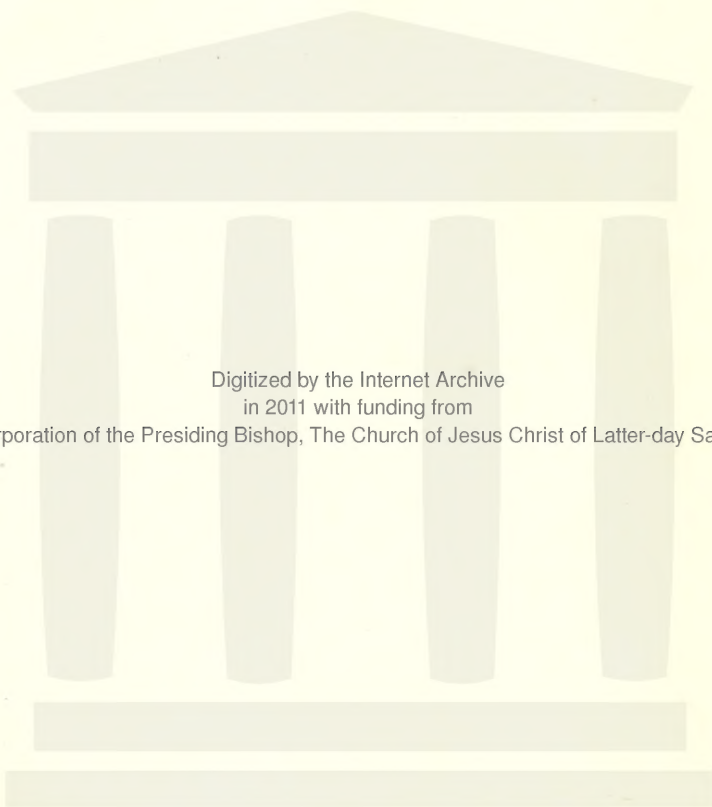


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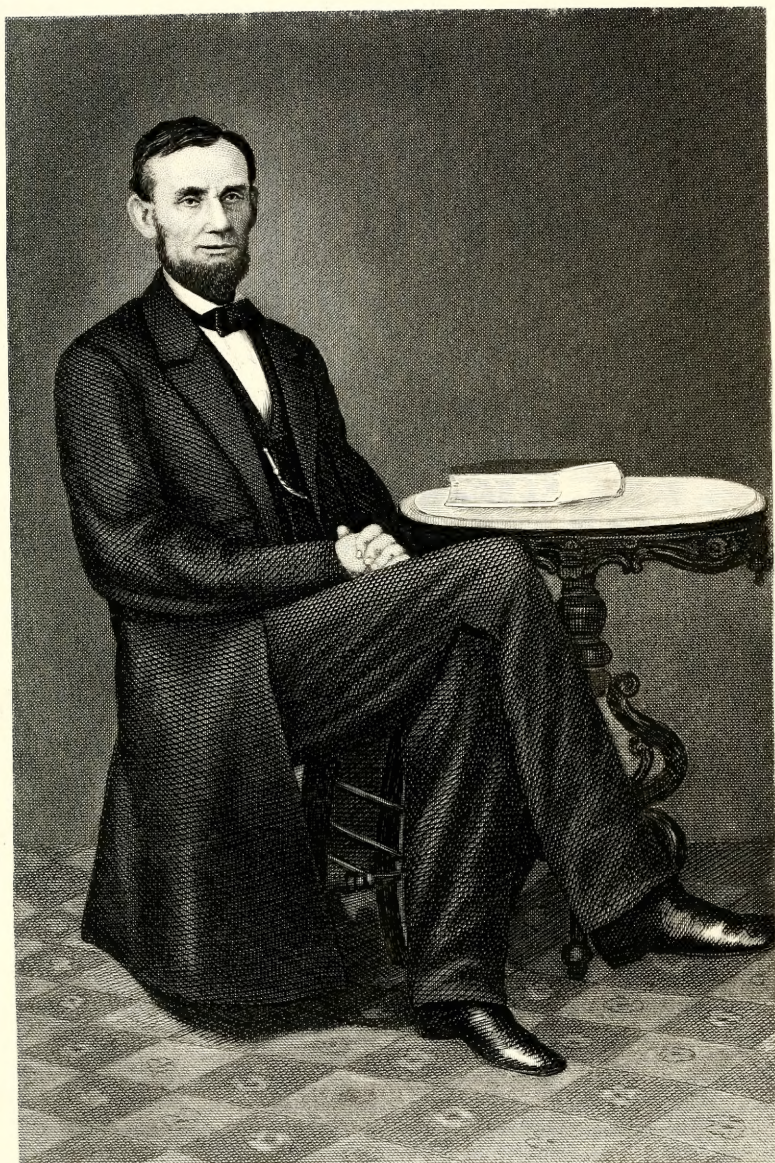
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AMERICAN HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

LYMAN HORACE WEEKS, Editor

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RISE OF THE UNITED EMPIRE LOYALISTS

BY THE VISCOUNT DE FRONSAC

[Revised—with additions—from the original edition, especially for the American Historical Magazine.]

I

THE United Empire loyalists of the British Colonies in North America of all branches of the Aryan race:—French, English, Dutch, German,—whose posterity had settled in America are those who decided that as much of the empire in America as they were able to preserve in 1783 should be saved from republican revolution and democratic destruction. In the cases of many it was not affection for the British name and connection, since many were of different nationalities, but it was attachment to a constitutional and monarchical umpireship of affairs. In fact, many others, of the foremost royalists, were opposed in the principle to the House of Hanover on the British throne, considering its right as resting on parliamentary usurpation rather than on the constitution. But they advanced nevertheless to sustain the principle of monarchy which it represented in opposition to the leveling, unpatriotic and unconstitutional democracy to which it was opposed.

The United Empire Loyalist position then is a dual one; first as a maintenance of the royalty and the classes represented in the ancient charters of the Anglo-American colonies, secondly as a defiance of parliamentary interference from Britain in the functions of the crown in the colonies—a recognized protest that no ministers, committee or parliament in England shall stand between the king and royal and constitutional government in the colonies.

But to understand this doctrine which is so vital to the history of Canada—on the defence of which rests the integrity of its institutions and the treaties guaranteeing them, it is necessary to go to the very beginning, to the causes of the foundation of the Anglo-American colonies and to the elements which enter therein, on which these institutions in Canada are based and defended, against the doctrine which has overthrown them in what are now the United States of North America.

COLONISTS UNDER THE STUARTS

It was in the very beginning of these troublous times of the Stuart reigns that kingdoms were founded beyond the sea. In 1606 King James I. granted a charter to two companies to extend his empire in America, the Company of London, whose territory extended from Old Point Comfort 200 miles northward and 200 miles southward, and the Company of Plymouth whose grant commenced 100 miles further north than the former company's.

The *motive* which prompted the first settler to go from England to Virginia, as the southern division was called, was for commercial self-interest; the finding of gold and the acquiring of estates. But the *motive* of the king in extending his empire beyond seas was to create regal states,—states whose autonomies might resemble in every feature the autonomy of the parent state as a mirror reflects an image.

This idea of the Stuarts was not original. Had it been original it would have been unnatural, on a false, unconstitutional basis. The Bourbons had practised it before in Canada. This idea of the Stuarts and Bourbons was borrowed from the feudal system and the feudal system had been derived from the Frankish allotment of responsibility to semi-independent princes over tracks of conquered domain, wherein each prince was sovereign within his allotment, being responsible only to the supreme majesty, the king or emperor at the head of all the states, which these allotments of domain were forming. In a government of this sort, if the king or emperor might be coerced by the democracy of his own particular state—as that

which had murdered King Charles I.—the king or emperor could summon the princes of these inferior states, who, true to their responsibility, holding fealty to the king, and not to the parliament, or democracy, were bound to rally their own proper warriors and crush the enemies of the empire, at the mandate of their suzerain. This faith, this fealty, this knightly obligation, could be expected only of a knightly race—it would fail in the hands of such a civilization as that which commercialism causes to flourish—a civilization without a class of honor. It was this class of honor, therefore; derived in inspiration from that Frankish chivalry—“formed by the hand of God”—that each sub-chieftain, or prince, or council of feudatories who held a charter from the Stuart king to found colonies beyond seas, hastened to develop and put in command in each their colonies—to the end that their autonomies might be as royal and sovereign as that of the parent state and subservient only to the sovereign thereof.

Beginning with this method all the charters granted by the Stuarts for the establishment of colonies in America were in the sense of feudal holdings and of a royal character. This made them so different from the modifications which they received under the succeeding House of Hanover, when these charters became subservient to parliamentary jurisdiction and were modelled after the commissions of joint-stock companies for colonial management and exploitation. Under the Stuarts the system employed rendered it impossible for parliament to intermeddle in colonial affairs. The right of domain in the colony was vested by the crown in a person, or a company to rule according to the terms of the grant from the crown which gave him or them the control of that domain, with power to choose not only the officers and to make subinfeudations, but to name their successors, unless the grant was declared hereditary—like the principality of Maryland in the family of Lord Baltimore.

Holding from the king, as an ancient feudal vassal of the age of chivalry, the colonies as fiefs were made to respond, not to parliament which could not enter a fief, but to the king's great vassals, the colonial proprietors, or council of proprietors. In

their own name, with sovereign power absolute over their colonial fiefs, they granted lands and dignities to be held solely of themselves. Those receiving grants and dignities in the colonies were responsible to their feudal superior, the proprietor, or council of proprietors, and he or they to the king. In this manner the colonies were made royal even when England itself was becoming parliamentary and republican. In this manner, from the subinfeudations granted by the proprietor, prince, or council of proprietors in the colonies to antrustians—to officers, gentlemen and others on whose honor the proprietor might rely for support, military and administrative, a class of honor was being built up, a colonial aristocracy having many of the features of the ancient chivalry after whose feudal pattern and nature of fealty it was modeled.

That this was the best system may be understood by reason and history proves it by facts. It built up faith and honesty in the entire population wherever it was introduced; it developed a local centre of administration, free from parliamentary interference and in harmony with the condition requisite for local prosperity. During that period, after the first hardships of colonization had been conquered, the greatest happiness and contentment prevailed in the colonies, and the best of those ancient colonial residences, preserved to modern times, show in their design the aspiration and character of the leading families, whose colonial importance under the Stuarts is the proudest boast of their descendants of the present day.

In adopting this system the Stuarts were acting along constitutional lines. In regard to the nature of the population, the full meaning of the common law of England was put in active force. This common law recognizes the three classes into which every people is divided: I, the nobility; II, the professional class, and III, the burgesses. The charter of every Stuart colony made a provision for the just representation of each. In some colonies this representation was made more definite than in others, but in all there was a provision for it.

The charter granted to Virginia in 1606 introduced the land tenure system of England into the country. Now in that early settlement period, on account of the lack of an exalted motive

on the part of the first adventurers going into the country, the only idea in their minds was, as herebefore stated, the acquisition of wealth, and finally, estate. The English law was established. According to English law, not only a city but a division of the country must be erected into a "borough" before it might be represented in the legislature. But no baronial or manorial grant was made in Virginia from the earliest date down to the extinction of crown authority beneath the democratic American revolution. A great many "broken" gentlemen had come over even with the first colonists, and they were not of a good quality of their own class. There were a few who thought of restoring their family station "in the pomp of heraldry" and the pride of statecraft, and of erecting manours and baronies in the new world in the romantic spirit of old Europe. But the records show that these "decayed gentlemen" were in general the least valuable of all the colonists to Virginia. In fact, had it not been for the indomitable courage and genius of a soldier among them, Captain John Smith, the early colonists would have perished from their own dissipation and ignorance and lack of cohesive energy. Smith organized the necessary labors to be performed and compelled their performance by his authority as chief of the colony, he having been appointed to that position by the London Council in control of the colony. This council consisting of thirteen of the British nobility held the colony as a direct feudatory of the crown, who were to administer the colony according to the provisions of the charter. This charter was the constitution of Virginia and as such was an abstract of the common law of England. In addition this abstract provided that:

I. The christian religion, Church of England, shall be maintained and the clergy paid from certain revenues of the colony.

II. Lands are to descend as in England. The entailment of estates among the aristocracy was encouraged as a measure necessary for local prosperity and for the independence and well-being of that aristocracy.

The officers of a colony were to consist of a governor appointed by the great feudatories—the London Council,—assisted by councillors chosen in the colony from among the great

land owners. Later there was added a house of burgesses elected by the remaining inhabitants, whose office, as every representative office is, was to present their grievances to be remedied to the governor and council, and to vote the money necessary to carry on the government of the colony. Apart from the taxation and assessment subject to the house of burgesses, the governor and council—in the name of the great feudatories of the colony (London Council)—administered the feudal lands, known as “crown lands.”

The early gentlemen colonists of Virginia, who settled Jamestown on the James River in 1607, had their connection broken with their families in Britain, several leaving England to escape the consequences of their debts. On this account they were unable to obtain wives of their own class, even after they had gained appropriate estates in the colony. They knew no other class than their own in Britain. It became necessary for their domestic happiness to have wives of some kind, however, and they employed an agent in London, who for the sake of 40 pounds of tobacco for each respectable female whom he could induce to go to Virginia and marry one of the planters, agreed to send over the article required for their domesticity. History does not state whether this article was a little dear, but it was certainly respectable, or the bargain would have been declared “off.”

From the time of the settlement of Jamestown in 1607 to 1649 affairs in Britain were running more and more in a democratic channel. The people described in Cromwell’s address to parliament, the leaders of this democracy, who had raised the indignation of Cromwell himself, had murdered the king, Charles I., and had usurped the royal power. All the counselors and feudatories of the king had been killed in battle, or had fled the kingdom and some of those grand old cavaliers came to Virginia at this time, as fugitives, burning with indignation against the unprincipled and presumptuous democracy, whom they had left behind in Britain in the house of empire.

“For there was dust of vulgar feet
On that polluted floor;
And perjured traitors filled the seat
Where good men sat before.”

It was at this time that the old feudal fealty showed itself in Virginia, being given an opportunity of expression in favor of the crown of which Virginia was a fief. It was at this time that Sir William Berkeley was governor of Virginia, one of those few knightly souls of old Europe who came to America and whose renown is worthy to live forever in the pages of chivalry. "He belonged to an ancient English family; believed in monarchy as a devotee believes in his saint, and brought to the little capital at Jamestown all the graces, amenities and well-bred ways which at that time were articles of faith with the cavaliers. He was certainly a cavalier of cavaliers, taking that word to signify an adherent of monarchy and the established church. For these, this smiling gentleman was going to fight like a tiger or a ruffian. The glove was of velvet but under it was the iron hand which would fall inexorably alike on the New England Puritans and the followers of Bacon."¹

And he was right in his severity, for force only can keep fraud at bay!

To write the life of Berkeley could be done better in verse than in prose. He was a hero—a "Rokeby"—the only hero in all the history of the thirteen English colonies of North America whose personality is surrounded by the halo of romance. His mind was exalted, keen and active. He wrote a "Discourse and View of Virginia" and his drama "The Lost Lady" was acted in London and made an impression for its merit and character on Pepys. He was an able administrator and looked after the prosperity of the colony in material things. He set an example to planters in the manner in which he cultivated his estate of Greenspring, ten miles from Jamestown, where he raised 1,500 apple trees, besides apricots, peaches, pears, quinces and "mellicottons." The colony under his administration advanced to a population of 40,000. In his hospitality he was unbounded. The noble generosity of his soul caused him to stand with knightly valor by those who had pledged themselves in the same cause, through the calamities of misfortune and the dangers of civil strife. "When afterwards, in the stormy times, the poor cavaliers flocked to Virginia to find a

1. Cook's "History of Virginia," p. 182.

place of refuge, he entertained them in a regal fashion at Greenspring.”²

It was at this time in 1649 that they brought the news with them—the cavalier exiles—that the monarchy was wrecked, democracy triumphant and the king murdered. It was at this time that Sir William Berkeley felt the occasion strong within him and did that act which made the memory of the whole colony of Virginia great, which gave it a reputation from his heroism and fealty that no other colony has ever achieved and which she would never had achieved without that gallant and immortal cavalier. He determined in the line of his duty, his fealty of knight to king, to rally his little power to the cause of the fallen monarchy and to cast the armed gauntlet of defiance at the mighty commonwealth of England and all her dependencies. It was his duty; and not to reason for the expediency of it, or to neglect it for the number and strength of the enemy.

According to a manuscript by a Puritan regicide³ it is related that he

“laid about him very busily and very loudly all last summer both in actions and in speeches. * * * * He got the militia of the country to be of his party and nothing talked on but burning, hanging, plundering, etc., or anything rather than yield to such bloody tyrants,” (as the parliament of England). What by threatening some and flattering others, the assistance of 500 Indians promised him * * * * he had so far prevailed and was of late so far seconded by those unhappy gentlemen that help to ruin themselves and their king * * * * that there was indeed little else spoken of, or resolved on but ruin for this poor wicked country.”

These “unhappy gentlemen” spoken of, who were brought to aid Sir William, were no doubt the few cavaliers who did come to Virginia. These he invited to be members of his military council, and their names are more worthy of preservation than any in the ancient history of colonial Virginia. Then the old hero, Sir William Berkeley, thought it time to break away from all connection with such a gang of cut-throats as parlia-

2. Cook's "History of Virginia," p. 183.

3. In the British Museum Library, E. 665-3, pages 1604-7, on the "Surrender of the Colony of Virginia."

ment and proclaim an independent monarchy in the American colonies. On Oct. 10, 1649, he forced the house of burgesses to sign his proclamation.⁴

The following is the celebrated proclamation of an independent kingdom in the colonies under Charles II., against the unconstitutional parliamentary government ruling in England:

“Act I. Whereas divers out of ignorance, others out of malice, schism and faction, in pursuance of some design of innovation, may be presumed to prepare men’s minds and inclinations to entertain a good liking of their contrivement, by casting blemishment of dishonor on the late most excellent and now undoubtedly sainted king, and to those close ends vindicating and attesting the late proceedings against the late blessed king (though by so much they may seem to have color of law and form of justice, they may be truly said to have the more and greater height of impudence); and on this foundation of asserting the clearness and legality of the said unparalleled treasons, perpetuated on the said king, do build hopes and inferences to the high dishonor of the regal state and in truth to the utter disinheritation of His Most Sacred Majesty that now is, and the divesting of him of these rights which the law of Nature and Nations and the known laws of the Kingdom of England have adjudged inherent to his royal line and the law of God, himself (if sacred writ may be so styled of which this age doth loudly call in question) hath consecrated unto him. And, as arguments easily and naturally deduced from the aforesaid cursed and destructive principles, with endeavor they press and persuade the powers of the commission to be void and null, and all magistracy and offices thereon depending to have lost their vigor and efficacy, by such means assuredly expecting advantages for the accomplishment of their lawless and tyrannous intentions. Be it therefore declared and enacted by the governor, council and burgesses of this Grand Assembly and the authority of the same, that what person soever, whether stranger or inhabitant of this colony, after the date of this act, by reasoning, discourse, or argument, shall go about to defend and maintain the late traitorous proceedings against the aforesaid King of most happy memory, under any notion of law or justice, such person, using reasoning, discourse or argument, or uttering any words or speeches to such purpose, and being proven by competent witnesses, shall be adjudged an access-

4. This is given in full in that very rare book “Henning’s Statutes at Large of the Colony of Virginia.” Vol. I, pp. 358-61.

ory, post mortem to the death of the aforesaid King and shall be proceeded against for the same according to the known laws of England; or, whoever shall go about by irreverent and scandalous language to blast the memory and honor of the late most pious King, shall on conviction suffer such censure and punishment as shall be thought fit by the governor and council. And be it further enacted, that what person soever shall by words or speeches endeavor to insinuate any doubt, scruple or question of or concerning the undoubted and inherent right of His Majesty that now is, to the *colony of Virginia and these other, His Majesty's dominions and countries*, as King and supreme Governor, such words and speeches shall be adjudged high treason.

“And it is also enacted, that what person soever, by false reports and malicious rumors shall spread abroad among the people anything *to change of government*, or to the lessening of the power and authority of the governor, or government, either in civil or ecclesiastical causes (which this Assembly hath and doth declare to be full and plenary to all intents and purposes), such persons, not only the authors of such reports and rumors but the reporters and divulgers thereof (unless it be done by way of legal information before a magistrate) shall be adjudged equally guilty, and shall suffer such punishment even to severity, as shall be thought fit, according to the nature and quality of the offence.”

The names of the grand assembly that proclaimed King Charles II. in Virginia were:—Sir William Berkeley, Governor. For James County, Walter Chiles, Thomas Swann, William Barrett, George Reade, William Whittacker, George Duns-ton. For Henrico County, William Hatcher. For Charles City, Colonel Edward Hill and Charles Sparrow. For Warwick County, Colonel Thomas Harwood and John Walker. For Isle of White County, George Handy and Robert Pitt. For Nansmond County, Colonel George Carter and Toby Smith. For Elizabeth City, Captain William Worlick and Joseph Rob-bins. For Lower Norfolk, Barthi Hoskins and Thomas Lam-bert. For York County, Colonel Ralph Wormley and Ralph Burnham. For Northumberland County, Colonel Francis Poy-thers and Joseph Trussell.

“No person elsewhere on the North American Continent,” says Cook’s “History of Virginia,” “moved to support the

King." And Berkeley was alone, for he had to give energy to the smaller souls in Virginia and to guard against the treachery and conspiracy of a body of "Puritan fanatics" who had settled in the colony.

The Puritan democracy in England began to act. In 1650 a law of parliament prohibited trade with Virginia and the West Indies and a fleet of ships were sent to suppress Sir William Berkeley and his King's adherents. Two war-ships reached Virginia in March, 1652, and one of them ascended the James River and the commander, in the name of the commonwealth of England, demanded surrender of the colony. But Berkeley never thought of surrender. He summoned his friends, had cannon placed on the high places and distributed muskets to the inhabitants. But the ship's Puritan captain recognizing those of the same sort as himself among some of the house of burgesses, had a private interview with them, in which bribes were distributed, and the house of burgesses voted to surrender the colony over the head of Berkeley. The parliamentary commissioners were Bennett, Clayborne and Curtis. The only requirements made was an oath of allegiance to the commonwealth of England, and those who refused to take it and abandon "kingcraft" were to be allowed a year in which to sell their property and leave the country.

The haughty cavalier Berkeley turned his back on the upstart carls of the Virginia democracy that surged into power in the colony with Puritanism. He went to his private estate, and in company with a few brother cavaliers not only refused to take the oath, but was too strong to be driven out. One of his followers boasted that, though "they had been reduced by the power of the Usurper they had never come under his obedience." One of the first acts of the Virginian democracy under Governor Bennett in 1652 was to curtail representation of the cavaliers and abolish the name of the king as the head of state. But Virginia was too far away for the English democracy itself to meddle with much and the Virginia democrats were too suspicious of each others integrity to accomplish all the leveling they desired. During this time, there was nothing but plundering and persecuting carried on by the triumphant democracy

of the Virginia colony against neighboring Catholic proprietors and lords of the Maryland Manours, who had no protection from any source under the "righteous" government of the Puritan usurpation, whose pretext had been for "freedom of conscience and the rights of men,"—a verbal sheep's garment for a voracious wolf.

But all these troubles ended at once, when in 1660 the news came across the water that the Scottish army of General Monck, tired of Puritan hypocrisy, corruption and persecution, had marched into London, had overthrown the English republic and had proclaimed Charles II. as King.

The great Cromwell, Lord Protector of England, had died in 1658. He had stayed the persecution made by the Puritan democracy in England and muzzled the democracy itself even as Napoleon was to rout the French democracy,—both leaders using the only argument which democracy respects, the sword. Cromwell had protected the cavaliers who were in hiding in different parts of the realm, had stopped the burning of witches, and the persecution of the Jews and had maintained the integrity of the three estates. Referring to the Puritan demagogues whom he despised, he exclaimed "I hate their leveling idea; there is nothing in the minds of these men but overturn, overturn!"

On the death of Cromwell, the friends of Berkeley in Virginia took up again the feudal principle which Berkeley as a cavalier had expressed, that as Virginia was a fief of the crown, now that the crown had been abolished in Britain, the fealty between Virginia and England was abolished also. In March, 1660, the planters assembled at Jamestown and agreed to the following resolve: "Whereas by reason of the late distraction —which God in His mercy put a sudden period to—there *being in England no resident, absolute and generally confessed power*, be it enacted and confirmed that, the supreme power of the government of this country shall be resident in the assembly and that all writs issue of the general assembly of Virginia until such a command or commission come out of England as shall by the assembly be adjudged lawful." The second Act

declared: "That the Hon. Sir William Berkeley shall be governor and captain-general of Virginia."

In May, Charles II. was restored in England and with him the monarchy, and in October, 1660, he sent his own commission to Sir William Berkeley appointing him governor, which, accepted as supreme by all parties, restored the fealty of Virginia to the crown. Thus the value of the Stuart system of erecting fiefs beyond sea into royal governments dependent solely on the command upheld by an independent and localized class of honor was made manifest in the action of Virginia, although the initiative and energy of the action belonged only to one lion-hearted and loyal man. But the restoration was superficial in Virginia, where in truth the vast majority of the inhabitants were indifferent, cavaliers few and the democrats more numerous, with the advantage of not being encumbered by honest considerations. In 1663 a number of indentured servants were induced to break into revolt with the idea of overturning the government and having a republican model. One of them betrayed his comrades, and this revolt was extinguished. Four of the leaders were hung. The burgesses ordered that henceforward "20 guardsmen and one officer shall attend the governor," as a protection against conspirators.

Tranquility was threatened on another side by the Baptist preachers, who, inspired with fanaticism, preached a doctrine of religious compulsion, which, if practised, would have imposed a tyranny compared to which the rule of the Spanish inquisition would have been that of enlightened liberty. The invasion of the body politic by their "new fangled conceits and heretical inventions" was not only adverse to individual liberty, to the established estates of the colony, and to the authority of the crown, but to human happiness and prosperity. For these reasons, they were dealt with severely, and in many places forbidden to preach.

But there was another outburst of democracy threatening crown authority, the estates and the governorship of Berkeley more seriously than the "Revolt of the Valets" and the "Preaching of the Baptists."

It seems that when Virginia surrendered to the Puritan Eng-

lish republic in 1651 that a law had been enacted that Virginia should trade only with England by means of English ships manned by English sailors. Besides this, import and export duties were levied on all the commerce of Virginia.

Even this had not aroused the complaints of the Virginians under the commonwealth, possibly because the republicans in the colony had clasped hands with the republicans in the old country in the matter of division of the spoil. Perhaps the Virginians might not have complained of it under the succeeding monarchy had not Charles II. granted, as a fief, the territory of Virginia and Accomac to the Earl of Arlington and Lord Culpeper. This grant was to terminate in thirty-one years unless renewed. It was no more than the original grant to the Council of London had been—it disturbed no one. If the sovereign proprietors of Virginia overstepped the limits of their holding there was an appeal to the crown unless the three estates of Virginia might consider a malfeasance to be an absolution of allegiance—according to feudal law.

But republican doctrine had begun to work in Virginia and the house of burgesses (1670) sent delegates to the king to protest against the new grant. The protest was carefully attended to. The king promised to “grant them a new charter for the settlement and confirmation of all things according to their wishes.” The new charter was drafted, had received the royal signature, and was about to be dispatched to the colony, when the news of the rebellion of the faithless Virginian republicans stayed the royal concession. It seems that there was one, Nathaniel Bacon, a factious and unprincipled republican, who had worked in secret a long while among the servants and lower classes of the population and the Puritan fanatics. His course of action must be noticed in order to show the characters with whom Sir William Berkeley had to deal and who triumphed finally in the American Revolution. Bacon caused himself to be elected to the burgesses by the unconstitutional voting of servants and non-proprietors. He caused the massacre of six Indian chiefs who had come under safe conduct to a council with the whites. Under spacious pretences of reform he rebelled against the governor and the king’s authority, and with

his malcontents, who seem to have been the major part of the Virginians, considered the advisability of proclaiming independence of England and the setting up of a republic. In his rebellion, while besieging Jamestown, one of his means of protection from the cannon of the enemy was putting the wives and daughters of the planters, who were defending the town, in front of his breastworks. He plundered the private residence of the governor, which was outside the town. He succeeded in stirring up the greater part of the people for universal suffrage, indiscriminate education and the introduction of republicanism.

Berkeley, who had only 30 loyal gentlemen, was driven out of Jamestown. He took shelter in Accomac, where he had the satisfaction of hanging Captain Carver, one of Bacon's followers, who had been sent with a fleet of small vessels to capture and bring back the governor. Berkeley and his men also captured "General" Bland, the chief commander of Bacon, and after many vicissitudes triumphed over the rebellion. Bacon had been succeeded in command by a "rope-dancer" named Ingram but he was reduced very speedily. The manner in which Berkeley dealt with these people was summary but just. It is illustrated by the following story:—One of Bacon's officers, named Drummond, was captured; he was brought before Berkeley, who said, "Mr. Drummond, you are very welcome. I am more glad to see you than any man in Virginia. Mr. Drummond, you shall hang in half an hour." The time was extended a little. He was tried and sentenced at noon and hung at four in the afternoon.

Twenty-three of the leaders of this rebellion were hung. Charles II., the king, did not approve of these severities, but had he shown himself severe in proportion in England it is not likely that his brother James II., who succeeded on the throne, would have been driven out, in his turn, by the sons of those traitors and deserters whom Charles allowed to plot in safety during his own reign.

As for Berkeley, the clamor of the Virginians against the punishment he meted out to their political treachery caused him to be recalled by the king, and it is said that he died

“broken-hearted” in England at the ingratitude of his royal master. It is certain that all the Virginia historians, afflicted with the same complaint of which Bacon suffered, condemn Berkeley as a tyrant. Cook, the best of them, says:

“He was devoted to monarchy, and the church * * * *
In defence of one he persecuted dissent; in support of the other he waded in blood. * * * * For a quarter of a century he ruled the colony to the fullest satisfaction of the people. He was an elegant host and a cordial companion who made everyone welcome. He displayed not the least desire to invade the rights of Virginians; on the contrary he defended them on every occasion. It may be said with truth that, in all these years, he was the sincere friend of Virginia and Virginians. All his interests and affections were centred there—in his wife and his home. It was ‘the most flourishing country the sun ever shone over,’ he said. But one day rebellion raised its head in this beautiful land. His idol, the Divine Right, was flouted by these old friends * * * * then he was merciless to them when they were at his mercy.’⁵

In other words, “he protected their rights” and maintained them, and they—what did they? They invaded the rights of the crown, which they had promised to respect. They, the faithless, the treacherous, the unreliable! How could Berkeley, once they had lost all consideration of honor, feel confidence in them!!

The three great innovations on the ancient, political and social conditions against which Sir William Berkeley had to contend and which are the bane of modern states at the present, were: I, Extreme Public Education; II, Republicanism, and III, Universal Suffrage.

I. Berkeley was opposed to extreme public education, because it tends to declass the members of the population, and in this alone to make them restless, discontented and conceited. Not only that, but to tax the provident and industrious for the benefit of the slothful and careless—who breed like rabbits—is to handicap the better portion of the people. To buy the material of all arts, science and language by enforced taxation

5. Cook's "History of Virginia," p. 296.

and give it to those who do not pay for it, which material reason and fact show that only a few can use, is teaching improvidence to be wasteful of the property of others. It is to furnish to the unprincipled additional means of dishonest livelihood, for the scientific adulteration of food and clothing, for the creation of fraudulent stock companies, and for the skilful dissemination of dishonest principles of government. It is a vain endeavor to produce a republican equality by means of "education" when education itself cannot add one quality to the mind or develop a sentiment where there is not the germ of that sentiment.

All the "education" of America has not been able to produce a musician, an artist and a historian, to rank with those of old Europe, where the class of sentiment has not been destroyed by "republicanism." The Inca Turpac Yupanqui declared that "Learning was intended for those only of generous blood." The clerical classes of ancient Gaul—although possessed of the art of writing, considered the pearls of their tradition too precious to be cast at the feet of swine, and transmitted them to the accepted and approved members of their caste by memory only. It was the same in ancient Egypt. The criminal statistics of the United States show that the worst criminals are the best "educated." The increase of crime has gone the same way, the per cent. rising with the "advantages." offered by the free "higher education" from one in ten thousand in 1850 to one in four hundred in 1890. In the Southern States (1890), where "public education" was not so diffused, the per cent. of criminality was less than one-half that of New England where "free education" is the longest established on a "liberal" basis. In New York and Chicago, where the public school fund embraces appropriation of millions, filched from those who do not patronize the public schools and who do not believe in them, the criminality is much higher than in foreign cities of the same size where "education" is not so extravagant. Education of the most exalted and extravagant sort can not fill a heart with lofty sentiment where no germs of sentiment exist.

In proportion as education is diffused the standard of liter-

ary excellence is lowered, and the continuance of writers of classics is diminished. Because in former days when "Learning was for those of generous blood," who are the few, **their** demand made the standard high; at the present time, the demand of the "educated" multitude is louder and more potent with publishers than that of the ancient few, and the standard and style are lowered to comply with the demand. The race verges then on an intellectual decline, and the age is called "materialistic" but only for this reason—that the instincts of the many are gross and unsentimental and must remain so ever, and an appeal to them as to a standard results in the exclusion of everything higher and better. Besides provision for a public education shows lack of general ethical perception—the very idea of "educating one man's children with another man's money" is proof of it. It destroys the value of inherited qualities that are not perceptible by educational means, such as generosity, magnanimity and honor,—arranged in the present condition of society as handicaps to their possessors in the race of life; the class of their possessors becomes smaller with each generation.

II. In the beginning of the settlement of Virginia, before there was any real property interest in the colony, up to the year 1655 "all settlers had a voice in public affairs, first in the daily matters of the commune, or 'hundreds,' and after 1619 in electing burgesses * * * * But in 1655 it was changed by men of the commonwealth '(to cut off the influence of the retainers of the cavaliers).' In that year the burgesses declared that none but 'housekeepers, whether freeholders, leaseholders, or othrwise tenants,' shall be 'capable of electing burgesses.' One year afterwards (1656) the ancient usage was restored, and all 'freemen' were allowed to vote, since it was 'something hard and unagreeable to reason that any person shall pay equal taxes and yet have no vote in the elections; but the freemen must not vote in a tumultuous manner.' Such was the record of the first commonwealth."⁶

"In 1670, the King's men restored the first act restricting the suffrage again. The reason is stated:—The 'usual way of choosing burgesses by the votes of all persons, who, having

served their time, are freemen in this country,' produced 'tumults at the election.' Therefore, it were better to follow the English fashion and 'grant a voyce in such election only to such as by their estates, real or personal, have interest enough to tye them to the endeavor of the public good.' So, after this, none but 'freeholders and housekeepers' were to vote."

* * * * *

"The persons who had served their time as indentured servants had 'little interest in the country'; they were making disturbances at elections * * * * * This was the determinate sentiment and the law remained settled, with the exception of one year (1676) when Bacon's Assembly changed it, declaring that 'freemen should vote.' This was swept away by a general repeal of all 'Bacon's laws' and the freehold restriction remained the law of Virginia nearly to the present time (1870)."

III. Simply because passengers have purchased a railway ticket and have ridden on the cars on their journey is no reason that they ought to vote with the stockholders of the railway for the choice of directors and for the management of the road. There is but one way for them and that is to become an owner in the stock—of something beyond a railway ticket. The same law of right holds good for the state; no matter what the education of the citizen may be, if he does not own stock in the state he has no ethical right to vote for the choice of government, or for the policy of rulership.

The lack of ethical consideration in the suffrage is to be expected from the ingress into public affairs of those who have received the unethically obtained public education—of those who have been instructed, not by the laudable efforts of their own family, but from the results of public robbery—whereby one man's property is assessed for the "benefit" of another man's children. Those who have been "benefited" by this species of robbery are ready to try it over again in the state—in the legislature—in the policy of government. Disloyalty results and the kingdom is overthrown by the traitors it has nourished in its bosom, who proceed at once to form a "republic" in which those who raise the greatest clamor may rule, and in which each opposing minority is subject to turn to proscription and plunder. This is the character of the men who have in-

stituted every republic that has existed in any age or clime, and this is the process which their government has followed out until, dismembered by its own corruption and infamy it has been overthrown by the sword of the dictator.

But affairs did not come to quite such a pass in Virginia, because there was the strong hand of royal power over all. This did not suit the Virginians, who seem to have been a very uneasy, quarrelsome people. James II., last of the Stuarts, wishes to know why they are so "disaffected and unquiet," and they are found to be no better under William of Orange, who succeeded King James as result of the "Revolution of 1688" in England. Having established Virginia and raised it to the dignity of a kingdom and filled it full of prosperous conditions, the ingratitude of the people looked on the "passing" of the Stuarts with indifference. But they were to suffer for it later, for in 1861 their own constitution and the better class were trampled into the dust by the democracy.

(To be Continued).

A HISTORY OF SLAVERY

BY MRS. C. F. MC LEAN

IN the March, 1909, number of the AMERICAN HISTORICAL MAGAZINE will be the first chapters of one of the most valuable historical publications that has appeared from the American magazine press for many years. This will be a complete history of slavery, as it has existed in the United States. It will be from the pen of Mrs. C. F. McLean, whose contributions to this magazine and to other historical periodicals have given her a recognized position among native historical writers.

In the first installment of this series of papers, Mrs. McLean will have an introduction treating briefly of the subject of slavery from the world point of view. She will review the origin of slavery and present many interesting facts concerning the slavery of white peoples by those of the same and other nationalities, and also the slavery of other races, such as the white slaves of the colored races and the colored slaves of the white races. With this brief explanatory introduction leading up to the main subject the history of white slavery in the American colonies will be taken up. Then the beginning of African slavery in these colonies will be related, the cause of its installation and the different phases of its development being carefully set forth and explained.

Following will be a consideration of the extent and status of slavery at the time of the declaration of independence, and the attitude of the leaders of the American Revolution in regard to it at that date, and, subsequently, their opinions and conclusions as voiced in the constitutional convention. Connected with this part of the subject will be a careful, soundly studied and exhaustive review of public opinion in the north and in the south regarding slavery at the close of the Revolution, and the causes of the change of views that came about in those two sections will be presented.

Then will come full consideration and explanation of the action of the various states on the slavery question and the introduction of the subject into national legislation. From that point onward, in successive numbers of the magazine, the subject will be treated completely and in a scholarly manner in all its different phases and brought down to the present day.

THE ORIGIN OF THE BOOK OF MORMON

BY BRIGHAM H. ROBERTS

(*A Reply to Mr. Theodore Schroeder*)

III

THE CONNECTION OF SIDNEY RIGDON WITH THE SPAULDING MANUSCRIPT

WHAT is relied upon as evidence that Sidney Rigdon stole the Spaulding manuscript from Patterson-Lambdin's printing office? When Howe appealed for information on this point to Mr. Patterson of Pittsburg, in 1834, Mr. Lambdin had been dead about eight years; and Howe writes—"Mr. Patterson says he has no recollection of any such manuscript being brought there for publication."⁹⁹ This statement of Howe's has proved very troublesome to the later, or Pittsburg group of Mr. Schroeder's witnesses. Mr. Howe was appealed to for his authority for the statement and replied, "I think Hurlburt was the person who talked with Patterson about the manuscript."¹⁰⁰ This is confirmed by the testimony of B. Winchester, author of "The Origin of the Spaulding Story," (1840). As soon as the "Storrs-Davison" statement was published,—asserting that Patterson had borrowed the Spaulding manuscript, was very much pleased with it, advised the writing of a title page, a preface and then publishing it,—a Mr. Green, according to Mr. Winchester, "called upon Mr. Patterson to know if this statement was true. Mr. Patterson replied, that he knew nothing of any such manuscript. I learned this from Mr. Green's own mouth," says Mr.

99. "Mormonism Unveiled," Howe, p. 289.

100. *American Historical Magazine*, November 1906, p. 518. *Miller's* letter is given in full in Gregg's "Prophet of Palmyra," p. 442; Miller also writes another letter of similar import to the author of "New Light on Mormonism," p. 240. "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon?" p. 7.

Winchester, "who is a man of undoubted veracity. * * * Mr. Hurlburt states, that he called upon Mr. Patterson who affirmed his ignorance of the whole matter."¹⁰¹

In 1842, Mr. Patterson was again appealed to upon the subject of the submission of the Spaulding manuscript to him. The appeal was made by the Reverend Samuel Williams who at the time was preparing for publication a pamphlet entitled "Mormonism Exposed." Whereupon Mr. Patterson wrote and signed a brief statement which was afterwards published by the Reverend Williams as follows:

"R. Patterson had in his employment Silas Engles at the time, a foreman printer, and general superintendent of the printing business. As he (S. E.) was an excellent scholar, as well as a good printer, to him was intrusted the entire concerns of the office. He even decided on the propriety or otherwise of publishing manuscripts when offered,—as to their morality, scholarship, etc. In this character, he informed R. P. that a gentleman, from the East originally, had put into his hands a manuscript of a singular work, chiefly in the style of our English translation of the Bible, and handed the copy to R. P., who read only a few pages and finding nothing apparently exceptionable he (R. P.) said to Engles he might publish it if the author furnished the funds or good security. He (the author) failing to comply with the terms, Mr. Engles returned the manuscript, as I supposed at that time, after it had been some weeks in his possession, with other manuscripts in the office.

"This communication written and signed 2d April, 1842.¹⁰²

Robert Patterson.

"It is matter of sincere regret," says the author of "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon?" "that so meagre a document is all the written evidence that Mr. Patterson has left." And well he may, as one of the Spaulding origin theorists, have such regret. For there is nothing here of Spaulding and his manuscript, nothing of Patterson's interest in it and advising a title page, preface, and the publication of it; nothing of Rigdon and his connection with the manuscript; nothing of its being missing or stolen or copied. Of course "the gentleman from the

101. "Origin of the Spaulding Story," p. 13.

102. "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon?" p. 7.

East originally, [who] had put into his [Patterson's] hands a manuscript of a singular work, chiefly in the style of our English translation of the Bible," in which neither the printing-firm reader, to whom it was referred, nor Mr. Patterson, had more than a languid interest, according to the above, is made by the Spaulding origin theorists to mean the author of the Spaulding manuscript. There is nothing to justify such a conclusion. Had it been Spaulding's manuscript, which "the gentleman from the East presented," would not Mr. Patterson have remembered it? Would he not have named him? Why should he not? There is but one answer—the gentleman was not Spaulding. Oh, at this point, for Mr. Patterson's remembrance of an identity of names with "Book of Mormon" names,—for a "Nephi" now, or "Moroni," or "Zarahemla!" But mark you, what Mr. Patterson refuses to do in the signed statement he prepared especially at his request, Mr. Williams does for him in introducing this signed statement by saying: "Mr. Patterson firmly believes, also, from what he has heard from the Mormon Bible, that it is the same thing he examined at the time."¹⁰³ Then why is that not in the statement Robert Patterson signed? The manifest dishonesty of these preachers grows tedious!

Mr. Schroeder next puts in as "evidence" the testimony of Joseph Miller, (the name "John" in Mr. Schroeder's text is evidently a misprint), "who knew Spaulding at Amity, bailed him out of jail when confined for debt, made his Coffin for him when he died, and helped lay him out in his grave"—quite a formidable list of services; also gruesome. And his testimony? Spaulding told him "there was a man named Sidney Rigdon about the office and they thought he had stolen it"¹⁰⁴ (i. e. the Spaulding manuscript). This man is heralded in the *Cincinnati Gazette* as the "one Man in the United States who can give its (i. e. the Book of Mormon's), origin." Gregg, whom Mr. Schroeder cites as his authority, repeats this announcement, and we marvel that Mr. Schroeder did not include this

103. "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon?" p. 7.

104. *American Historical Magazine*, November, 1906, p. 518.

circumstance in his list of qualities that makes this witness so picturesque.

The Miller document quoted by Mr. Schroeder from Gregg's "Prophet of Palmyra," bears date of January 20, 1882; and as Miller was born in 1791 he was then ninety-one years of age.¹⁰⁵ The very earliest statement of Miller's story is in the *Pittsburg Telegraph*, February 6, 1879, when Miller would be eighty-eight years old. How much reliance is to be placed upon the early recollections of such an aged person after all the talk had, and all the newspaper and magazine articles and discussions that have been published, leading to confusion in the minds of unliterary, uncritical, and often ignorant people, as to dates, the order of events, and mind impressions; and this confusion influenced by their religious zeal, not to say fanaticism; prejudices against supposed heresies; and resentment of religious innovations—what value, I say, is to be given to the recollections of a very aged person under these circumstances, must be finally determined by the reader. I only ask that the circumstances be known; that they be constantly held in mind and given their due weight, and I shall not fear the judgment.

Mr. Schroeder next introduces what he would fondly have us believe is the testimony of the Reverend Cephus Dodd, "a Presbyterian minister of Amity, Pa." (where Spaulding lived 1814-16); Mr. Dodd was also a practicing physician and attended Spaulding in his last illness. "As early as 1832," says Mr. Schroeder, "this Mr. Dodd took Mr. George M. French of Amity to Spaulding's grave, and there expressed a positive belief that Sidney Rigdon was the agent who had transformed Spaulding's manuscript into the Book of Mormon." Mr. French, we are told, fixes the date through its proximity to his removal to Amity. Following is the comment of Mr. Schroeder on the Reverend Mr. Dodd's "testimony:"

"The conclusion thus expressed by Mr. Dodd in advance of all public discussion or evidence is important, because of what is necessarily implied in it? First, it involved a comparison be-

105. "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon?" p. 6.

tween Spaulding's literary production and the 'Book of Mormon,' with a discovered similarity inducing conviction that the latter was a plagiarism from the former. This comparison presupposes a knowledge of the contents of Spaulding's rewritten manuscript. The second and most important deduction is to be made from the assertion that Sidney Rigdon was the connecting link in the plagiarism. Such a conclusion must have had a foundation in Mr. Dodd's mind, and could have arisen only if he was possessed of personal knowledge of what he considered reliable information creating a conviction in his mind of the probability of Sidney Rigdon's connection with the matter.¹⁰⁶

But not so fast. Let us think of it. Who tells this story? Mr. Dodd in 1832? No. And is it of record that he did all these things that Mr. Schroeder surmises that he did? Again, no. And was Mr. Dodd's "conclusions expressed" in advance of all public discussion or evidence, respecting the Book of Mormon? Not at all. According to the authority Mr. Schroeder himself cites for this Dodd "evidence," and from which he gets the story, the Reverend Mr. Dodd lived until January 16, 1858. But there is no direct statement or evidence from him on the matter here discussed. Nothing was said about it until the publication of "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon?" in the "History of Washington County, Pa.," 1882, after the discussion of all the evidence, instead of in advance of it. Then Mr. George M. French, according to the author of "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon?" "in his eighty-third year," "retains a vivid impression" of the foregoing account of a visit to Mr. Spaulding's grave in company with Mr. Dodd; and then the story.¹⁰⁷ And Mr. Schroeder would lead his readers to believe that they have in this jumbled mass of second hand "vivid impressions" fifty years old, detailed by a man in his dotage, over eight-two years old, an expression in "advance of all public discussion or evidence" respecting the Book of Mormon—in 1832, in fact! And Mr. Schroeder is a professional lawyer!

Of like character but weaker are the rest of Mr. Schroeder's witnesses to the "theft" of the Spaulding manuscript and its

106. *American Historical Magazine*, November, 1906, p. 519.

107. "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon?" p. 10.

identity with the Book of Mormon. Such is his "tenth witness," Redick McKee (Joseph Miller, considered above, being his "ninth witness,"); and his "eleventh witness," the Reverend Abner Jackson; and, as Mr. Schroeder himself puts it,— "Last but not least," John C. Bennett, who also indorses the Spaulding theory of the origin of the Book of Mormon; for which I had almost said, "thank God!" for nothing could so completely damn a thing as John C. Bennett's endorsement. Then I restrained the all but expressed exclamation and softened it to the quiet conclusion of—"fitting climax to such a theory!"

Bennett claims to have had it from the "confederation"—that "there never were any plates of the Book of Mormon excepting what were seen by the spiritual and not the natural eyes of the witnesses."¹⁰⁸ All these witnesses are as incompetent and contemptible as those whose testimony we have examined, and with this we leave them. It is not necessary to demonstrate over and over again the same proposition, or refute every specific detail of falsehood when they can be classified and dealt with in mass.

OF RIGDON'S ALLEGED "RELIGIOUS DISHONESTY"

Mr. Schroeder seeks to make much of what he calls "Rigdon's religious dishonesty" previous to his joining the Mormon Church. Of this and the evidence on which it is based, it is only necessary to say: said dishonesty is charged by the Reverend Samuel Williams, author of "Mormonism Exposed"—the Reverend gentleman whom we have seen put into his book a statement as to Mr. Patterson's views about the Spaulding manuscript which Mr. Patterson evidently refused to put into his own signed statement, given to Mr. Williams for his anti-Mormon work. The dishonesty alleged against Rigdon has to do with religious experiences which Rigdon is represented by a rival minister as confessing to have feigned in order to obtain membership in the Baptist Church, at Peters Creek. Its source utterly discredits it; and at best it is only

108. "Mormonism Exposed," pp. 123-4.

the all-to-usual exhibition of malice expressed in misrepresentation when a person passes from one religious organization to another.

RIGDON'S OPPORTUNITY TO STEAL SPAULDING'S MANUSCRIPT

The next question which Mr. Schroeder considers is Rigdon's opportunity to steal the Spaulding manuscript. This depends upon whether Sidney Rigdon was at Pittsburg when the Spaulding manuscript was there between 1812, the time of Spaulding's advent into Pittsburg with his manuscript, and 1814, the time of his departure. But to humor Mr. Schroeder we will extend the time so as to include his fiction about a "re-written" manuscript and its "second submission" to Patterson for publication. So the question is, was Rigdon in Pittsburg between 1812 and 1816, the time of Spaulding's death? Here I insert a brief biography of Sidney Rigdon, up to the time of his joining the Mormon Church. It is taken from the "Illustrated History of Washington County, Pa.," in which was published the treatise on "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon?" I select this account of Mr. Rigdon's movements up to 1830, because it is the one regarded by Mr. Schroeder as more accurate than other accounts; and it is only slightly different, but in no respect materially so, from the account of Mr. Rigdon published in the "History of Joseph Smith," in the *Milennial Star*, supplement, volume XIV., and condensed in a foot note in the "History of the Church."¹⁰⁹

"Sidney Rigdon was born near the present village of Library, Allegheny Co., Pa., Feb. 19, 1793; attended in boyhood an ordinary country school; joined the Baptist Church near his home May 31, 1817; studied divinity with a Baptist preacher named Clark in Beaver County, Pa., in the winter of 1818-19, and was licensed to preach; went to Warren, Ohio, where he was ordained, and in the winter of 1821-22 returned to Pittsburg; became pastor of the First Baptist Church there Jan. 28, 1822, and for doctrinal errors was excluded from the Baptist denomination Oct. 11, 1823. He continued to Preach in the court-house to his adherents, but in 1824, according to one ac-

109. "History of the Church," vol. I, pp. 120-1, and notes.

count, he removed to the Western Reserve, Ohio; according to another account he engaged in the tanning business in Pittsburg until 1826, and then removed to the Reserve, residing for brief periods at Bainbridge, Mentor, and Kirtland. At this time he was connected with the Campbellite or Disciple's Church, and preached its doctrines, mingled with extravagant conceits of his own, until in 1830 he joined the Mormons."¹¹⁰

It will be observed that this does not bring Sidney Rigdon to Pittsburg until 1821-22, some seven years after the Spauldings had left Pittsburg with their precious manuscript, and five years after they had departed from Pennsylvania with it. Mr. Rigdon's own account of his going to Pittsburg puts it in November, 1821, on his return from Ohio, to visit relatives in Allegheny county, Pa. He preached in Pittsburg a few times, and it was his preaching during this visit that led to his being called to become the permanent pastor of the First Baptist Church of that place, where he took up his residence in 1822.

In a communication addressed to the *Boston Journal*, under date of May 27, 1839, Sidney Rigdon emphatically denies having any connection with Patterson's printing establishment; or with Spaulding and his manuscript.¹¹¹ Concerning the charge frequently made that Rigdon lived in Pittsburg, and was connected with Patterson's printing office during 1815 and 1816, Mr. Schroeder himself remarks.

"The evidence upon which is based the charge of Rigdon having a permanent residence in Pittsburg during the years in question, or his connection with Patterson's printing office, is so unsatisfactory that these issues must be found in favor of Rigdon's denial."¹¹²

Very diligent inquiry was made by the historians of Washington County, to ascertain whether or not Rigdon was in Pittsburg at the time the Spaulding manuscript is alleged to have been there. What makes the matter of inquiry more interesting is the fact that the author of that part of the "History of

110. "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon?" p. 8.

111. The letter of Rigdon will be found complete in Smucker's "History of the Mormons," pp. 45-48.

112. *American Historical Magazine*, November, 1906, p. 524.

Washington County" under the caption "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon?" is Robert Patterson, son of Robert Patterson, who is said to have been the printer to whom Spaulding's manuscript was taken for publication. Robert Patterson, author of "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon?" in his capacity of historian, sent out a number of letters soliciting information as to the time of Sidney Rigdon's residence in Pittsburg and his connection with the Patterson-Lambdin printing establishment; and also he made personal inquiry on the same subject. The results of such inquiry follows. The term "the present writer" used in the quotations refer to Mr. Patterson himself. After saying that Carvil Rigdon, Sidney's brother, and Peter Boyer, his brother-in-law, were the source of information for Rigdon's biography, Mr. Patterson says:

"Mr. Boyer also in a personal interview with the present writer in 1879, positively affirmed that Rigdon had never lived in Pittsburg previous to 1822, adding that 'they were boys together, and he ought to know.' Mr. Boyer had for a short time embraced Mormonism, but became convinced that it was a delusion, and returned to his membership in the Baptist Church."

It could not then have been through religious sympathy with Mr. Rigdon that Mr. Boyer made this statement.

"Isaac King, a highly-respected citizen of Library, Pa., and an old neighbor of Rigdon, states in a letter to the present writer, dated June 14, 1879, that Sidney lived on the farm of his father until the death of the latter in May, 1810, and for a number of years afterwards; * * * received his education in a log school-house in the vicinity; he began to talk in public on religion soon after his admission to the church, (1817) probably at his own instance, as there is no record of his licensure; 'went to Sharon, Pa., for a time, and was there ordained as a preacher, but soon returned to his farm, which he sold (June 28, 1823), to James Means, and about the time of the sale removed to Pittsburg.'

"Samuel Cooper, of Saltsburg, Pa., a veteran of three wars, in a letter to the present writer, dated June 14, 1879, stated as follows: 'I was acquainted with Mr. Lambdin, was often in the printing-office; was acquainted with Silas Engles, the foreman of the printing-office; he never mentioned Sidney Rigdon's name

to me, so I am satisfied he was never engaged there as a printer.
 * * * Never saw him in the book-store or printing-office;
 your father's office was in the celebrated Molly Murphy's Row.'

"Rev. Robert P. DuBois, of New London, Pa., under date of Jan. 9, 1879, writes: 'I entered the book-store of R. Patterson & Lambdin in March, 1818, when about twelve years old, and remained there until the summer of 1820. The firm had under its control the book-store on Fourth Street, a book-bindery, a printing-office, (not newspaper, but job-office, under the name of Butler & Lambdin) entrance on Diamond Alley, and a steam paper-mill on the Allegheny (under the name of R. & J. Patterson). I knew nothing of Spaulding (then dead) or of his book, or of Sidney Rigdon.'

Mrs. R. W. Lambdin, of Irvington, N. Y., widow of the late J. Harrison Lambdin, in response to some inquiries as to her recollections of Rigdon and others, writes under date of Jan. 15, 1882: 'I am sorry to say I shall not be able to give you any information relative to the persons you name. They certainly could not have been friends of Mr. Lambdin.' Mrs. Lambdin resided in Pittsburg from her marriage in 1819 to the death of her husband, Aug. 1, 1825. Mr. Lambdin was born Sept. 1, 1798."

It is to the credit of Mr. Patterson that he recorded these testimonies that must be so unsatisfactory to the Spaulding theory advocates, among whom must be numbered Mr. Patterson himself. He also says that "impartial justice, requires the addition to the above testimony of the very explicit denial of Rigdon himself;" and then quotes the essential part of Mr. Rigdon's denial sent to the *Boston Journal* in 1839. He criticises the grammar of the passage, and points out that Mr. Rigdon was mistaken in saying that there was no "Patterson printing-office" in Pittsburg during his residence there; "as his [Rigdon's] pastorate there began in January, 1822, and the firm of 'R. Patterson and Lambdin' was in business until January 1, 1823." But, as related in the statement of the Reverend Robert P. DuBois, given above, since the job printing-office said to be under the "control" of the firm of "R. Patterson and Lambdin," was conducted under the name of "Buttler and Lambdin,"¹¹³ Mr. Schroeder admits that Mr. Rigdon's slight

113. "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon?" p. 9. The testimony of the five witnesses alluded to will be found in the same work and page.

mistake was very natural, and does not impair in the least the truth of his denial. Having introduced Mr. Rigdon's denial Mr. Patterson remarks upon it and upon the witnesses whose testimony is given above:

"But whatever may be thought of his testimony, as that of an interested party, there can be no doubt that the five preceding witnesses on this point have conscientiously stated what they firmly believed to be the facts. No one who knew them would for a moment doubt their veracity."¹¹⁴

Here let us notice a statement by Mr. Schroeder, that seems to have some weight on this point. He claims Sidney Rigdon's son, John W. Rigdon, says that his father lived in Pittsburg in 1818; and in the biographical note of Sidney Rigdon published in the "History of the Church," following John W. Rigdon's "History of Sidney Rigdon," the manuscript of which he has deposited with the church historians, it is there stated:

"In March, 1819, Mr. Rigdon left the farm and made his home with the Reverend Andrew Clark of Pittsburg, also a Baptist minister. While residing with Mr. Clark he took out a license and began from that time his career as a minister. In May, 1819, he removed from Pennsylvania to Trumbull county, Ohio."¹¹⁵

This would give Sidney Rigdon a residence in Pittsburg from some time in March (1819) until some time in May of the same year—something like two months. This would give some support to Mr. Schroeder's statement. But in the biographical sketch of Mr. Rigdon in the "History of Washington County," the data of which was supplied to the writer of it by Carvil Rigdon, Sidney's brother, and his brother-in-law, Peter Boyer, it is said that Sidney Rigdon "studied divinity with a Baptist preacher named Clark in Beaver County, Pa., in the winter of 1818-19 and was licensed to preach." Beaver County is immediately north of Allegheny County, in which Pittsburg is located. Notwithstanding the statement of John W. Rigdon has found its way into the "History of the Church," as above ex-

¹¹⁴. Ibid.

¹¹⁵. "History of the Church," (1906), vol. I, p. 121, foot note.

plained, yet Carvil Rigdon and Peter Boyer must be held to be more competent witnesses on this point than John W. Rigdon; and more especially since the inquiry made by Mr. Patterson in his capacity of contributor to the "History of Washington County, Pa.," was made in the interest of the Spaulding theory that requires the location of Rigdon in Pittsburg earlier than 1822, when, it is conceded, he took up his residence there. Had the Reverend Mr. Clark with whom Rigdon studied divinity in the spring of 1819 lived in Pittsburg instead of Beaver County, that fact would scarcely have escaped the searching inquiry made upon the subject. But even if the residence of Rigdon for two months in the year named could be fixed in Pittsburg beyond reasonable doubt, the conclusion of Mr. Schroeder as to its effect upon Rigdon's denial of knowledge of the existence of the printing-office of Patterson and Lambdin, would not stand. He puts his argument in syllogistic form, thus:

"Rigdon's son says Rigdon lived in Pittsburg in 1818. Church biographers allege that he preached there regularly after January 28, 1822. During 1818 and 1822 Patterson was in the printing business, and Rigdon's statement must be deemed untrue."¹¹⁶

To which the answer is: By no means; since if it be allowed that Rigdon was in Pittsburg at all, he was there but some two months—and the existence of a certain printing establishment might easily escape his knowledge,—and more especially so since the printing office was run under another firm name, that of "Butler and Lambdin."¹¹⁷

Let us now return to Mr. Patterson and his "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon?" We have seen how fairly he recorded the testimony of witnesses that told against his own side of the case, and the certificate of good character he gave those witnesses. It is but fair to him to say that on the opposite side of the question he gives the "Davison" statement credence, apparently not knowing the "shady" character of that document; and that if it was "in the main true," then it carried off the Spauld-

116. *American Historical Magazine*, November, 1906, p. 526.

117. "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon?" p. 9.

ing manuscript beyond the reach of Sidney Rigdon as early as 1814, when the Spauldings left Pittsburg for Amity. Mr. Patterson also records the statement of Joseph Miller, Redick McKee and Mr. French's story of the Reverend Cephus Dodd, whose statements have already been considered, and shown to be incompetent as evidence.

And then he comes to another witness in whom both he and Mr. Schroeder delight as establishing a connection if not between Rigdon and Patterson's printing establishment, then at least between Rigdon and Lambdin. This is Mrs. R. J. Eichbaum of Pittsburg. The facts relating to her are that she was the daughter of John Johnston, and was born August 25, 1792. Her father was post-master of Pittsburg from 1804 to 1822; and was succeeded by William Eichbaum, who held the office until 1833. In 1815 Miss Johnston married William Eichbaum. As soon as she became old enough she assisted her father in attending the post-office. From 1811 to 1816 she became the regular clerk in the office assorting, opening and distributing the mail. And even after her marriage in the absence of her husband, she sometimes attended to these duties. Pittsburg was then a small town, the mail was meagre, and Mrs. Eichbaum remembered those who called regularly for their mail; and now her own words:

"I knew and distinctly remember Robert and Joseph Patterson, J. Harrison Lambdin, Silas Engles, and Sidney Rigdon. I remember Rev. Mr. Spaulding, but simply as one who occasionally called to inquire for letters. I remember that there was an evident intimacy between Lambdin and Rigdon. They very often came to the office together. I particularly remember that they would thus come during the hour on Sabbath afternoon when the office was required to be open, and I remember feeling sure that Rev. Mr. Patterson knew nothing of this, or he would have put a stop to it. I do not know what position, if any, Rigdon filled in Patterson's store or printing-office, but am well assured he was frequently, if not constantly there for a large part of the time when I was clerk in the post-office. I recall Mr. Engles saying that 'Rigdon was always hanging around the printing-office.' He was connected with the tannery before he became a preacher, though he may have continued the business whilst preaching."¹¹⁸

¹¹⁸. Ibid, p. 10.

This is the strongest and I may say the only testimony existing concerning any connection between Sidney Rigdon and Lambdin. But if this testimony was left to stand with all its strength unimpaired, it is a "far way" between this and the establishment of a connection between Rigdon and the Spaulding manuscript. Even Mr. Schroder concedes that. In commenting on the above testimony, he says:

"While this does not establish that Sidney Rigdon had a permanent abode in Pittsburg, nor that he was connected with Patterson's printing establishment, it yet explains why seemingly everybody who knew him reached that conclusion."¹¹⁹

One marvels at the concluding remark in the above passage, in the face of the testimony of the five witnesses quoted by the author of "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon?" These five witnesses had the best opportunity of knowing of such connection if it existed. They were Rigdon's own boyhood and young manhood companions, employees of the firm of Patterson and Lambdin, including Lambdin's wife, and they all declare there was no such connection, or that they knew of none. And then there is the silence of Robert Patterson, of the firm of Patterson and Lambdin to account for. Patterson, who was solicited for information on the subject but who evidently could give none; and whose disclosure if he had any to make, Rigdon boldly challenged in his *Boston Journal* article of 1839. Mr. Patterson did not die until September 5th, 1854;¹²⁰ and in 1839 Rigdon in the article referred to said:

"If I were to say that I ever heard of the Rev. Solomon Spaulding and his hopeful wife, until Dr. P. Hurlburt wrote his lie about me, I should be a liar like unto themselves. Why was not the testimony of Mr. Patterson obtained to give force to this shameful tale of lies? The only reason is, that he was not a fit tool for them to work with; he would not lie for them, for if he were called on he would testify to what I have here said."¹²¹

119. *American Historical Magazine*, September, 1906, p. 528.

120. "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon?" p. 7.

121. "History of the Mormons," Smucker, p. 96.

This is Rigdon's challenge, (Mr. Schroeder nowhere deals with it) and while we regret its form we rejoice in its boldness and emphasis. Mr. Patterson was solicited by the Reverend Samuel Williams, when preparing his "Mormonism Exposed," for a statement, and Mr. Patterson gave one and signed it under date of 2nd of April, 1842, but not a word in it of Rigdon or of his connection with the printing establishment, or his association with Lambdin, or of the complaints of Engles about Rigdon "always hanging around the printing office;" not a word about Spaulding and his manuscript. There is but one conclusion to be reached from this silence, viz., there were no such relations to disclose as are contended for by Mr. Schroeder.

The statement of Mrs. Eichbaum is somewhat weakened by the fact that when she gave her statement she was eighty-seven years old and what Mr. Schroeder has implied of memories impaired by age in the case of Mrs. McKinstry, ought to have some application to the testimony of Mrs. Eichbaum. Another consideration weakens it. Taking into account Rigdon's prominence in the public life of Pittsburg from the time of being settled there as the regular pastor of the First Baptist Church, in 1822, up to 1825, the year of Lambdin's death, if any such intimacy had existed between Rigdon and Lambdin as described by Mrs. Eichbaum and contended for by Mr. Schroeder, would not Mrs. Lambdin have had some knowledge of it? "Mrs. Lambdin resided in Pittsburg from her marriage in 1819 to the death of her husband, August 1st, 1825." Yet writing to Mr. Patterson, author of "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon," under date of Jan. 15th, 1882, in response to inquiries as to her recollections of Sidney Rigdon and others she says:

"I am sorry to say I shall not be able to give you any information relative to the persons you name. They certainly could not have been friends of Mr. Lambdin."¹²²

If due weight be given to these considerations, I do not think much importance can attach to the testimony of Mrs. Eichbaum. It simply represents the confused impressions arising

122. "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon?" p. 9.

from the neighborhood gossip and public discussion of the subject, in a mind grown old.

What Mr. Patterson has said at the close of the testimony pro and con, which he presents in his article in the *History of Washington County*, is worth repeating:

“These witnesses are all whom we can find after inquiries extending through some three years who can testify at all to Rigdon’s residence in Pittsburg before 1816, and to his possible employment in Patterson’s printing-office or bindery. Of this employment none of them speak from personal knowledge. In making inquiries among two or three score of the oldest residents of Pittsburg and vicinity, those who had any opinion on the subject invariably, so far as now remembered, repeated the story of Rigdon’s employment in Patterson’s office, as if it were a well-known and admitted fact; they ‘could tell all about it,’ but when pressed as to their personal knowledge of it or their authority for the conviction they had none.”¹²³

The search for evidence was prolonged and thorough; evidently, at the outset, the confidence was great; and the results evidently a disappointment. That becomes more apparent when one reads the foot note of the publishers on Mr. Patterson’s passage above.

“If any one would learn an impressive lesson upon the transitory nature of man’s hold upon the remembrance of his fellow-men, let him engage in an investigation into some matter of local or personal history dating back a half century ago. So rapidly, in the very places where a man has lived and labored, does the recollection of him fade into rumor, or myth, or oblivion. The candid reader will doubtless suspend his judgment on this hitherto accepted theory of Rigdon’s printership, or set it down as, at the most, only probable, but certainly not yet proved.”¹²⁴

To these reflections on how quickly recollections of a man in the place where he wrought some portion of his life’s work fade into myth or rumor, or oblivion, there may be added the other side of the case; let ever so little a circumstance happen to a

123. “Who Wrote the Book of Mormon?” p. 11.

124. *Ibid*, p. 9 foot note.

man in some place where part of his life was passed, and if that man becomes famous, or through any cause becomes notorious, then mark how local gossips and myth-makers spring up on every hand, magnifying the most trivial incidents into events of importance; how new incidents are often invented, which with those that have some foundation in fact are constantly undergoing variations by additions or subtractions or a change in application, until all is distorted, confused and confounded. And many "can tell all about it, until," as Mr. Patterson remarks, "pressed as to their personal knowledge, or their authority for their conviction, then it is discovered they have none." And then one stands face to face with the utter worthlessness of that kind of "evidence" to establish anything good or ill concerning a man, or an event, or a cause. It is out of just such "evidence" as this that Mr. Schroeder and his fellow "Spauldingites," seek to construct for the Book of Mormon an origin other than that vouched for by Joseph Smith and his associates.

DID RIGDON EXHIBIT THE SPAULDING MANUSCRIPT?

Especially out of just such evidence as this grows Mr. Schroeder's next subject—"Sidney Rigdon exhibits Spaulding's manuscript." While Rigdon was at Pittsburg, 1822-3, a Dr. Winters, then teaching school in the town, was in Rigdon's study when the latter took from his desk a large manuscript and said that a Presbyterian minister named Spaulding whose health had failed brought it to a printer to see if it would not pay to publish it—"it is a romance of the Bible," Rigdon is reported to have said. Doctor Winter thought no more about it until the Book of Mormon appeared. Then, of course, "he remembered all about it." Dr. Winter, did not commit his recollections of this interview to writing, though he lived until 1878. But Mr. Schroeder finds "something just as good," a daughter writes out what she had heard her father, Dr. Winters, say about it. This was in 1881, about the time interest was renewed in the subject through the publication of Mrs. Ellen E. Dickinson's article in *Scribner's Magazine* for August, 1880.

Of like import is the story of Mrs. Amous Dunlap, of Warren, Ohio. She wrote in answer to inquiries in December, 1879, to the effect that she visited the Rigdon family at Bainbridge, Ohio, when quite a child, (Mrs. Rigdon was her aunt). One day the following happened:

“During my visit Mr. Rigdon went to his bedroom and took from a trunk, which he kept locked, a certain manuscript. He came into the other room and seated himself by the fire place and commenced reading it. His wife at that moment came into the room and exclaimed, ‘What! you’re studying that thing again?’ or something to that effect. She then added, ‘I mean to burn that paper.’ He said, ‘No, indeed, you will not. This will be a great thing some day!’”¹²⁵

Mr. Schroeder introduces this as one of his items of evidence that Mr. Rigdon foreknew of the forthcoming and contents of the Book of Mormon. The thing that destroys the effect of it is, the undoubted fact that if Sidney Rigdon was engaged in such a scheme as Mr. Schroeder charges he was, then Mrs. Rigdon must have known of it. Now when Mr. Rigdon had before him in 1830 the question of what should be his relationship to Mormonism, and he had decided that it was true and that he would accept it, he naturally was concerned as to what Mrs. Rigdon’s attitude would be in the matter, and when he broached the subject to her “he was happy to find that she was not only diligently investigating the subject, but was believing with all her heart, and was desirous of obeying the truth.”¹²⁶ If it be urged by Mr. Schroeder, as it is most likely to be, that the conversion of Mrs. Rigdon, like that of her husband, was but a sham, a pre-arranged affair, that she as well as Mr. Rigdon fore-knew of the forth-coming of the Book of Mormon, then the scene at Bainbridge, described by Mrs. Dunlap as taking place, supposedly because of Mr. Rigdon’s absorption in Spaulding’s manuscript, has no place in the scheme of things to be supported by Mr. Schroeder’s contention. But I have referred to this and the Dr. Winter episode merely as illustrations of how variations and additions multiply upon myths when once started. And so

^{125.} Ibid, p. 12.

^{126.} *Millennial Star*, vol. XIV, supplement, p. 48.

it will continue to be as long as there is a relative who had a relative who heard something about what some one else had said of Rigdon's connection with Patterson and Spaulding; that is, new variations of the story will be constantly appearing.

DID RIGDON FORE-KNOW THE COMING AND CONTENTS OF THE BOOK OF MORMON?

This question is more worthy of consideration than the last, because associated with it is a man of character, Alexander Campbell. In the *Millenial Harbinger* of 1844, at page 39, is a letter quoted by Mr. Schroeder, bearing date of January 22, 1841, from Adamson Bently, in which the following passage occurs:

"I know that Sidney Rigdon told me there was a book coming out, the manuscript of which had been found engraved on gold plates, as much as two years before the Mormon book made its appearance or had been heard of by me."

It must be remembered that Bently and Rigdon married sisters, that they had family troubles in respect of property, as already explained,¹²⁷ and were rival preachers, all which would go far to discredit Bently's charge if his charge stood by itself. Alexander Campbell, however, was the editor of the *Millenial Harbinger* at this time, and in an editorial note on the above mentioned letter, lays the weight of his unqualified confirmation upon it. He says:

"The conversation alluded to in Brother Bently's letter of 1841 was in my presence as well as in his, and my recollection of it led me some two or three years ago, to interrogate Brother Bently touching his recollections of it, which accorded with mine in every particular except the year in which it occurred, he placing it in the summer of 1827, I, in the summer of 1826, Rigdon at the same time observing that in the plates dug up in New York there was an account not only of the aborigines of this country, but also it was stated that the Christian religion had been preached in this country during the first century just as we were preaching it on the Western Reserve."

127. See note 52, etc., and *Evening and Morning Star*, p. 301.

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL AND THE BOOK OF MORMON IN 1831

This is Mr. Schroeder's strongest "evidence," and must be met at its full height and value. In 1831, in this same *Millennial Harbinger*, vol. II, beginning at p. 86, is an exhaustive review and analysis of the Book of Mormon, and the most powerful critique of it ever published. It is by the Reverend Alexander Campbell. After giving an analysis of each book, in the Book of Mormon, from Nephi I to Moroni, the last book in it, he then starts an investigation of its "internal evidences," and in the first subdivision he begins in this language: "Smith, its real author, as ignorant and impudent a knave as ever wrote a book, betrays the cloven foot in basing his whole book upon a false fact." Then he proceeds with the argument. In closing his argument on the "internal evidence" he uses the following language:

"The book proposes to be written at intervals and by different persons, during the long period of 1020 years, and yet for uniformity of style, there never was a book more evidently written by one set of fingers, nor more certainly conceived in one cranium since the first book appeared in human language, than this same book. If I could swear to any man's voice, face, or person, assuming different names, I could swear that this book was written by one man. And as Joseph Smith is a very ignorant man and is called the 'author' on the title page, I cannot doubt for a single moment but that he is sole 'author' and 'proprietor' of it."

Mr. Campbell also considers the testimony of the three witnesses, and of the eight witnesses, and denounces them. He is acquainted with the whole subject. He knows that it was claimed for the record that it was engraved on gold plates; that they were found buried in a stone box in New York; that an account is given in the record of the gospel having been preached in America in the first christian century—for all these things are subjects of his criticism. He criticises nearly every important doctrine and historical event in the book. He revels in his criticism, and near the conclusion of the whole says:

"If this Prophet and his three prophetic witnesses had aught

of speciosity about them or their book, we would have examined it and exposed it in a different manner. I have never felt so fully authorized to address mortal man in the style in which Paul addressed Elymas, the sorcerer, as I feel towards **this** athiest Smith."

And now question to Mr. Campbell, and to Mr. Schroeder: Could the event described in the letter of Mr. Bently and confirmed by Mr. Campbell's editorial note, have happened in 1826 or 1827 without Mr. Campbell remembering it in 1831 when he wrote this scathing review and critique on the Book of Mormon? Let it be held in mind here how explicit the charge of Bently is. More than two years before the Book of Mormon made its appearance Rigdon told Bently "there was a book coming out the manuscript of which had been found on gold plates." Campbell was present and heard this remark, and also says that Rigdon at the same time observed that "the plates were dug up in New York," and that "the christian religion had been preached in this country during the first christian century, just as we were preaching it on the western reserve." Had these things been said in the presence of Alexander Campbell, two years before the Book of Mormon came out, and so said that they made such a lasting impression upon his mind that in 1844 he remembered them perfectly—will any reasonable person undertake to say that under the strong stress of feeling exhibited by Alexander Campbell against the Book of Mormon in 1831, remembering too that this same Sidney Rigdon had left the Campbellites and joined the Mormon Church—under these circumstances, will any person, reasonable or otherwise, say that during the writing of this long and bitter criticism of the Book of Mormon in 1831 the association of ideas and incidents would not have asserted itself and recalled this alleged Bently-Rigdon incident to the mind of Alexander Campbell? Yet not one word in the Campbell review of 1831, to indicate that the Bently-Rigdon incident ever happened.

Yet as he proceeded with his review, it would have been inevitable that he would have discovered Rigdon's forth-promised book—"the manuscript of which had been found engraved on gold plates." "Why, yes," he would have said, "that must

be the book that Rigdon spoke to Bently about.” He read in the preface to the first edition of the Book of Mormon—and Mr. Campbell made a specialty of this preface in his criticism—“I would also inform you that the plates of which hath been spoken were found in the township of Manchester, Ontario county, New York”—“Yes, I remember,” Mr. Campbell would have exclaimed—“dug up in New York”—“I remember, that is what Sidney Rigdon said to Adamson Bently two or three years ago.” He came to the account of the appearance of the risen Messiah among the aborigines of America; to the choosing of a ministry and commissioning them to preach the Gospel to all the people—“Yes” he would have exclaimed, “it is all here; that is what Rigdon said in that Bently conversation in 1826 or 1827,—‘the christian religion had been preached in this country during the first century, just as we are preaching it on the western reserve’—those were his very words, and now Rigdon has joined the movement of which the coming forth of this book is a leading incident! Well! well!”

Would not such have been the mental process? And would we not, in that event, have had the Book of Mormon criticised by Mr. Campbell in 1831, from quite a different view-point than that from which he treated it? Anyone who can believe that Campbell could remember such an incident as the Bently-Rigdon incident he recites in 1844, and yet that he failed to remember it under all the circumstances of writing his review of the Book of Mormon in 1831, need not stagger over believing any seeming miracle within the experience of man, however extravagant it may be.

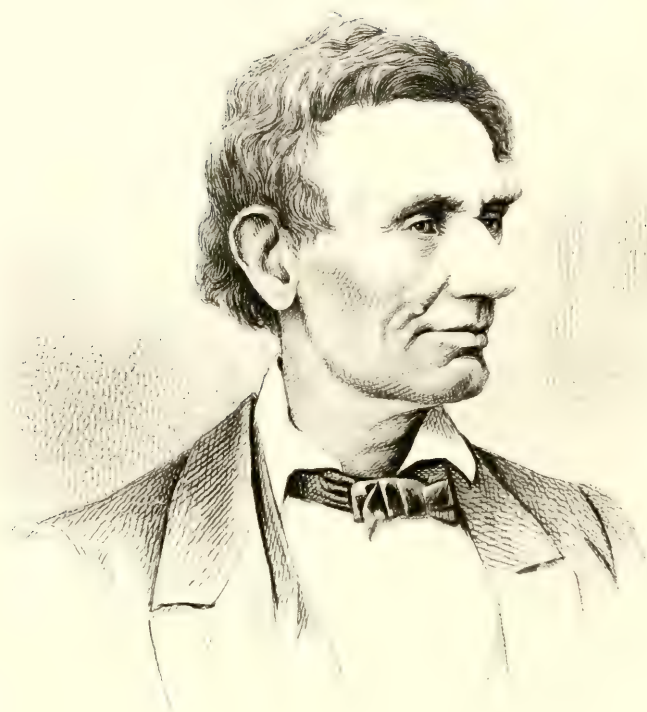
I shall never be able to express in words the deep depression that overcame me when the conviction of Alexander Campbell’s perfidy was forced upon me. In my early manhood I had read extensively in his works. The evidence he compiled and the argument he made in his great debate with Robert Owen, the English Communist, I regard as the grandest defense ever made of historic Christianity, while his debate with Bishop Purcell on the The Roman Catholic Religion is justly described as the “battle of the giants.” In these and in his debates with William McCalla and the Reverend N. L. Rice, his

bearing is admirable; he is the courteous gentleman, the splendid scholar, the patient philosopher, the fair opponent. In discussing the Book of Mormon, he exhibits a vulgarity, a bitterness utterly unaccountable, and entirely unworthy of himself; and lastly, and saddest of all, he descends to the low subterfuge of falsehood as in this Bently-Rigdon affair.

One may halt here. The Reverend Mr. Atwater quoted by Mr. Schroeder may now tell his little story, in 1873, of his "recollection" of Sidney Rigdon's reference to the mounds and other antiquities found in some parts of America, and of his saying before the Book of Mormon was published that "there was a book to be published containing an account of these things." Dr. Rosa of Painsville, Ohio, also quoted by Mr. Schroeder, can now tell, in 1841, of a conversation he had with Sidney Rigdon in the early part of 1830, about it being time for a new religion to spring up that "mankind were rife, and ready for it;" and air his suspicions that Rigdon found his "new religion" in Mormonism, and on that and a remembrance of a casual remark of Rigdon's that he expected to be absent from home a few months, build his conclusion that Rigdon "was at least an accessory, if not the principal in getting up this farce"¹²⁸—of Mormonism. All this I say may be said by these "witnessess," but it is of no effect; for if sectarian prejudice and bitterness and jealousy, coupled with intellectual pride, can so swerve Alexander Campbell from the path direct of truth and fair dealing, it is not to be marveled at if a thousand little Reverend whif-fets spring forward with their timely "recollections," that make against the truth.

(To be Continued.)

¹²⁸. *American Historical Magazine*, November, 1906, p. 532.



TWO LINCOLN PORTRAITS

THE two Lincoln steel plate portraits which are printed in this number of the AMERICAN HISTORICAL MAGAZINE are exceptionally interesting. Both of them are unique inasmuch as neither has been heretofore published in its present form. For that reason they must be particularly attractive to all admirers of Lincoln and an exceptionally important contribution to Lincoln pictorial history in this Lincoln anniversary year.

The frontispiece bust portrait is from a drawing which was made from life by A. de Szzetter of New York. It is not only an artistic piece of work but it is remarkably strong in expressive likeness, particularly exhibiting the homely good nature which so preeminently characterized the features of the martyred president.

The other print is an engraving from a Brady photograph which was taken in Washington in the early days of Lincoln's presidency. It may have been the first photograph of the president taken after he entered upon office. As it appears in this print, it is unique. A reproduction of the head and upper part of the body was made years ago as a half-tone illustration, but the exact reproduction as it appears in this full life-seated figure, has never before been published.

THE LITERATURE OF COLONIAL VIRGINIA

BY CARL HOLLIDAY*

[This essay was awarded the Colonial Dames' prize for the best brief treatise on a subject dealing with colonial Virginia. I have thought that it might prove of considerable interest not only to Virginians, but also to natives of various other southern states, of which Virginia calls herself the "mother." At present there is a growing curiosity to know more about the hopes, the aspirations, the intellectual endeavors, the spirit of those pioneers who struggled to found a civilization amid the forests of the Old Dominion; and a clearer view cannot be obtained than that found by a study of the quaint writings of those old days. I have therefore endeavored to present, in an interesting way, the thoughts and emotions of the time, as written down by our virile but not highly artistic forefathers. Daintiness may be lacking, but genuine life never. It is my hope that this brief study may arouse other southern students to investigate the southern foundations of American literature just as the New England foundations have been examined—with minuteness, with accuracy, with enthusiasm.—THE AUTHOR.]

I

(1607-1676)

IT has been remarked that American Literature is distinctly different in its origin from any other literature the world has ever known. The development of every other national body of letters has been like the growth of a child; it has passed through a period of simplicity and even of *naivete* into a stage where it was conscious of its general trend and of its intellectual efforts. Certainly the first literature was not known to be literature by its creators. The heroic epics, the rough sagas, the homely ballads, the Iliad, the Beowulf, the songs of

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Robin Hood—these were in the beginning the unconscious efforts of a people striving to express its emotions and its ideals. But American literature in its birth was very different. It was a conscious effort from the beginning; it was a written literature from its earliest conception. Let us not, therefore, expect to find in these first intellectual endeavors masterpieces wrought out from the accumulated deeds, thoughts, and emotions of a thousand previous years of struggles, victories, and defeats.

“Its origin does not lie in the crude utterances of a virile but half-savage race; but rather in its very beginnings it was the product of a cultured, enlightened people. In character it was not a pure growth of the native soil, and it had not and never has had, as a whole, the national originality, the unmistakable native note, such as is found in the writings of France or Germany or England.”¹

What, then, was the nature of these earliest writings? The answer is briefly, a literature of information. When that little group of bold adventurers assembled in London during Christmas week, 1606, to prepare for the dangerous voyage and for the still more dangerous experiment in a far-away wilderness they must have felt that the eyes of all Europe were upon them. Drayton, the poet-laureate, declared that they were going forth to found a new nation and a new literature, and he spoke with more truth than he realized.

It was in England an age of great mental activity. Shakespeare yet lived; Francis Bacon thought and wrote; Milton was soon to come. Almost daily some new discovery was announced and before the eyes of an amazed people the world had suddenly doubled its area. There was a quiver in the air; a stimulating spirit pervaded all; and every one expected and indeed longed for marvelous revelations. Need I say again that our first literature was one of information? How the people longed for news from this strange land across the seas! For curious, yes, almost unbelievable, tales of wealth and wonders had been borne back. And moreover, how crowded and how poor were

1. Holliday's "History of Southern Literature," p. 15.

the English common folk. "The people," said a preacher of the day, "doe swarm in the land as young bees in a hive in June, the mighty overcoming the weak." The ruling classes, the Church, the common people; all were anxious to find greater room and greater opportunity. As Professor Moses Coit Tyler says,² "royal influence of favor and disfavor swayed largely these new and feeble currents of English life and letters which were astir beyond the Atlantic."

Because of all this we find an astonishingly large amount of writings from the scattered colonies of America. True it was not a literature of the high creative type; not many even dared to attempt poetry, as did one R. Rich, gentleman, who in his "Newes from Virginia" sang the colony's praises in such words as these:

"Great store of fowls, of venison, of grapes and mulberries, Chestnuts, walnuts and such like, of fruits and strawberries."

Perhaps it was well that not many others tempted the muse! But of letters and tracts and small books there was a host. Like the American tourist of to-day, every sojourner in the Virginia colony was moved by the spirit to write an epistle. However, the quality of these efforts—I speak of those in prose,—was surprisingly good; for, almost without exception, they were composed in strong, energetic English and had in them an element of new life and great wonder that does not fail to attract even in our own day.

And who were these beginners of a new literature? Who set moving that spirit which produced a Hawthorne and a Poe, a Bryant and a Lanier, a Webster and a Calhoun? Not literary men, be it noted at the very beginning of this study; not even book-lovers; but men of action, actors in worldly affairs, soldiers of fortune. Generally a hero does the deed and leaves it to another man to tell. But we of America have ever been an original people, especially in the way of self-advertising, and we shall find our earliest heroes not only furnishing the deed, but recounting it also.

2. "History of American Literature."

Rufus Choate has said that when the Pilgrim Fathers larded, they "first fell upon their knees and then upon their aborigines." The Virginia colonists did neither. They were noted neither for piety nor energetic cruelty. Gay, reckless, not given to work, but ever seeking adventure, they seemingly were poor material for the foundation of a lasting nation. And had it not been for the firm ability of one man, that foundation might speedily have crumbled.

JOHN SMITH

The significant hint of the future democracy of American life and letters has been noted in the fact that the first leader and writer in the Virginia colony bore that most democratic of all names, John Smith.³ John Smith was a strange mingling of the audacious warrior and poetic cavalier. He was born in Wiltoughby, England, in 1579. While still a boy he enlisted in a war against the Turks; and until his twenty-seventh year he was a purposeless wanderer in search of adventure. But in this year he joined the Virginia expedition, and henceforth his life was to count for much in the progress of the world. Bold, versatile, persevering, he soon proved his fitness to be the leader of the struggling settlement in the wilderness. But for his unceasing activities in directing every movement, the colony undoubtedly would have perished; and yet amidst all his supervision of forest-clearing, house-building, trading, enforcing of colonial laws, explorations, and quelling of rebellions, he found time to write. "A rustless, vain, ambitious, overbearing, blustering fellow, who made all men either his hot friends, or his hot enemies," he nevertheless belonged to that sane and wholesome class of men that can both do and express."⁴

Smith remained with the colonists two years and returned to England in the fall of 1609. Remaining there until 1614, he then went to the New England coast, returned with a map of the section about Cape Cod, and proposed to found a colony in that territory. The expedition was ruined, however, by French pirates, who captured the ships and sent the captain to prison

3. Holliday's "History of Southern Literature," p. 20.

4. Holliday's "History of Southern Literature," p. 21.

in Rochelle. Escaping to England, Smith found there an ill-concealed feeling of bitterness toward himself; for the unfortunate attempt had brought sorrow into many an English home. But as the years passed, and the colonies at length began to prosper, his past endeavors were looked upon with more justice, and he came to be considered one of the greatest authorities on explorations and colonization. To use the words of Moses Coit Tyler, truly he was "not a doer who is a dumb, not a speechmaker who cannot do."⁵ His life, so full of events, closed in 1631.

Of course, John Smith's writings cannot come under the head of *belles-lettres*. But such works as "A True Relation of Virginia" (1608), "A Map of Virginia" (1612), "New England's Trials" (1620), and "A Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles" (1624) are of such historical importance that they are not likely ever to be neglected by American scholars. And, aside from their historical attractiveness, they possess no small charm in their very expression. "'The True Relation' possesses something of the charm of 'Robinson Crusoe.'"⁶ Dealing as it does with Indian adventures, travels into an unexplored wilderness, the building of forest-dwellings, the coming and going of friends, the dealings with a savage people, it is in fact the story of primitive life, of a returning once more to nature and a starting all over. Evidently John Smith was interested in his work; and his book, though scarcely more than a tract, and not at all an intentional literary effort, is a manly, cheerful, and hardy contribution to letters.

The "True Relation" was first sold in 1608 at "the Greyhound in Paul's Church-Yard," on almost the very day of Milton's birth and within three blocks of his birth-place. About three months later a ship arrived from London bearing a letter of complaint from the London stock-holders of the Virginia Company. Why had not revenue begun to come in? What was the trouble in Virginia? Professor Moses Coit Tyler has given

5. Tyler's "History of American Literature," Vol. I, p. 119.

6. Holliday's "History of Southern Literature," p. 22.

Smith's reply the appropriate name of "Hotspur rhetoric." There is no mistaking the ring of the doughty Captain's voice:

"For the charge of this voyage of two or three thousand pounds we have not received the value of an hundred pounds. . . . From our ship we had not provision in victuals worth twenty pounds; and we are more than two hundred to live upon this, the one half sick, the other little better. For the sailors, I confess they daily make good cheer: but our diet is a little meal and water, and not sufficient of that . . . Captain Rutcliffe is now called Sicklemore . . . I have sent you him home lest the company should cut his throat . . . When you send again, I entreat you rather send but thirty carpenters, husbandmen, gardeners, fishermen, blacksmiths, masons, and diggers-up of trees' roots, well provided, than a thousand of such as we have; for except we be able both to lodge them and feed them, the most will consume with want of necessaries, before they can be made good for anything. . . . These are the causes that have kept us in Virginia from laying such a foundation that ere this might have given much better content and satisfaction; but as yet you must not look for any profitable returns."⁷

But Smith was not merely an unabashed defender of hazardous undertakings. He had the ability to describe in vivid words the strange scenes about him. In his "Map of the Bay and the Rivers, with an Annexed Relation of the Countries and Nations That Inhabit Them" [such were titles in the good old days], he tells most interestingly of many characteristics of the lands and people. See his description of old Chief Powhatan:

"He is of personage, a tall, well proportioned man, with a sour look, his head somewhat gray, his beard so thin that it seemeth none at all, his age near sixty; of a very able and hardy body to endure any labor. About his person ordinarily attendeth a guard of forty or fifty of the tallest men his country doth afford. Every night upon the four quarters of his house are four sentinels, each from other a slight shoot, and at every half hour one from the *corps de garde* doth halloo, shaking his lips with his finger between them; unto whom every sentinel doth answer round from his stand. If any fail they presently send forth an officer that beateth him extremely."⁸

7. "Generall Historie of Virginia," I.

8. "Generall Historie of Virginia," I.

Just here let us hear the captain's description of the truly immortal deed of Pocahontas, the daughter of this Powhatan. And as we read let us remember that it is the first romance in American literature.

"Here more than two hundred of those grim Courtiers stood wondering at him [Smith], as he had been a monster; till Powhatan and his train had put themselves in their greatest braveries. Before a fire upon a seat like a bedstead, he sat covered with a great robe, made of Rarowcun skinnes, and all the tayles hanging by. On either hand did sit a young wench of 16 or 18 years, and along on each side the house, two rows of men, and behind them as many women, with all their heads and shoulders painted red; many of their heads bedecked with the white downe of Birds; but every one with something; and a great chain of white beads about their necks. At his entrance before the King, all the people gave a great shout. The Queen of Appamatuck was appointed to bring him water to wash his hands, and another brought him a bunch of feathers, instead of a towel to dry them. Having feasted him after their best barbarous manner they could, a long consultation was held, but the conclusion was, two great stones were brought before Powhatan: then as many as could laid hands on him, dragged him to them, and thereon laid his head and being ready with their clubs, to beate out his brains, Pocahontas, the King's dearest daughter, when no entreaty could prevaile, got his head in her armes, and laid her owne upon his to save him from death; whereat the Emperour was contented he should live to make him hatchets, and her bells, beads and copper.

What shall we say of such a man? Too hot-blooded, too active to be a student and a master of literature, he was able, nevertheless, by this very spiritedness and exuberant enjoyment of life's activities to leave to all succeeding writers of America a most virile and happy example of vigorously expressed thoughts and expressions. Even the writers of his own nation and time did not fail to recognize the latent possibilities of his many wonderful adventures, and used them without stint. "They have acted my fatal tragedies upon the stage, and racked my relations at their pleasure,"¹⁰ he once complained and it was

9. "Generall Historie of Virginia," III.

10. "Epistle Dedicatory, True Travels."

true. "Hasty and boastful as he was, we find in him a man of many noble qualities, an adventurer ready and willing, a hero according to many tests."¹¹

GEORGE PERCY

Among the venturesome spirits that sailed with Captain Smith on the memorable nineteenth of December, 1606, there was a young man scarcely twenty years old, named George Percy. He was from a famous family in English history, his ancestors for at least eight generations having been Earls of Northumberland; and he himself in his career as a soldier in the Netherlands had proved that the valiant blood had lost none of its strength. And in Virginia, too, he showed such traits of leadership that next to the incomparable Smith, he was considered the ablest man in the colony. When Smith returned to England in the fall of 1609, Percy, young as he was, was chosen president and governor, and served well in that office until the arrival of Sir Thomas Gates, in May, 1610.

And why should this young adventurer be brought into a discourse on colonial literature? Well, like many another traveler of his day, and of later days too, he wrote an account of his sight-seeing—"A Discourse of the Plantation of the Southern Colony in Virginia by the English." Part of the work appeared in "Purchas' Pilgrimes," in 1625, and unfortunately the remainder is lost; but what we have is indeed interesting. How clearly the sufferings of the founders of this nation are brought before us. Hear his words:

"Our men were destroyed with cruel diseases as swellings, fixes, burning fevers, and by wars, and some departed suddenly; but for the most part they died of mere famine. There were never Englishmen left in a foreign country in such miserie as we were in this new discovered Virginia. We watched every three nights lying on the bare, cold ground, what weather soever came warded all the next day, which brought our men to be most feeble wretches. Our food was but a small Can of Barley sod in water to five men a day, our drink cold water taken out of the River, which was at a flood very salt, at a low tide full

11. Holliday's "History of Southern Literature," p. 125.

of slime and filth, which was the destruction of many of our men. Thus we lived for the space of five months in this miserable distress, not having five able men to man our Bulwarks upon any occasion. If it had not pleased God to have put a terror in the Salvages hearts, we had all perished by those wild and cruel Pagans, being in that weak estate as we were, our men night and day groaning in every corner of the Fort most pitiful to hear. If there were any conscience in men, it would make their hearts to bleed to hear the pitiful murmurings and outcries of our sick men without relief, every night and day for the space of six weeks, some departing out of the world, many times three or four in a night, in the morning their bodies trailed out of their Cabins like Dogs, to be buried. In this sort did I see the mortality of divers of our people.”¹²

But it is not all sadness, this story of Percy’s. He lingers at times over the details of the strange conditions of the country and over the characteristics of the curious people who inhabit it. Note the fashions of “salvage” ladies in the land of the great chief, the Werowance of Rapahanna:

“There is notice to be taken to know married women from Maids. The Maids you shall always see the fore part of their head and sides shaven close, the hinder part very long, which they tie in a plait hanging down to their hips. The married women wear their hair all of a length, and is tied of that fashion that the Maids’ are. The women kind in this Country doth pounce and race their bodies, legs, thighs, arms, and faces, with a sharp iron, which makes a stamp in curious knots, and draws the proportion of Fowls, Fish, or Beasts; thin with paintings of sundry lively colors, they rub it into the stamp, which will never be taken away, because it is dried into the flesh, where it is sered.”¹³

We may not linger longer over these curious tales of Percy. Have not the quotations given shown that he, like Captain Smith, possessed a mastery of clear, lively English and an ability to present graphic pictures? Surely these men of action give great show of proof to that oft-repeated, even if misquoted, expression: “Style is the man.”

12. Purchas’ “Pilgrimes.”

13. Ibid.

WILLIAM STRACHEY

Some men are made famous through being mentioned by famous men. This was almost the case with one, William Strachey, who sailed on the good ship *Sea Venture* on the fifteenth of May, 1609. Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers were in command of that minature fleet of nine small vessels, and with such capable leaders the band of colonists hoped to land at Jamestown within the usual three months. But the elements heed doughty English knights no more than other "folk that sail the sea," and eleven long months passed before the broken wreck of the expedition drifted into Jamestown.

Overcome by storms, the ships were scattered far and wide, and the little *Sea Venture* was cast, a shivered hulk, upon the Bermuda coast. But such men as Gates and Strachey were not easily daunted. After spending the winter there they built from the wreckage of the ship two clumsy, little boats, and sailed for Jamestown. Any history of America tells what distress they found there and how they all were about to desert when Lord De La Warr came with supplies and longed-for friends; but, unfortunately, every history does not tell of that fearful voyage across the sea. Let us hear it in Strachey's own words—from his "True Reportory of the Wracke and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates, Kt., upon and from the Islands of the Bermudas; his coming to Virginia, and the Estate of that Colony then and after under the government of Lord La Warr" (1610).¹⁴ The title seems a bit forbidding to us concise people of the twentieth century; but the story does not depend upon the title for merit. We are on the verge of the storm:

"On St. James his day, July 24, being Monday (preparing for no less all the black night before) the clouds gathering thick upon us, and the winds singing and whistling most unusually, . . . a dreadful storm and hideous began to blow from out the Northeast, which, swelling and roaring as it were by fits, . . . at length did beat all light from heaven, which like an hell of darkness, turned black upon us, so much the more fuller of horror, as in such cases horror and fear use to overrun the

14. Purchas' "Pilgrimes."

troubled and overmastered senses of all, which (taken up with amazement) the ears lay so sensible to the terrible cries, and murmurs of the winds and distraction of our Company as who was most armed and best prepared was not a little shaken. . . .

“For four and twenty hours the storm, in a restless tumult, had blown so exceedingly, as we could not apprehend in our imaginations any possibility of greater violence, yet did we still find it, not only more terrible, but more constant, fury added to fury, and one storm urging a second, more outrageous than the former, whether it so wrought upon our fears, or indeed met with new forces. Sometimes strikes in our Ship amongst women, and passengers not used to such hurly and discomforts, made us look one upon the other with troubled hearts and panting bosoms, our clamors drowned in the winds, and the winds in thunder. Prayers might well be in the heart and lips, but drowned in the outcries of the Officers,—nothing heard that could give comfort, nothing seen that might encourage hope. . . .

“Howbeit this was not all; it pleased God to bring a greater affliction yet upon us, for in the beginning of the storm we had received likewise a mighty leak, and the ship in every joint almost having spewed out her Okam, before we were aware . . . was grown five foot suddenly deep with water above her ballast, and we almost drowned within, whilst we sat looking when to perish from above. This, imparting no less terror than danger, ran through the whole Ship with much fright and amazement, startled and turned the blood and took down the braves of the most hardy Mariner of them all, insomuch as he that before happily felt not the sorrow of others, now began to sorrow for himself, when he saw such a pond of water so suddenly broken in, and which he knew could not (without present avoiding) but instantly sink him. . . .

“Once so huge a Sea brake upon the poop and quarter, upon us, as it covered our ship from stern to stem, like a garment or a vast cloud. It filled her brimful for a while within, from the hatches up to the spar deck. This force or confluence of water was so violent, as it rushed and carried the Helm man from the Helm and wrested the Whipstaffe out of his hand, which so flew from side to side, then when he would have seized the same again, it so tossed him from starboard to larboard, as it was God’s mercy it had not split him. It so beat him from his hold, and so bruised him, as a fresh man hazarding in by chance fell fair with it and by main strength bearing somewhat up, made good his place, and with much clamor encouraged and called up-

on others, who gave her now up, rent in pieces and absolutely lost.”¹⁵

William Strachey wrote other works, such as his “For the Colony in Virginea Britannia; Laws Divine, Morall, and Martiall” (1612), and his “Historie of Travaile in Virginea Britannia,”¹⁶ (1618?), but he never wrote anything more vivid than the description of the storm. Evidently Shakespeare was of the same opinion; for turn to the opening scenes of “The Tempest” and see if the master has not used that wild word-picture. We Americans are noted for our plentiful stock of ideas, and even in our very infancy we gave Shakespeare one or two!

ALEXANDER WHITAKER

Goldsmith has portrayed his ideal clergyman in these words:

“Unpracticed he to fawn, or seek for power
By doctrines fashioned to the varying hour;
Far other aims his heart had learned to prize,
More skilled to raise the wretched than to rise.”

Alexander Whitaker, (1585-1617), was such a man. “Of all the figures in early colonial history, with the possible exception of Roger Williams, this man showed the most God-like characteristics, the most sincere spirit of sacrifice, and the most unflagging zeal for the up-lifting of his brother-men.”¹⁷

A graduate of Cambridge University, where his father, William Whitaker, had long been master of St. John's College, he had early gained a comfortable parish in northern England, and, through his family connection, his capacity for leadership, and his broad learning, might quickly have risen to a lofty position in the service of the English Church. But there was an ever-growing conviction in the man's heart that his God was calling him to the new world, and “to the wonder of his kindred and amazement of all that knew him,”¹⁸ he resigned his pleasant living and all his brilliant prospects, and came as a

15. Purchas' “Pilgrimes.”

16. Publications of the Hakluyt Society, (1849).

17. Holliday's “History of Southern Literature,” p. 29.

18. Crashawe's “Epistle Dedicatory”; Whitaker's “Good Newes.”

missionary with Sir Thomas Dale, in May, 1611. Well may he be called "the apostle to Virginia." Laboring with all his heart, undertaking every duty no matter how humble, a living example of his own preaching, he set before the Indians and the colonists, too, such a practical form of Christianity that the entire community felt the direct effects. It was while going the round of his heavy duties that he met his death by drowning, in June, 1617.

It is no small fame to have been the preacher who baptized Pocahontas and married that dusky maid to John Rolfe, and thus to have given rise to the vast majority of Virginia's leading families! But it is not because of his being the innocent cause of so much earthly pride that we consider Alexander Whitaker in a study of early Virginia literature; rather is it because in his zeal he contributed to our earliest literature some of its most interesting pages. In 1613 there appeared in London a little book entitled "Good Newes from Virginia." Its sincerity and earnestness cannot be doubted. Taking a text, like the preacher that he is, he expounds most vigorously upon the duties of Englishmen toward their benighted brethren, and produces indeed a "pithy and godly exhortation interlaced with narratives of many particulars touching the country, climate, and commodities."¹⁹

"If we consider," he writes, "the almost miraculous beginning and continuance of this plantation we must needs confess that God hath opened this passage unto us and led us by the hand unto this work. For the mariners that were sent hither first to discover this Bay of Chesapeake found it only by the mere directions of God's providence; for I heard one of them confess that even then, when they were entered within the mouth of the Bay, they deemed the place they sought for to have been many degrees further. The finding was not so strange, but the continuance and upholding of it hath been most wonderful. I may fitly compare it to the growth of an infant, which hath been afflicted from his birth with some grievous sickness that many times no hope of life hath remained and yet it liveth still. Again if there were nothing else to encourage us, yet this one thing may stir us up to go on cheerfully with it: that the devil is a

19. Crashawe's "Epistle Dedicatory"; Whitaker's "Good Newes."

capital enemy against it, and continually seeketh which way to hinder the prosperity and good proceedings of it. Yea, hath heretofore so far prevailed by his instruments, the covetous hearts of many backsliding adventurers at home, and also by his servants here—some striving for superiority, others by murmurings, mutinies, and plain treasons, and others by fornication, profaneness, idleness and such monstrous sins—that he had almost thrust out of his kingdom, and had indeed quitted this land of us, if God had not then (as one awakened out of sleep) stood up and sent us means of great help when we needed most, and expected least relief.

“Let the miserable condition of these naked slaves of the devil move you to compassion toward them. They acknowledge that there is a great good God but know Him not, having the eyes of their understanding as yet blinded; wherefore they serve the devil for fear after a most base manner, sacrificing sometimes (as I have here heard) their own children to him. . . . Their priests (whom they call Quiokosoughs) are no other but such as our English witches are. They live naked in body, as if their shame of their sin deserved no covering. Their names are as naked as their body. . . .

“ . . . They are of body lusty, strong and very nimble: they are a very understanding generation, quick of apprehension, sudden in their dispatches, subtle in their dealings, exquisite in their inventions, and industrious in their labor. I suppose the world hath no better marksmen with their bow and arrows than they be; they will kill birds flying, fishes swimming and beasts running: they shoot also with marvellous strength. They shot one of our men (being unarmed) quite through the body and nailed both his arms to his body with one arrow. . . . The service of their God is answerable to their life being performed with great fear and attention and many strange dumb shows used in the same, stretching forth their limbs and straining their body much like to the counterfeit women in England who feign themselves bewitched or possessed of some evil spirit.”²⁰

Thus the little book continues. His plea for the savages has a certain sense of dignity about it, a certain disinterestedness and high nobility. But we of to-day find more pleasure in such interesting descriptions as those just read; for here all stiffness, all conventionality of style, all signs of affectation are lost

20. “Good Newes from Virginia.”

in the genuine wonder in which the cultured Cambridge man stands before the naked savage of the wilderness. Such meetings were not unusual in that time. The days of Shakespeare had many such characters as Whitaker,—men of superior intellectual power, who in a quieter age might have become zealous students and deep thinkers and elegant writers, but who in those days of marvelous discoveries and wild adventures, felt called upon to go forth “to dare and to do.”

JOHN ROLFE

Even in a paper dealing with so limited a field as ours one may not discuss in deserved detail all the interesting writings of those old days. I have said in opening this study that their number was legion. We may not linger over gentle John Rolfe, who, in such a plain yet winsome manner, told why he married the first American heroine, Pocahontas. Read some time the quaint “Coppie of the gentle-man’s letters to Sir Thomas Dale, that after married Powhatan’s daughter, containing the reasons moving him thereunto.”²¹ Suffice to say here that though not “ignorant of the heavie displeasure which almighty God conceived against the sons of Levie and Israel for marrying strange wives, nor of the inconveniences which may thereby arise,” he confesses that he can have no rest until he makes her a Christian; that is—his wife.

R. RICH

I have quoted sparingly from R. Rich’s alleged “poem,” “Newes from Virginia;” but again the limited length of this study will not allow me to linger over his work; for which both R. Rich and we ourselves are to be congratulated, as neither would find great joy in the investigation. It is enough to declare that his efforts literally contain more truth than poetry.

COLONEL NORWOOD

Another of these numerous writers whom we shall have to pass with but a word was a certain or rather a very uncertain

21. Printed in Hamor’s “True Discourse” (1615).

Colonel Norwood. Almost nothing is known of the man save that he was a near relative of the famous Governor Berkeley and made a dangerous voyage to America in 1649. Hear these few words from his "Voyage to Virginia" (1650?).²²

" . . . the famine grew sharp upon us. Women and children made dismal cries and grievous complaints. The infinite number of rats that all the voyage had been our plague, we now were glad to make our prey to feed on; and as they were ensnared and taken, a well grown rat was sold for sixteen shillings as a market rate. Nay, before the voyage did end (as I was credibly inform'd) a woman great with child offered twenty shillings for a rat, which the proprietor refusing, the woman died.

"My greatest impatience was of thirst, and my dreams were all of cellars, and taps running down my throat, which made my waking much the worse by that tantalizing fancy. Some relief I found very real by the captain's favour in allowing me a share of some butts of small claret he had concealed in a private cellar for a dead lift. It wanted a mixture of water for qualifying it to quench thirst, however, it was a present remedy, and a great refreshment to me."

JOHN PORY

This speaking of wine-cellar and flowing taps and butts of claret is not at all a bad introduction to the study of another writer of colonial Virginia. His name was John Pory, and, according to his friends, he followed altogether too much "the custom of strong potations." Indeed he seemed to be on the road to ruin when certain of these friends secured for him the position of secretary of the Virginia colony. Born about 1570, he was graduated from Cambridge University, where he received also the master's degree, and for some time made a special study of history, geography, and commerce. He was a brilliant man, the efficient translator of an Italian work, "*A Geographical Historie of Africa*," a member of parliament at thirty-five and a man apparently having a great future before him. But almost fifty years of his life had now passed, and all these brilliant prospects had realized little fruit.

22. Reprinted in Force's "Historical Tracts."

Under such conditions it was that he came to America. Scarcely had he arrived at Jamestown when he became one of the principal figures in colonial life. He was made a member of the council, and was appointed speaker of that memorable house of burgesses which met on July 30, 1619,—the first body of representatives ever elected in the Virginia colony. But among colonial Virginians, a man was not likely to become a teetotaler, and Pory's following of "the custom of strong potation" was altogether too strenuous to allow much attention to other duties. Consequently we find him in 1621 giving up all offices in the colony and returning to England. In 1623 he made a brief trip to Virginia to make a report for the king, and then, after four almost fruitless years spent in his native land, he died in September, 1635.

Pory wrote no books; he was too busy at a more congenial occupation. But he wrote some most interesting letters and accounts of his adventures in the Old Dominion. Here, for instance, is a specimen of Indian hospitality:

"Not long after Namenacus, the king of Pawtuxunt, came to us to seeke for Thomas Salvage our Interpreter. Thus insinuating himselfe, hee led us into a thicket, where all sitting down, hee shewed us his naked breast; asking if wee saw any deformitie upon it, wee told him, No. 'No more,' said hee, 'is the inside, but as sincere and pure; therefore come freely to my Countrie and welcome';—which wee promised wee would within six weeks after. . . .

" Passing Russel's Ile and Onaucoke, wee arrived at Pawtuxunt. . . . But here arriving at Attoughcomoco the habitation of Namenacus and Wamanato, his brother, long wee staid not ere they came aboard us with a brass Kettle, as bright without as within, full of boyled Oisters. . . . Wamanato brought mee first to his house, where hee shewed mee his wife and children, and many Corn-fields. . . . The next day hee presented mee twelve Bever skinnes and a Canow, which I requited with such things to his content, that hee promised to keepe them whilst hee lived, and burie them with him being dead. Hee much wondered at our Bible, but much more to heare it was the Lawe of our God, and the first chapter of Genesis expounded of Adam and Eve, and simple marriage; to which hee replyed, hee was like Adam in one thing, for hee never had but one wife at once."²³

23. In Smith's "Generall Historie of Virginia."

Doubtless Pory was not without that sense of humor and that strain of philosophy which make a man at home wherever he may be. Writing from "James Citty" to Sir Dudley Carleton, in September, 1619, he thus expresses his opinion of colonial affairs:

"Nowe that your lordship may knowe that we are not the veriest beggars in the worlde our covekeeper here of James citty on Sundays goes accowtered all in freshe flaming silke; and a wife of one that in England had professed the black arte, not of a scholler, but of a collier of Croydon, weares his rough bever hatt with a faire perle hattband and a silken suite there-to correspondent. But to leave the Populace and to come higher:—the Governor here, who at his first coming, besides a great deale of worth in his person, brought only his sword with him, was at his late being in London, together with his lady, out of his meer gettings here able to disburse very near three thousand pounds to furnishe himselfe for his voyage. And once within seven years I am persuaded (*absit invidia verba*) that the Governor's place here may be as profitable as the Lord Deputies' of Ireland. . . .

"At my first coming hither the solitary uncouthness of this place compared with those parts of Christendome or Turkey where I had been; and likewise my being sequestred from all occurrents and passages which are so rife there, did not a little vex me. And yet in these five months of my continuance here, there have come at one time or another eleven saile of ships into this river; but freighted more with ignorance than with any other marchandize. At lengthe being hardned to this custome of abstinence from curiosity, I am resolved wholly to minde my business here and nexte after my pen to have some good booke always in store, being in solitude the best and choicest company. Besides among these christall rivers and odoriferous woods I doe escape much expense, envye, contempte, vanity, and vexation of minde."

Verily philosophy is a very present help in time of trouble!

JOHN HAMMOND

It has been said that "once a Virginian always a Virginian." Therefore I am determined to include in this study one John Hammond, who was in reality a Marylander. However, he had

lived in Virginia nineteen years, and what further excuse should I desire? He wrote a book named "Leah and Rachel, or the Two Fruitful Sisters, Virginia and Maryland," which title, by the way, according to Biblical history, would give Virginia something of a shadowy reputation for homeliness and trickery. Let us, however, pass that by as a mere oversight on the part of honest John Hammond. For he was indeed an honest man. Plain, blunt, shrewd, he at once calls to mind the practical sterling character of Benjamin Franklin. He was "the first man to express in literature a true love and an uncompromising admiration for America."²⁴

Having emigrated to Virginia in 1635, he remained in that colony for nineteen years and then removed to Maryland, where he resided for two years. Because of disturbances in that colony he was obliged to return to England; but scarcely had he set foot on his native shore when he began to long once more for his adopted home.

"It is that country," he exclaims, "in which I desire to spend the remnant of my days, in which I covet to make my grave." How limited, how mean, how starved the life of the English people seemed to him!

"They itch out their wearisome lives in reliance of other men's charities an uncertain and unmanly expectation. . . I have seriously considered when I have (passing the streets) heard the several cries and noting the commodities and the worth of them they have carried and cried up and down, how possibly a livelihood could be exacted out of them, as to cry 'matches,' 'small coal,' 'blackening,' 'pen and ink,' 'thread,' 'laces,' and a hundred more such kind of trifling merchandises."²⁵

But things are very different in Virginia.

"Several ways of advancement there are and employments both for the learned and laborer, recreation for the gentry, traffic for the adventurer, congregations for the ministry (and oh that God would stir up the hearts of more to go over, such

24. Holliday's "History of Southern Literature," p. 37.

25. "Leah and Rachel."

as would teach good doctrine, and not paddle in faction or state matters . . .).

"It is known (such preferment hath this country rewarded the industrious with) that some from being wool-hoppers and of as mean and meaner employment in England have there grown great merchants, and attained to the most eminent advancements the country afforded. . . ." ²⁶

Hammond admits that preachers are badly needed in Virginia and that

"very few of good conversation would adventure thither. . . . Yet many came, such as wore black coats and could babble in a pulpit, roar in a tavern, exact from their parishioners, and rather by their dissoluteness destroy than feed their flocks." ²⁷

But such a fault is only a minor one, and, convinced that Virginia is the paradise of the world, Hammond clinches his argument with the positive statement that

"therefore those that shall blemish Virginia any more, do but like the Dog bark against the Moon, until they be blind and weary; and Virginia is now in that secure growing condition, that like the Moon so barked at, she will pass on her course, maugre all detractors, and a few years will bring it to that glorious happiness that many of her calumniators will intercede to procure admittance thither, when it will be hard to be attained to." ²⁸

Here, then, is the beginning of that patriotism which within a few years was to rouse the people to a spirited and significant rebellion, and which exactly a century after that rebellion roused them to a world-changing revolution. Old John Hammond, with his uncouth but shrewd way of telling the truth, was but a forerunner of the irresistible movement.

GEORGE SANDYS

We have observed that very little poetry was written in the Virginia colony in these early days. R. Rich's attempt has

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid.

28. "Leah and Rachel."

been sufficiently commented upon. The versatile Smith also essayed at least one poem, "The Sea Mark," but it is almost as disastrous a wreck as the one he attempted to describe. One poet, however, among those early adventurers, sang with such vigor and beauty that to this day his work is looked upon as a real contribution to belles-lettres. This man was George Sandys (1578-1644). Tradition says that he walked the crooked and stump-bedecked streets of "James Citty," ornamented with a costly lace collar and a most carefully waxed mustache; but be all that as it may, he was known both in Virginia and in England as a man of exceptional intellect and attainment. A son of Edward Sandys, archbishop of York, he was a brother of that greatly feared statesman who caused James I. to exclaim, "Choose the Devil if you will, but not Sir Edwin Sandys!" A student of Oxford, a traveler in many lands, the author of a well-known poem, "A Hymn to my Redeemer," written, it is said, within the Holy Sepulchre itself, he was looked upon as a man of great possibilities. But he had yet another ground for great expectations; for shortly before his departure for America he had brought forth a translation of the first five books of Ovid so pure, so vigorous, so excellent in many ways that praise was unbounded.

There was great disappointment when the friends of Sandys discovered that he was going to America. Could the muses survive in that vast wilderness? Many urged him to remain in his homeland, and the poet Drayton felt called upon to encourage and sustain him.

"Go on with Ovid, as you have begun
With the first five books; let your numbers run
Glib as the former; so shall it live long
And do much honor to the English tongue.
Entice the Muses thither to repair;
Entreat them gently; train them to that air:
For thy from hence may thither hap to fly."

It would seem that there was indeed grave danger of their flying back to England; for the duties of the colonial offices which he held were arduous, and little time was the poet's own. Yet, in spite of the fact, as his dedication declares, that it had

“wars and tumults to bring it to light, instead of the Muses,” the remainder of the “*Metamorphoses*” was finished in 1626. This work was as highly praised as were the first books, soon sold into several editions, and as a result the poet began to long to be once more among his appreciative friends in England. Moreover, his somewhat high-strung nature had led him into frequent clashes with the colonists, and he was weary of strife. We find him, therefore, leaving Jamestown in 1631, and returning to Kent, England, where he “after his travaile over the world, retired himself for his poetry and contemplation.”

Professor Moses Coit Tyler has called Sandys' translation “the first utterance of the conscious literary spirit articulated in America.”²⁹ Judged by any standard of criticism, it is a highly excellent effort, but considered with the circumstances under which it was written, it is nothing short of astonishing. Extremely refined, and certainly scholarly, it at the same time possesses that virility which is necessary in a worthy translation. Oftentimes Sandys seems to catch the very spirit of the ancient singer, and to speak, not from a book in a foreign tongue, but from his own soul. Space will not permit of many selections, but the following often admired one will serve to show the vigor and vividness of the whole. King Tereus has been unfaithful to his spouse, Procne, and has cruelly debased her sister, Philomela. In her bitter ire Procne slays her beloved son, serves him cooked for the king's table, and awaits with joy the consequences. The king eats heartily of the banquet, and then asks for his little son.

“Procne could not disguise her cruel joy,
In full fruition of her horrid ire,
‘Thou hast,’ said she, ‘within thee thy desire.’
He looks about, asks where; and while again
He asks and calls, all bloody with the slain
Forth like a Fury, Philomela flew
And at his face the head of Itys threw;
Nor ever more than now desired a tongue
To express the joy of her revenged wrong.
He with loud outcries doth the board repel,
And calls the Furies from the depths of hell;

29. “History of American Literature,” vol. I, p. 154.

Now tears his breast, and strives from thence in vain
 To pull the abhorred food; now weeps amain
 And calls himself his son's unhappy tomb;
 Then draws his sword and through the guilty room
 Pursues the sisters, who appear with wings
 To cut the air; and so they did. One sings
 In words; the other near the house remains
 And on her breast yet bears her murder's stains,
 He, swift with grief and fury, in that space
 His person changed. Long tufts of feathers grace
 His shining crown; his sword a bill became;
 His face all armed; whom we a lapwing name.'³⁰

This is the work, be it remembered, of a poet singing amidst the hardships of the Virginia wilderness. Truly "wars and tumults" brought it forth. Yet, who can say that something of its vigor is not due to that very intensity with which circumstances compelled him to write, and, also, to that vast primitiveness and never-wearying freshness of Nature about him?

What shall we say in concluding this study of the first period of colonial Virginia literature? It approaches greatness in but one instance, and yet all of it is decidedly interesting. It is so "human," so virile, so full of wonder and renewed life. True, it is for the most part geographical and descriptive, but its writers knew that they were telling astounding things, and each wrote with all his heart. In only one instance have we detected the voice of patriotism; but that one instance is clear and unmistakable. In the next period, however, we shall see that germ of love grow and spread until it has entered the heart of every colonist, caused a mighty revolution, and brought forth a new nation.

(To be Continued.)

30. Sandy's "Ovid," VI.

THE DIARY OF AN OFFICER IN THE INDIAN COUNTRY IN 1794

CONTRIBUTED BY ERNEST CRUIKSHANK

HEREWITH, concluded from the November, 1908, number of this magazine, is a transcript of documents found among the papers of the late Colonel William Claus of Niagara, Ontario, for many years the deputy-superintendent of the British Indian department for upper Canada. As has been already said, it seems probable that they were written by John Chew, an officer in the same department, for the information of Major-General Simcoe, the lieutenant-governor of the province.

Camp on a branch of the Wabash 95 miles from the Glaise.

Saturday, June 28th.

Continued on the same road leading to Fort Greenville S. by W. six miles marching in twelve open files. Twenty-five Min-goes joined. The number of deer killed this day computed at two hundred and as many turkeys. A Miami Indian came into camp and says that Wells had killed five more of his nation near the Miami towns. The number of men this day in camp amounts to 1,159, one hundred and nine of them without arms.

This night ten men to be posted on the Greenville road; bells stopped, horses tied up and the men to have their arms in order. Cutting off the ammunition between the forts and the Ohio is the only project by which we could promise success, but as the Northern Indians take the lead we are forced to change our course to-morrow for Fort Recovery, where nothing effectual can be done, but on the contrary the means perhaps of discovering our force will put the enemy upon their guard.

Camp 120 miles from the Glaise.

Sunday, June 29th.

Detached twelve men to take a prisoner in order to get information respecting the force of Wayne's army, and when the pro-

vision brigade is to set off from Fort Washington. About ninety Wyandotts joined. John Norton is supposed to have deserted to the enemy.

Camp before Fort Recovery, 128 miles computed from the Glaise.

June 30th.

Our spies came in and gave information of a vast number of post horses being arrived at Fort Recovery last night, and probably would return this morning, consequently marched west four miles; came upon the van of the brigade, made an attack and killed sixteen men, took four prisoners, 300 pack-horses, thirty bullocks and a few light horses. The garrison attempted to give them assistance by sending out the light horse, but they were soon driven in again. In this attack we had only three men killed, but the Indians were so animated [that they] kept up a continued fire for a whole day upon the fort by which they lost seventeen men killed and as many wounded. I am sorry to say that for want of good conduct this affair is far from being so complete as might be expected. Captain Beaulvin was shot thro' the body very near the heart, but perhaps not mortal.

The garrison at Fort Recovery is 350, twenty Chickasaws and a party of light horse. Fort Recovery consists of block-houses, mounted with cannon and picketed between. The fort kept up a continual fire and even now and then a shell, together with small arms, so as we were not able to bring off some of the dead and wounded.

Four Wyandotts met a party of Chickasaws and had one wounded and another killed or taken prisoner. Between Forts Recovery and Greenville they have about one hundred Chickasaws to serve as scouts and expect some hundreds more to come as a prisoner says. Wells, May and the Chickasaw chief were killed in the attack. Had we two barrels of powder Fort Recovery would have been in our possession with the help of Sinclair's cannon.

Camp E. N. E. from Fort Recovery on the head of the Wabash River.

July 1st, 1794.

This day we buried our dead and carried off our wounded

to this place. One Chickasaw more killed. The Lake Indians all went off this day. General Wayne is to commence his campaign about the middle of next month. He expects an augmentation to his force of about 3,000 militia from Kentucky and 1,000 Chickasaws and Choctaws; he is to build a fort at the Glaise and proceed from thence towards Detroit. Captain Gibson, commandant at the fort, is killed.

July 2d .

After the Lake Indians went off, the whole army was breaking up, but a message came from the Delawares that they were (at last) upon the march and would join this day; the Four Nations in consequence will wait until their arrival, and if they can agree to proceed from hence in a circular route to Fort Hamilton, where they ought to have gone at first. Instead of having about 2,000 men as was expected, we will not now have above 500. Such a disappointment never was met with.

(sg.) J. C.

John Norton found, he being lost in the woods for several days, as he says. The Delawares joined. A council of war was held and it was unanimously agreed that it was better for the army to return to the Glaise since all the Lake Indians at all events were going back and the country now alarmed so as to prevent us making any stroke upon the provision-brigades and also that there was the greatest probability that Wayne would not turn out to fight till the Kentucky militia were arrived; the Delawares in the meantime to keep a lookout and watch the motions of the enemy.

The number of the enemy killed in the last attack cannot be ascertained. A great many must have been killed when they came out of the fort, together with several shot through the embrasures. A great groaning was heard in the fort, so that the dead and wounded may be nearer fifty than the number before mentioned, that being the number only of those we have seen. I must observe with grief that the Indians never had it in their power to do more and have done so little. It is not above eighty miles from the Glaise to Fort Recovery and can be rid in one day.

BOOK OF BRUCE

BY LYMAN HORACE WEEKS

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

COLLATERAL FAMILIES OF SCOTLAND

FROM the beginnings of its long career the house of Bruce became connected in marriage, generation after generation, with most of the powerful families of Scotland. The Bruce strength as claimant to the throne of Scotland was decidedly reenforced by these alliances, which also added the increased distinction of notable ancestral traditions through various collateral lines. The sons and daughters of Bruce were naturally sought in marriage by the other noble families with whom they were associated, and especially since few of those had any trace of royal descent such as made the Bruces conspicuous among their contemporaries. Almost alone in rivalry on the ground of this royal origin were the Baliols and the Cumyns who traced to the ancient kingly house of Scotland the same as the Bruces. But even they, notable though they were, had not behind them the royal ancestry in other lines that the Bruces possessed.

Genealogically, therefore, the history of the Bruces clearly includes the history of the largest proportion of the prominent families of Scotland from the year 1000 onward, and afterwards of many of the foremost noble families of England as well. So far as the marriages of the Bruces, either on the male or female lines, into these families is concerned, the distinction achieved by them becomes part of the distinction naturally belonging to the Bruce stock. In other chapters of this book special attention has been given to the inheritances that came to the Bruces through marriage and intermarriage into several of the more conspicuous families of that age, such as the Stewarts and the Cavendishes. Scarcely of lesser interest is the his-



CASTLE D'IMPRESA

tory of other families, of lesser fame only to those just mentioned.

By the marriage of Lady Mary, daughter of Donald, the tenth earl of MAR, to King Robert Bruce I., the line of one of the oldest noble houses of Scotland was connected with that of Bruce. Concerning the title of Mar, Lord Hailes remarks that it is one of the earldoms whose origin has been lost in the mists of antiquity. The first earl of Mar of whom there is any record is Martacus who was living under King Malcolm Canmore in 1065. Gratnach, son of Martacus, is recorded as one of the witnesses to the foundation charter given by King Alexander I. to the monastery at Scone in 1114. Morgundus, son of Gratnach, was the third earl of Mar, and lived in the time of King Malcolm IV. Gillocher, son of Morgundus, was living in 1163 and was the fourth earl of Mar.

MORGUND, son of Gillocher, was living in 1171 and was the fifth earl of Mar. According to a curious writing preserved by the historian Selden, he received in 1171 from King William I. a renewal of the investitures of the earldom. He donated much property to the church and gave lands to the priory of St. Andrew's "for the welfare of the souls of himself and his wife Agnes." He had five sons: Gilbert, who was the sixth earl of Mar; Gilchrist, who was the seventh earl of Mar; Duncan, who was the eighth earl of Mar; Malcolm and James.

DUNCAN, third son of the preceding, became the eighth earl of Mar, succeeding his two elder brothers who died without issue. He was living in the reign of King Alexander II. and made donations to the church of St. Mary of Monymunk, being also a benefactor of the monks of Culdees. He died some time before 1234. He married Isabella, daughter of William, son of Nessius, lord of Latherisk.

WILLIAM, son of the preceding, succeeded his father and became the ninth earl of Mar. He was a trusted counsellor of King Alexander III. and was one of the nobles who guaranteed the treaties of Scotland with England in 1237 and 1244. When the party of Henry III. prevailed in Scotland in 1255 he was removed from his official position in the government of King

Alexander, but in 1258 he was chosen a regent of Scotland, and in 1264 was made great chamberlain of Scotland. He was sent on a special mission to King Henry III. of England in 1270 and died shortly after that time. He married Elizabeth Cumyn, daughter of William Cumyn, earl of Buchan. She died in 1267. He had two sons, Donald and Duncan.

DONALD, eldest son of the preceding, was the tenth earl of Mar. He was knighted by King Alexander III. at Scone, September 29, 1270. He was one of the Scottish nobles who, in February 1283-4, bound themselves to support the right of succession of Margaret of Norway to the throne of Scotland in the contingency that King Alexander III. should die without leaving a male heir. He was witness to the contract between Margaret of Scotland and King Eric of Norway in 1281, and was otherwise prominent in all the great events of his age. He died in 1294. His daughter, Lady Isabel, married King Robert Bruce I., and his daughter, Lady Mary, married Kenneth, the third earl of Sutherland.

GRATNEY, son of the preceding, succeeded his father in the earldom in 1294. He died some time before 1300. He married Christiana Bruce, daughter of Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick, and sister of King Robert Bruce. Besides his son Donald, he had a daughter who married Sir John Menteith.

DONALD, son of the preceding, became the twelfth earl of Mar upon the death of his father in 1300. He was intimately associated with his royal uncle, King Robert Bruce, in the early campaigns of that monarch. When the Bruce was defeated in 1306 the earl of Mar was made a prisoner by the English and was detained in captivity until the battle of Bannockburn in 1314. He was one of the party of Scotch prisoners, which included the wife, sister, and daughter of Bruce, who after that event were exchanged for the earl of Hereford. For a short time he resided in England, but in 1318 he was a member of the parliament that met at Scone. He was appointed by King Edward II. of England as the guardian of the castle of Bristol which he afterwards delivered to the queen, and himself returned to Scotland. In the invasion conducted into England by

Randolph and Douglas in 1327 he had a small command. After the death of Randolph, who was then regent of the kingdom, Mar was elected by parliament to the vacancy. As regent he assumed command of the Scottish army, but was defeated by Edward Baliol in 1332 and killed in the rout that followed. He married Isabel, daughter of Sir Alexander Stewart of Bonkill, and had, besides his son Thomas, a daughter Margaret.

THOMAS, son of the preceding, succeeded to the earldom of Mar. He was conspicuous in public transactions in the time of King David II., and held many important official positions. He was entrusted with the mission to England to plead for the liberation of King David II. from captivity in 1351. When King David was released in 1357 he was one of the seven lords of Scotland from whom three were selected as hostages for the fulfillment of the terms of the treaty. He was Great Chamberlain of Scotland in 1358 and ambassador to England in 1362. He held many lands and was made a pensioner by King Edward III. He was married three times, but died without issue and with him the male line of the earls of Mar became extinct.

“No surname in Scotland can boast of a more noble origin than that of DUNBAR; being sprung from the Saxon kings of England, the princes and earls of Northumberland.”¹

CRINAN, the first of the family of whom there is any record, was a nobleman before the conquest of England by William of Normandy. He was probably of the royal line of Athol, for it is recorded that Crinan was the father of Duncan who attacked Macbeth in 1045. The Irish annalists say that Crinan, the abbot of Dunkeld, and many with him, even twenty heroes, were engaged in that affair. Crinan married Alghitha, daughter of Uchtred, earl of Northumberland, by Elgiva, his wife, who was a daughter of King Ethelbert of England.

MALDRED, was a son of the preceding.

COSPATRIC, son of the preceding, was in Scotland before 1068. He was created earl of Northumberland by William the Conqueror, but was soon deprived of that honor on account of some

1. Douglas' "Baronage of Scotland."

disagreement with his royal master. Thereupon he fled to Scotland where he was received by King Malcolm Canmore who gave to him Dunbar and lands adjoining. Not only was he an earl but he became a monk of Durham, and dying in December, 1069, was buried in the monks' burying ground at Durham.

COSPATRIC, son of the preceding, was the second earl. He was a great benefactor to the abbey of Kelso. He died August 16, 1139.

COSPATRIC, son of the preceding, belonged to the brotherhood of Kelso. He died in 1147.

COSPATRIC, eldest son of the preceding, was the fourth earl. He founded the Cistercian convents of Coldstream and Eccles, in Berwick County, and was a benefactor of the abbey of Melrose. He died in 1166, leaving two sons.

WALDERE, eldest son of the preceding, was the fifth earl, but the first to have the territorial designation of Dunbar. He was one of the hostages for the due performance of the treaty for the liberation of King William I. He died in 1182. He married Aelina and left two sons and one daughter.

PATRICIUS, or PATRICK DUNBAR, son of the preceding, was the sixth earl. He was justiciary of Lothian and keeper of Berwick. In 1218 he founded the House of the Red Friars at Dunbar, and when advanced in years retired to a monastery. He died in 1232. He married, first, Ada, daughter of King William the Lion; second, Christina. By his first wife he had four sons and one daughter.

PATRICK DUNBAR, eldest son of the preceding, was the seventh earl in 1232. He was a powerful noble of the first rank and was a crusader under King Louis IX. He gave a house to the monks of Dryebergh and lands to Melros. In 1235 he commanded the army sent against Thomas Downmac-Allan of Galloway, the usurper, and made him submit. He was a witness to the treaty between King Alexander II. of Scotland and King Henry II. of England at York in 1237, and one of the guarantors of it, and also of another treaty in 1244, between the same monarchs. He was killed at the siege of Damietta in 1248. He married Eupheme, second daughter of Walter, high steward of Scotland.

PATRICK DUNBAR, son of the preceding, was the eighth earl. Taking a prominent and active part in Scotch politics, he stood with the English party. After the death of King Alexander III. he was one of the regents, and one of "the seven earls of Scotland," a body wholly distinct from the other estates of the kingdom. He died in 1289. He was the first to sign himself earl of March, which he did in 1248. He commanded the left wing of the Scottish army at Largs. He married Christiana Bruce, daughter of Robert Bruce, lord of Annandale. She founded "ane house of religioun in ye toune of Dunbar."

PATRICK DUNBAR, son of the preceding, was the ninth earl of Dunbar and also bore the title of earl of March. He was surnamed Blackbeard. He was a steadfast supporter of the English interests, in 1298 was King Edward's lieutenant in Scotland, and in 1300 was on the English side at the siege of Carlaverock. He married Marjory Comyn, daughter of Alexander Comyn, earl of Buchan, and as his wife sided with the Scottish party Dunbar was not always able to meet the demands of fealty to the English sovereign.

PATRICK DUNBAR, son of the preceding, was the tenth earl. He was with his father at Carlaverock and after the battle of Bannockburn assisted King Edward III. to escape. Making peace with King Robert Bruce, he was appointed governor of Berwick castle and valiantly held that fortress against King Edward III. At the battle of Durham he commanded the left wing of the Scottish army. He died in 1369. He married Agnes, daughter of Thomas Randolph, earl of Moray. His countess, known in history as Black Agnes, was a grand-niece of King Robert Bruce. In January 1337-8, during a siege of nineteen weeks, she made a gallant and successful defence of the castle of Dunbar against the assault of the English led by the earl of Salisbury. This affair is memorable in Scottish annals and has been the subject of many a minstrel's song.

In an interpolated passage in Fordun's monumental work on early Scotland² is the following account of the origin of the name of SCRIMGEOUR.

2. "Scotochronicon," by John of Fordun.

“Early in the reign of King Alexander I, who ascended the Scottish throne in 1107, some of the men of Mearns and Moray assaulted the residence of his majesty, who escaped by the assistance of one of his bed chamber men, called Alexander Carron, through a private passage. The King raising forces went in pursuit of the rebels and came in sight of them on the other side of the Spey. The river was then high; but the King giving his standard to Carron, whom he knew to excel in courage and resolution, that brave officer crossed the Spey and planted the standard on the other side in sight of the rebels. The royal army followed, the adversaries taking to flight. In reward of the gallant service of Alexander Carron the King constituted him and his heirs heritable standard-bearers of Scotland; made him a grant of lands and conferred on him the name of Scrimgeour, signifying a hardy fighter.”

ALEXANDER SCRIMGEOUR, descended from Alexander Carron, the original holder of the name of Scrimgeour, was one of the most active and most valiant associates of William Wallace in that patriot's glorious attempt to restore the liberties of Scotland. When Wallace was constituted governor of Scotland, in recognition of the services of Scrimgeour he conferred upon him the constabulary of the castle of Dundee, giving this grant for his “faithful aid in bearing the banner of Scotland which service he actually performs.” This grant was dated at Torphichen March 29, 1298.

NICOLL SCRIMGEOUR, or SKYRMESCHOUR, as the name is sometimes spelled in the records, son of the preceding, had from King Robert I. a charter of the office of standard-bearer and also grants of lands in the barony of Inverkeithing, forfeited by Roger Moubray.

ALEXANDER SCRIMGEOUR, son of the preceding, had a charter of lands near Dundee in 1357, and a letter of safe conduct into England in 1366. In a charter of 1378 by King Robert II. he is spoken of as constable of Dundee. He died in 1383.

SIR JOHN SCRIMGEOUR, son of the preceding, in several charters of his time by King Robert II. and King Robert III., also is mentioned as constable of Dundee. Among those who accompanied Alexander, earl of Mar, to Flanders, in the service of the duke of Burgundy in 1408 was:

“Schere James Scremgeoure of Dundee,
Comendit a famous Knight was he,
The Kingis banneoure of fe,
A lord that wele aucht lovit be.”³

He fought at the battle of Harlaw, July 24, 1411, under the same Alexander, earl of Mar, against Donald, lord of the Isles, and was there killed. The name of his wife was Egidia. He had a daughter Egidia who married James Maitland, second son of Sir Robert Maitland of Leithington.

SIR JOHN SCRIMGEOUR, son of the preceding, was also constable of Dundee. Previous to April, 1413, he was for many months a prisoner in the tower of London, presumably for political reasons. In 1444 he had a charter from Alexander, earl of Ross, lord of the Isles and baron of Kincardine, of lands in Kincardinshire. One of his daughters married Robert Bruce, second Baron of Cultmalindie.

The earldom of GLOUCESTER was a foundation by King Henry I. of England. It dates from the early part of the twelfth century.

ROBERT, the first earl of Gloucester, was the son of King Henry I., and was born at Caen, France. Upon the occasion of his marriage his father gave to him large properties in Normandy, Wales, and England, so that he was one of the richest men of his time. Among these properties was the “honour of Gloucester” which the king formed into the earldom that afterwards became so distinguished. Robert was intimately associated with his father in all that monarch’s battling in Normandy and elsewhere. He was his father’s most beloved son, and was preferred far beyond any other member of the family.

He was the only child present at his father’s death, and following that event he was urged by his father’s followers and by others to lay claim to and contest the crown of England. But, without ambition in that direction, he declined the proffered honor, contenting himself with the earldom. His birth gave him unusual prominence and he could not keep entirely out of the rivalries and contests of the period. King Stephen especially

3. “Oryganale Cronykil of Scotland,” by Andrew Wyntoun.

disliked him, and quarreled with him frequently, but Robert succeeded in maintaining his independence and keeping himself aloof during the war that was waged against Stephen. Nevertheless he felt himself constrained to go to the assistance of his half-sister Matilda in Normandy in 1138.

Subsequently, in 1141, through King Stephen's warring against Matilda, he found himself drawn into that contest and was captured in the battle at Winchester at the same time that Stephen was captured by the opposing forces. The two warriors were exchanged for each other. He always championed the cause of his sister and was the main support of the Angevin party that was promoted by Geoffrey of Angevin, Matilda's second husband. He was a warrior, statesman, and scholar, and left a deep impress upon the age in which he lived. He died in Bristol, October 31, 1147. He married Mabel, or Matilda, or Sybil, daughter of Robert Fitz Hamon and had by her six children.

The ancient family of FITZ HAMON was derived from an ancestor, Richard Fitz Hamon, who was a son or nephew of Rollo, the first duke of Normandy. Its representatives were in Neustria from the very beginning of the invasion of that territory by the Normans, and they were possessed of important lordships in various parts of the country under the rule of the dukes of Normandy. The house was old and illustrious and had many distinctions long before the appearance of Robert Fitz Hamon in England.

Robert Fitz Hamon came from Normandy with William the Conqueror, and after the battle of Hastings settled in Kent where he became possessed of extensive lands. When the Normans pushed their way into Wales for the purpose of conquering that section of Britain this noble had a conspicuous and useful part in the campaign. He was really the leader in the invasion, and it was wholly due to his efforts that Glamorgan was conquered. So complete was his success that, with the approval of King William, he established himself in Wales permanently, beginning the construction at Cardiff, in 1080, of a castle which in after years and for many generations was the

seat of the family. It has been well said of him that he really founded in Wales a county palatinate. He added much to the possessions of Tewksbury Abbey and was called the second founder of that institution. He also endowed the monks with many titles and was especially liberal to the abbey of St. Paul's in Gloucestershire. Devoted to the cause of King William I, he was a close confidant of King William Rufus, King William's son and successor, until the death of the latter monarch. Then he attached himself to the cause of King Henry I, and was a stalwart defender of that king in all the difficulties that assailed his throne. At the siege of Calais he was wounded and as a result died in March 1107. He married Sybil of Montgomery.

WILLIAM, son of Robert, the first earl of Gloucester, by his wife Mabel Fitz Hamon, succeeded his father and became the second earl of Gloucester. He married Hawse, daughter of Robert, surnamed Bossu, earl of Leicester. He died in 1173, leaving no son, but three daughters, and with him the earldom of Gloucester in the male line of his family ceased.

AMICIA, daughter of the preceding, married Richard de Clare, and was the grandmother of Isabel de Clare who married Robert Bruce.

The HUNTINGDON family to which belonged David, earl of Huntingdon, whose daughter, Isabella of Huntingdon, married Robert Bruce, was of ancient Saxon origin as well as of the royal family of Scotland.

WALTHEOF, son of Syward the Saxon, who was earl of Northumberland, lived in the time of King William I. of England. He received from King William the earldoms of Huntingdon and Northampton, on the occasion of his marriage with Judith, daughter of a sister of King William on his Norman mother's side. Subsequently Waltheof disagreed with his royal uncle and took part in a conspiracy to expel him and the Normans from England. In this he was unsuccessful and in consequence thereof was beheaded in 1105.

MAUD, or MATILDA, daughter of Waltheof, married for her second husband, David, son of King Malcolm of Scotland, and

through her David became possessed of the earldoms of Huntingdon and Northumberland. Subsequently he became king of Scotland.

HENRY, son of the preceding, obtained from King Stephen of England the earldom of Huntingdon. He married Ada, sister of William, earl of Warren and Surrey.

DAVID, son of Prince Henry and great-grandson of Waltheof, first earl of Huntingdon, had by his wife, who was the daughter of Hugh, earl of Chester, Isabel who married Robert Bruce.

The DE CLARE OR DE CLAIRE family which became connected with the house of Bruce was descended from Richard de Claire who came into England with William the Conqueror. Geoffrey, son of Richard I., duke of Normandy, was its ancestor. He had a son Giselbert, named Crispin, who was earl of Brion in Normandy. Dugdale gives this ancestry of Richard de Clare, although Hornby says that he was the son of Gilbert, officary earl of Auci or Owe in Normandy.

RICHARD DE CLARE received great honors and possessions from William the Conqueror. At the time of the survey he was called Richard de Tonebruge (Tunbridge), Kent, from the seat which he had established there. He had thirty-eight lordships in Surrey, thirty-five in Essex, three in Cambridge, and ninety-five in Sussex. Among other places that he owned was Benfield, in Northamptonshire, from which he was called Ricardus de Benefacta. From his manor in Suffolk he had the name of Richard de Clare. In a few years that became the seat of the family and heirs took the title of lords of Clare. It is said that he was killed by the Welsh while on a hostile expedition into that country. He married Rohesia, daughter of Walter Gifford, earl of Buckingham, and had six sons and two daughters. His son Richard de Clare, became Abbot of Ely, and his son, Robert de Clare, was steward of King Henry I. of England.

GILBERT DE CLARE, eldest son of the preceding, succeeded to the possession of his father's lands in England and resided at Tonebruge. He was engaged in rebellion against King William Rufus, but after a time became reconciled to that monarch. He married in 1113 Adeliza, daughter of the earl of Claremont and

had five sons and one daughter. His son, Gilbert de Clare, was earl of Pembroke, and had a son who became the celebrated Richard Strongbow and conquered Ireland.

RICHARD DE CLARE, eldest son of the preceding, established himself in Wales, and his family remained there for generations. He is said to have been the first to hold the title of earl of Hertford. He was killed by the Welsh in 1139. He married Alice, sister of Ranulph, second earl of Chester, and had two sons and one daughter. His son, Gilbert de Clare, became the second earl of Hertford, but died in 1151 without issue. His daughter, Alice de Clare, married Cadwalladerap-Griffith, who was a prince of North Wales.

ROGER DE CLARE, second son of the preceding, succeeded his brother, Gilbert de Clare, and became third earl of Hertford. From the king he obtained large grants of land in Wales, and built and fortified many castles there. In the tenth year of the reign of King Henry II., he was one of the earls present at the recognition of the ancient customs and liberties confirmed by his ancestors. For his works of piety he was surnamed "the good." He died in 1173. He married Maud, daughter of James de St. Hillary, and had one son.

RICHARD DE CLARE, son of the preceding, was the fourth earl of Hertford. He was one of the twenty-five barons who bound themselves to enforce the observance of Magna Charta. He died in 1218. He married Amicia, daughter of William, the second earl of Gloucester, and through his wife became possessed of that earldom.

GILBERT DE CLARE, son of the preceding, was the fifth earl of Hertford, and the first earl of Gloucester and Hertford jointly. He was one of the twenty-five barons who opposed the arbitrary proceedings of King John and upheld the Magna Charta. He was also prominent in the Barons' War and supported the cause of the dauphin Louis of France. At the battle of Lincoln in 1217 he was taken prisoner, but afterwards made his peace with the king. He died in 1230. He married Isabel, daughter of William Mareschal, earl of Pembroke. His youngest daughter, Isabel, married Robert Bruce.

The founder of the house of CARRICK of Scotland was Fergus, lord of Galloway, who married Elizabeth, daughter of King Henry I. At his death in 1161 he left two sons, Gilbert and Uchtred, between whom his lands were divided.

GILBERT, with his brother Uchtred, attended King William the Lion in the invasion of England in 1174, but subsequently sought the favor of King Henry II. In the same year he procured the assassination of his brother, and, although for some time he was held in royal disfavor on this account, he was received into the presence of King Henry two years later and was pardoned. Under the protection of the English monarch he carried war into Scotland in 1184, but before hostilities were concluded he died, in January 1185-6.

DUNCAN, son of the preceding, in the endeavor to heal the family difficulties, entered into an amicable conclusion with his cousin Roland, son of the murdered Uchtred. He was also a vassal of King William of Scotland, defended the district of ancient Galloway, and was confirmed in the possession of the territory of Carrick in 1186. Carrick was the southern-most of the three districts into which the county of Ayr was divided and gave title to the earldom. Duncan was created earl of Carrick by King Alexander II., founded the abbey of Crossramore, or Crossregal, for the Cluniac monks, and also endowed other monkish orders of Paisley and Melrose.

NIEL CARRICK, son of the preceding, followed the example of his father in acts of piety, making liberal gifts to the monasteries of Crossramore, or Crossregal, and of Sandale in Cantire. He was received under the protection of King Henry III. in 1255, and the same year was appointed one of the regents of Scotland and guardian of Alexander III. and that monarch's queen. He died June 13, 1256. He married Margaret, daughter of Walter, high steward of Scotland. His daughter Marjory (Carrick) de Kilconceath married the eighth Robert Bruce and, becoming countess of Carrick in her own right, brought to her husband and transmitted to her descendants the earldom of Carrick. This matrimonial alliance of the Bruces with the house of the high steward of Scotland was recalled several genera-

tions later when Marjory Bruce, daughter of King Robert Bruce, married Walter, the head of the house of Stewart of Scotland.

UCHTRED, the second son of Fergus, lord of Galloway, married Guinolda, who was the daughter of Waldeve of the Dunbar family. Waldeve was the grandson of Crinan, the founder of the noble house of Dunbar, and, succeeding his brother, Cospatrick, who died in 1139, had the barony of Allandale and other lands, maintaining his home at Cockermouth castle. He married Sigarith, a Saxon lady.

ROLAND of Galloway, son of the preceding, after the death of his uncle Gilbert who had murdered his father, defeated the vassals of Gilbert, slaying their commander Gilpatrick in July 1185. He finally came into possession of the whole of Galloway which he stubbornly held against all enemies. He married Elena Morville, daughter of Richard Morville, by whom he had several sons.

ALAN of Galloway, son of the preceding, had by his first wife, whose name is unknown, a daughter, Elena, who married Roger de Quincey, earl of Winchester. He married, second, in 1209, Margaret, the eldest daughter of David, earl of Huntingdon, and had a son, Thomas, and two daughters, Christiana and Der-vorgill. The last named married John Baliol of Bernard Castle and had John Baliol, the competitor, who in 1292 was successful in prosecuting his claim to the throne of Scotland against Robert Bruce and other rivals. Thus a branch of the house of Carrick became associated with the fortunes of the Bruces in another and less agreeable way.

The DE BURGH family from which King Robert Bruce chose his second wife was originally of Ireland where it was of special distinction, being connected with one of the first royal houses of that land.

RICHARD DE BURGH, surnamed the Great Lord of Connaught, son of William FitzAdelm de Burgh, lord deputy of Ireland in the time of Hervig II., was also viceroy of that kingdom 1227-29. He built the castle of Galway in 1232 and died in 1243. He

married Una, or Agnes, daughter of Hugh O'Connor, king of Connaught, son of Cathal Crobhdearg, or the Red Hand.

WALTER DE BURGH, eldest son of the preceding, was lord of Connaught, and in right of his wife became earl of Ulster in 1243. He married Maud, daughter and heir of Hugh de Laci, earl of Ulster, and had four sons.

RICHARD DE BURGH, son of the preceding, was the second earl of Ulster. He was a great warrior and statesman, and commanded all the Irish forces in Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and Gascoigne. He founded the Carmelite monastery at Loughren and built the castles Ballymote, Carran, and Sligo. In his declining years he retired to the monastery of Athassail. He died June 28, 1326. He married Margaret de Burgo, daughter of John de Burgo, Baron of Lanville, who was a great-grandson of Hubert, earl of Kent. Elizabeth Aylmer de Burgh, daughter of Richard de Burgh and his wife Margaret de Burgh, was the second wife of King Robert Bruce.

WILLIAM DE WARRENNE, earl of Warrenne in Normandy, was a kinsman of William the Conqueror. He was among the Norman nobles at Hastings, and after the conquest of England received great honors from the king. He married Gundred, a daughter of William the Conqueror. Old-time authorities made this Gundred a daughter of William by his wife Matilda of Flanders. Recent investigations, however, conclusively show that she was the daughter of William by another wife.

WILLIAM DE WARRENNE, eldest son of the preceding, built the castle of Holt and founded the priory of Lewes in Sussex. He made his home principally in Lewes, although he had castles also in Norfolk and at Coningsburg and Sandal. Dugdale gives the following quaint account of his closing hours:

“It is reported that this Earl William did violently detain certain lands from the monks of Ely; for which being often admonished by the Abbot and not making restitution he died miserably. And though his death happened very far off the isle of Ely, the same night he died, the Abbot lying quietly in his bed, and meditating on heavenly things, heard the soul of this earl, in its carriage away by the devil, cry out loudly, and with a known and distinct voice; ‘Lord have mercy on me. Lord

have mercy on me.' And moreover on the next day after the Abbot acquainted all the monks in chapel therewith. And likewise that about four days after there came a messenger to them from the wife of this earl, with one hundred shillings for the good of his soul, who told them that he died the very hour that the Abbot had heard the outcry. But that neither the Abbot nor any of the monks would receive it; not thinking it safe for them to take the money of a damned person. . . . If this part of the story, as to the Abbot's hearing the noise, be no truer than the last, viz., that his lady sent them one hundred shillings, I shall deem it to be a mere fiction, in regard the lady was certainly dead about three years before."

This William de Warrene joined Robert de Belesme, earl of Arundel and Shrewsbury in supporting Robert Curthose, son of King William I., against his brother King Henry I. The rebellion was short-lived, however, and subsequently William de Warrene was faithful to the cause of King Henry. He married Isabel, daughter of Henry the Great, earl of Vermandois, and widow of Robert, earl of Mellent. Adeline, his youngest daughter, married Prince Henry of Scotland, son of King David, and was the grandmother of Isabella de Huntingdon who married Robert Bruce.

The ELPHINSTON family derived its name from the lands of Elphinston in the vicinity of Edinburgh. It was famous among the barons of Scotland before the thirteenth century.

ALEXANDER DE ELPHINSTON acquired the land of Erthberg, county Stirling, from his mother Agnes de Erthberg.

ALEXANDER DE ELPHINSTON had a charter of lands from King David II. in 1362.

SIR WILLIAM DE ELPHINSTON had a charter of lands in 1399. He had three sons. His son Alexander de Elphinston was killed in a conflict with the English at Piperdean September 30, 1435. His son Henry de Elphinston succeeded him. His son William de Elphinston was the first earl of Blythswood in Larnarkshire, and married Mary Douglas. A younger son of William Elphinston and Mary Douglas was William Elphinston, bishop of Ross and Aberdeen, high chancellor of Scotland, and founder of the University of Aberdeen.

HENRY ELPHINSTON, second son of the preceding, was of Pittendriech, which he had under charter in 1477. He also held Erthberg, Strickshaw, and other honors. He had two sons, James and Andrew.

JAMES ELPHINSTON, son of the preceding, died before his father, having had two sons, John and Alexander.

SIR JOHN ELPHINSTON, eldest son of the preceding, had charter for the lands of Pittendriech, Erthberg, and Cragrossy. He had a charter of the barony of Erthberg, and in 1503 the honors of Chawmyrlane and Cragoroth were erected into a barony to be called Elphinston, the title of which was first conferred upon him.

ALEXANDER ELPHINSTON, son of the preceding, had numerous grants of lands and had the custody of the king's castle of Kildrummie in Aberdeenshire in 1508. He was raised to the peerage in 1509 as Alexander, lord Elphinston. He also had charters of lands in Fife, Stirlingshire, Banffshire, and elsewhere. He fell at Flodden Field, where he was fighting in support of James IV. on that fateful day in September, 1513. He married Elizabeth Barlow, a noble Englishwoman, who was maid of honor to Mary, queen of King James IV. His son, Alexander Elphinston, succeeded him. His daughter, Elizabeth Elphinston, married Sir David Somerville. His daughter, Eupheme Elphinston, was the mother of Robert Stewart, earl of Orkney, by King James V., and subsequently married John Bruce of Cultmalindie.

The ancient family of OLIPHANT was of Norman origin. Its first ancestors known in connection with English history were settled in Northamptonshire and held land there.

DAVID OLIFARD, or OLIPHANT, was the first bearer of the surname. He was intimately associated with King David I. of Scotland, who was his godfather. He befriended his royal master during the conspiracy of King Stephen, and was secretary of King David I. after the rout of the forces of Matilda at Winchester in 1141. He thereupon went to Scotland and was rewarded with lands. He was associated in charters with Duncan, earl of Fife; Ferteth, earl of Strathern; Gilbride, earl of

Angus; Malcolm, earl of Atholl; and others. He was justiciary of Scotland in 1165 under King David I., and also under King William the Lion. He died in 1170.

DAVID OLIFARD, eldest son of the preceding, succeeded his father in his estates and in the justiciary. He died toward the end of the twelfth century.

SIR WALTER OLIFARD, eldest son of the preceding, inherited the estates of his father and was justiciary under King Alexander II. He died in 1249. He married Christiana, daughter of the earl of Strathearn.

WALTER OLIFARD, son of the preceding, was also justiciary. He died after 1250.

SIR WILLIAM OLIPHANT of Aberdalgy, eldest son of the preceding, was a prominent figure in all the campaigning of King Robert Bruce for the throne of Scotland. About 1296, after the battles of Berwick and Dunbar, he was seized and held in prison until some time in the following year. In 1299 Stirling Castle, which had been fully garrisoned after the English had been driven out of it, was committed to his care. He held control of this fortress for years and skilfully defended it for three months against the determined siege of King Edward in 1304. Following the downfall of that fortress he was a prisoner for four years in the Tower of London. In 1311 he held Perth as a deputy for King Edward. At the siege of Perth by Robert Bruce he was taken prisoner and sent into banishment in the Western islands. After King Robert had fully established himself in the Kingdom, Oliphant came into favor, received grants of land, and was present at parliament in 1320 and in 1326. He died February 5, 1329.

SIR WALTER OLIPHANT of Aberdalgy, son of the preceding married Elizabeth, youngest daughter of King Robert Bruce.

WALTER OLIPHANT of Aberdalgy, son of the preceding, was a sheriff of Stirling and keeper of Stirling Castle in 1368. He married Mary Erskine, daughter of Sir Robert Erskine of Erskine.

SIR JOHN OLIPHANT of Aberdalgy, eldest son of the preceding, was knighted by King Robert II. He died about 1420. He

married, first, a daughter of Sir William Borthwick; second, a daughter of Sir Thomas Home.

SIR WILLIAM OLIPHANT of Aberdalgy, eldest son of the preceding by his first wife, was one of the hostages in England for the ransom of King James I. in 1424. He married Isabel Stewart, daughter of John Stewart of Innermeath, lord of Lorne.

SIR JOHN OLIPHANT of Aberdalgy, son of the preceding, was by his marriage drawn into the long existing feud between the Ogilvys and the Lindsays. In one of these family quarrels he was slain at Arbroath January 25, 1445-6. He married Isabel, daughter of Walter Ogilvy of Auchterhouse.

SIR LAURENCE OLIPHANT of Aberdalgy, eldest son of the preceding, was created a lord of parliament before 1467. He sat in the first parliament of King James IV. in 1488; was a privy councillor; a justiciary in 1490, and a peace commissioner to treat with England in 1491. He died about 1531. He married Isabel Hay, youngest daughter of William Hay, first earl of Errol.

SIR JOHN OLIPHANT, eldest son of the preceding, was the second lord Oliphant. Succeeding his father, he sat in parliament in 1503 and afterward. He died in 1516. He married Lady Elizabeth Campbell, third daughter of Colin Campbell, first duke of Argyle.

COLIN OLIPHANT, eldest son of the preceding, fought with his brother, William Oliphant, on the fatal field of Flodden in support of King James, both brothers being killed. He married Lady Elizabeth Keith, second daughter of William Keith, who was the third earl of Mareschal.

SIR LAURENCE OLIPHANT, son of the preceding, was the third lord Oliphant, succeeding to the title on the death of his grandfather in November, 1526. He took his seat in the Scottish parliament in 1526 and was a member in many subsequent years. He was a consistent opponent of the progress of the Reformation and was constantly in trouble on account thereof. At the rout of Solway he was captured by Dacre and Musgrave in November, 1542, was locked up in the Tower of London for some time but was ransomed the following year and returned to par-

liament. He died at Aldwick in Caithness March 26, 1566. He married Margaret Sandilands, eldest daughter of James Sandilands of Cruvie.

SIR LAURENCE OLIPHANT, eldest son of the preceding, was the fourth lord Oliphant. He was born in 1529 and succeeded to the title in 1566, having also the barony of Aberdalgy, Gask, and Galray. He joined the association in behalf of Queen Mary at Hamilton in 1568, and was always a devoted partisan of that queen. He was frequently in parliament and a conspicuous figure in all the politico-religious controversies and struggles of that period. He died in Caithness June 16, 1593, and was buried in the church of Wick. An old diary of that time contains this brief notice: "1593 January 16. Laurens. L. Oliphant diet in Kathnes, and buriet in the Kirk of Wik." He married in 1552 Lady Margaret Hay, second daughter of George Hay, seventh earl of Errol. His daughter, Jean Oliphant, married Alexander Bruce of Cultmalindie. Both she and her husband were direct descendants from King Robert Bruce, she in the eleventh generation and he in the tenth.

Bards and historians say that the predecessors of the house of CAMPBELL, which has been one of the most numerous and most powerful in Scotland, were lords of Lochow in Argyleshire as early as the year 404. The first appellation that they bore was O'Dwbin, or O'Dwin, a name that was assumed by Diarmed, a brave warrior. In Gaelic the descendants of this Diarmed are called Scol Diarmed or offspring of Diarmed. From Diarmed O'Dwbin followed a long series of barons of Lochow until the male line ended in Paul O'Dwbin, lord Lochow, called Inspuran because he was the king's treasurer.

GILLESPICK CAMPBELL, an Anglo-Norman of distinction, married the daughter of Paul O'Dwbin, lord Lochow.

DUNCAN CAMPBELL of Lochow lived in the reign of King Malcolm IV.

COLIN CAMPBELL of Lochow was a subject of King William the Lion in the latter part of the twelfth century.

GILLESPICK OR ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL of Lochow lived in the

reign of King Alexander I. He married Finetta, daughter of John Fraser, lord of Tweeddale.

DUNCAN CAMPBELL of Lochow was also living in the reign of King Alexander I. He married a daughter of the house of Comyn. His son, John Campbell (1250-86), was a famous author.

SIR GILLESPICK OR ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL of Lochow, the eldest son of the preceding, was living in the reign of King Alexander III., and married a daughter of William de Somerville, baron of Carnwath.

SIR COLIN CAMPBELL was so successful as a soldier that he was named More or Great. From him the chiefs of this family have ever since been styled MacCalan More. He was knighted in 1280 by King Alexander III. He married a daughter of the house of Sinclair.

SIR NIEL CAMPBELL of Lochow, the eldest son of the preceding, was knighted by King Alexander III. He early allied himself to the fortunes of King Robert Bruce, and adhered to that monarch through prosperity and adversity. After the battle of Bannockburn he was one of the commissioners sent to York in 1314 to negotiate a peace with England. He was among the great barons who sat in the parliament at Ayr in 1315. He died in 1316. He married Lady Mary Bruce, a sister of King Robert Bruce.

In subsequent generations the descendants of this Sir Niel Campbell ranked among the most distinguished people of Scotland. His descendant, Sir Duncan Campbell, first assumed the title of Duke of Argyle, and other titles were also borne by representatives of the name. Descendants of King Robert Bruce several generations later married and intermarried with the family.

(To be Continued.)

LETTER OF LORD NAPIER

CONTRIBUTED BY DUANE MOWRY

THE letter which follows was written by the late Lord Napier when connected with Her Britannic Majesty's Legation in Washington. It is of real interest because it bears upon a point in diplomacy as well as of international etiquette, and was conducted by a master hand. The original of the letter is in the possession of the writer in trust for the heirs of the late Judge James Rood Doolittle, for twelve years United States senator from Wisconsin. The letter is written in the clear, bold hand of the author; not a word is re-written, modified or corrected. While the letter has little historical significance, the fame of the author gives it undoubted value.

Private.

Her Britannic Majesty's
Legation February 27th
1858

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 24th Instant recommending the case of William Whipple to the consideration of Her Majesty's Government.

I regret extremely that on the grounds stated in the documents accompanying your letter I cannot submit this claim to the Earl of Clarendon. Had the relatives of the person in question proceeded on the plea of his youth, his inexperience, and his domestic ties, nothing would have given me greater pleasure than to promote his release from the British service and his return to his Country and family. But the grounds alleged are very different and such as I cannot in justice to my government admit.

The gentleman who addresses you states that Whipple was "enticed away" and "fraudulently carried out of the Country."

The affidavit of Ira Whipple affirms that his brother was "induced through falsehood to go aboard a recruiting vessel" at New Orleans, and that 40 other Americans were "decoyed" in the same way. It is moreover alleged that through "methodical villainy" of the same parties Whipple, being partly intoxicated enlisted in the British Service. It is not clearly intimated by whose instigation these proceedings against Whipple and his forty companions were carried on, but I may not unnaturally infer that Her Majesty's Gov't are aimed at. Now as Her Majesty's Gov't have never employed any recruiting vessel at New Orleans, and do not induce or inveigle persons into the Army when intoxicated, I apprehend that in the letter of your correspondent, and in the affidavit, there is some strange delusion or want of veracity. At least I cannot advise the British Gov't to discharge a soldier because he was inveigled into the service. Such a thing cannot occur, and if it did or could the case would deserve to be dealt with in another manner. I return you the papers (of which I have kept copies) and I beg you will lay before your correspondent the propriety of addressing you a letter simply stating the hardship of the case, the rashness of the man in enlisting, his regrets, and the claims of his deserted wife and family, omitting entirely the tale of seduction and fraudulent persuasion. Such a statement it will give me much gratification to forward to Her Majesty's government who would, no doubt, grant it Her benevolent attention both on account of the family of Whipple, and in consideration of your wishes.

I have the honor to be,

Sir, your most obedient

faithful servant

NAPIER

The Hon'bl Senator Doolittle
&c &c &c.

ORIGIN AND ANTIQUITY OF HERALDRY

VII

CONTINUATION OF THE CONSIDERATION OF ANIMALS USED IN HERALDRY, THEIR ORIGIN AND THE SENTIMENTS WHICH ARE REPRESENTED BY THEM

BY HENRY WHITTEMORE

IN armories the proper position of the griffin is rampant or salient, and they are sometimes said by the English to be segreant—erect with wings endorsed, ready for action.

Those of the name of Lauder, Lawder, or Lauther, differ according to the customs of ancient times, for the name is local from the town and lands of Lauder; that is, lower than the hills that surmount it. One of this family accompanied David, earl of Huntingdon, brother of King William the Lion, to the Holy War; to perpetuate which, some of his descendants made the griffin to hold a sword by his fore foot, supporting a Saracen's head proper. From this family was descended Allen Lauder, who got a charter of the lands at Whitslade and Moriston, in the shire of Berwick, from Robert earl of Stratheon, with the consent of John, his eldest son and heir, both afterwards kings, by the names of Robert II. and Robert III. This Allen Lauder was afterwards designated of Halton, as in a charter granted by King Robert II. of the lands of Ratho in the shire of Mid-Lothian, *anno regni, quo*, of whom were descended the Lauders of Hattoun. The arms of this family were; argent, a griffin, segreant, sable, beaked and membered gules, holding a sword with the dexter claw, supporting a Saracen's head proper; crest,—a tower with a demi griffin issuing out of the top; motto,—strike alike.

The principal family of this name are the descendants of Sir John Louder of Fountainhall in East Lothian, baronet, one of the Senators of the College of Justice, who carried; arms,—

gules, a griffin rampant within a bordure argent; crest,—a tower, argent, masoned sable, with the portcullis down; on the top of the embattlement a man in watching position; supporters,—two lions rampant argent, standing on a compartment on which are the words, *Ut nugsaturis habita*.

So recorded in the Lyon Register as descended from Lauder of that Ilk, the above arms were conformed to those of his progenitors, cut upon gravestones of old dates, which are preserved by the descendants of Sir John, lineally descended from Andrew Lauder, a son of Robert Lauder of that Ilk, of Lauder-Tower, and his wife, Elizabeth Ballinden, daughter of Ballinden of Lasswade. This Robert Lauder had three sons, the two eldest of whom were cut off, with many of their relatives in a plea, by the Home and Cranstons in the minority of King James VI.; but the youngest surviving son, Andrew, retired to his mother's friends and married Janet, daughter of David Ramsey, of Polton, descended from the family of Dalhousie.

Forsyth, of that ilk, carries arms, argent, a chevron engrailed gules between three griffins rampant, azure, armed and numbered sable, and crowned, or. For the antiquity of the name there is a charter in the earl of Haddington's Collections, granted by King Robert the Bruce *Osberto filo Roberte de Forsyth, servians noster* of an hundred solidatis terrae in teneaments de Salekill, in the shereffdom of Stirling.

The griffin has been of old frequent in the arms of many families in England. Sanford says that the armorial seal of Richard Riparis, or Rivirs, earl of Devon and the Isle of Wight, who died in 1162, carried arms, gules, or griffin segreant or. The Griffin family of Wales carry arms,—gules on a fesse between three lozenges or, each charged with a fleur-de-lis of the first, a demi rose between two griffins segreant, of the field.

BUNTEN BIRDS were carried as relative to the name of Buntein, or Bunting of Ardoch, viz, argent, a bend gules between three buntens proper; and for crest, another of the same standing on a garb, all proper, with the mottoes, *Capiase et opportune*.

WINGS OF BIRDS in armories are said to denote protection, and are either single or double, that is one or two; but when one, it is

called a *demi orle*, as those carried by the name of Falconer, gules three *demi orles* (or lures) or two and one. When two wings are joined together they are called *orle*, or two wings in lure, as those of the arms of Seymour, duke of Somerset. Wings conjoined are wings expanded, elevated and united at the bottom.

FEATHERS OF BIRDS are sometimes used in armorial figures, especially those of the ostrich, by the royal family of England. Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, had an escutcheon sable, charged with three ostrich feathers argent, surrounded with the garter and supported by a greyhound and antelope. Ashmole in his "Institution of the Garter" says that "these three ostrich feathers were the badge of King Henry IV. of England, which that king had from John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, his father, who bore them for his device and placed them in a field sable, but the pens of the feathers were powdered with ermine.

These ostrich feathers carried by the royal family of England, were all white, distinguished by their pens, the king's were or; the prince's argent; the duke of Lancaster, ermine, and the duke of Somerset *compoine* argent, and azure. By which it is to be observed (being of one body) they used formal differences as in coats of arms.

OF FISHES INCLUDING SHELLS, ETC

By most heralds these are considered as inferior to animals but are suitable marks for military men, to indicate prowess, valor, fortitude. Few sovereigns and princes have fishes in their arms except they be relative to their names or the product of their territories, but as all are figures of equal dignity, the bearers of them are approved of by royal authority. They are likewise carried to represent some notable event, jurisdiction and right of fishing, and frequently as relative to the names of the bearers. Fishes are used in these, as in other sciences, as emblems of industry and vigilancy, for they swim against the streams and waves, and are said never to sleep. In this they have several terms of blazon appropriate to them according to their position and parts.

When fishes are carried pale-ways, they are said to be *haurient*; when they are placed transverse the shield horizontally, that is fesse-ways, they are *naiant*—that is, swimming; when they are placed back to back, *adosse* and when face, *affronte*; when they are laid one above the other alternately, they are said to be fretted; when their fins are of a different tincture from their bodies, they are said to be finned, and by the French *bore* of such tinctures; when their eyes are sparkling, *allume*; when their martlets are open, *fame* or *pasme*; and when they are feeding, the English say, devouring.

THE DOLPHIN is taken for the king of fishes (as the lion and eagle are said to be sovereigns of beasts and birds) for his strength and swiftness in the pursuit of other fishes of his prey. He is said to be an admirer of men, so as to be human; and a lover of music, for which he is often used in armor and devices. Ulysses is said to have carried the dolphin in his shield. His words are: “*Significabat se animalis ejus dotes maxime sequi velli quod simul et humanitate et musices amore et mira celebrati exteris prestaret omnibus vel mari vitam decentibus.*” Hopingeus says that Ulysses carried the dolphin on his shield and signet ring, on account of that creature’s humanity for saving his son, Telemachus, when he fell into the sea.

The dauphin of France had the dolphin as a lover of music placed on the frontispiece of the old books which were dedicated to him with the words, *trabitar dulcidene cantees*. The name dauphin applied to the oldest son of the king of France, was derived from the dauphinate, a territory of old France, so named from its lords and princes called dauphins, who carried for their arms a dolphin relative to their name. Mezeray in his “History of France,” in the life of Philip VI., says that Humbert, dauphin de Viennois, being feeble in body, and having no children, in odium to the duke of Savoy, who invaded his country, made a donation thereof in the year 1343, to King Philip, of France, of the dauphinate and other lands adjoining, which were incorporate with France forever upon condition that the kings of France, their eldest son and apparent heir, should enjoy them. Ever since, the eldest sons of France have

used the title of dauphin, and their arms have been marshalled with those of France; second and third or, a dolphin embowed breathing, azure, eared and barbed gules; the French say: *d'or au dauphin viv d'azure orielle and creste de gacules*.

The courts of the dauphinate D'Auvergne, a province of France, carry arms, azure *seme* of *fleurs-de-lis*, or; a bend of the last charged on the top with a dolphin azure, crested and eared argent.

William Moneyppenny, Lord Moneyppenny, who is found in the rolls of parliament in the reign of King James II., carried azure, quarterly, first and fourth or, a dolphin azure, finned, gules, for Moneyppenny; second and third gules three cross-crosslets fitched, issuing out of as many crescents, argent. Some conjecture that upon the similitude of arms the Moneyppennys were originally from the dauphinites of France.

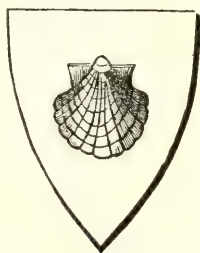
BARBLE—There is a fish frequent in arms called by the English barble, and by the French *bar*; this is carried also embowed as the dolphin; and when in arms there are two of them they are placed ordinarily back to back, for which the English say endorsed, and the French *adosse*. The duchy of Barr in France, carries, in allusion to the name, azure, *seme* of cross crosslets fitched at the foot or, two bars (or barbles), endorsed of the last, teeth and eyes argent.

SALMON—This fish is often made use of in armories and in a general way relative to the name. Thus, the name of Fish gives azure, three salmon *naiant*, fesse-ways in pale argent, one above the other, of which the French says *l'un sur lautre*.

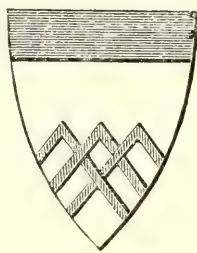
The city of Glasgow, Scotland, carries argent, an oak tree growing out of a mount in base, with a bird standing on the top thereof, and a bill hanging on a branch on the sinister side, and in base a salmon with a ring in its mouth, all proper. These arms perpetuate the story of a miracle said to have been wrought by St. Mungo, that city's parent saint, in recovering by a salmon, in its mouth, the ring of a lady out of the water Clyde where she accidentally dropped it; which on being recovered prevented the jealousy of her husband.

ESCALLOP—There is probably nothing of the fish species carried so often in armory as that of the escallop, and they are

frequent in armorial figures it is said in every part of Europe, on account of the symbolical and lineroglyphical significations which have been given to them. Salter, an English writer, says that in the records of the Office-at-Arms in London the escallop signifies that the first of a family who carried this device, had been a commander, and for his virtues and valor had gained the hearts and love of his companions and soldiers. The Italian, Sylvester Petra Sancta, in his "Treatise," commends them as coffers of the riches of the sea, and calls them *scrinia colorum atque gemmarum*. Others, again look upon them as fit badges of the inviolable fidelity, for reason that the shells of the escallop or coquel, are married by nature in pairs; and that when they separate they can never be matched again to join with others; for which they have been chosen by sover-



Escallop.



Chevronels Bracée.

eigns and others as opposite badges of fraternity of several orders of knighthood and other societies. Also for many ages they have been the badges and marks of pilgrims in their expeditions and pilgrimages to holy places, and of such a distinguishing character and mark, that Pope Alexander IX., by a bull, discharged the giving the use of them except to pilgrims who were truly noble; as Ashmole, in "The Institution of the Garter," observes (chap. II, sec. 5); where also he gives several instances of the escallops adorning the orders of knighthood, as that called the Order of St. James in Gallicia, instituted in the year 857, had for its ensign a red cross in a white field cantoned with four escallops.

The escallop or coquet was so much esteemed in France that St. Louis, when in the year 1269 he instituted the noble Order

of the Sheep, upon the expedition into Africa, adorned the collar of that order with escallops of gold interlaced with double crescents of silver. Louis XI., of France, when he, in the year 1469, instituted the Order of Stillichel, he composed the collar with escallops of gold joined one with another, fastened to a small chain or mails of gold.

The escallop or coquet, with the French are all one; but when they want ears the French call them *vannets*. The English make no distinction and use only the term escallop.

Odericus Vitalis, who wrote about the middle of the twelfth century, states in his "Ecclesiastical History," that Pilras de Mandia, lord of that place, gave to St. Ebroulfe and the monks of Utica the churches of St. Mary, St. Germain and St. Vincent, *in villa qua nuncupatur Manlia, anno 1076*, and after his death was buried in the monk's cloister.

In the middle of the village of Manle are yet standing the ruins of the old castle, and on the gate are the arms of the family cut in stone, being parted per pale bordure of eight escallops. And on the church, within the choir, and near the high altar, where the lords of this place lie buried, they are again painted on boards quartered with the arms of Moranvilliers; being parted per pale, argent and gules, a bordure charged with eight escallops, all counterchanged of the same. There is also on these boards, a long succession of their names, with those of the Moranvilliers, with the dates of their marriages, deaths and burials, with inscriptions.

This lordship came at length from the Moranvilliers to the Harlays of Simay by marriage; of whom are descended a number of great families in France. Afterward it passed through several hands, and later was acquired by one Monsieur de Longiviere, being descended to his heirs in succession. About half a league from this stands the old castle of Panmure, belonging to the lords of this place, as may be seen on the maps of the Isle of France done in the year 1711 by William de l'Isle, geographer to the French king.

Sir Peter de Manle, grand-nephew and heir male of the family, in the beginning of the reign of King Alexander II., married Christina de Valoniis, daughter and sole heir of Sir Will-

iam de Valoniis, and grandchild of Philip de Valoniis, both of them successively great chamberlains of Scotland. By her he had the lordship of Panmure and Benvie, and he succeeded Sir William Manle.

The family of Panmure, through marriage, have the right to carry the arms of the lord of Brechin, and quarter them with their paternal thus: quarterly, first parted per pale, argent and gules, a bordure charged with eight escallops all counterchanged of the same for Manle; second, argent, three pallets waved, gules for the Valoniis; third quarter, quarterly first and fourth azure, a chevron between three crosses *fatees* argent; second and third or, three piles issuing from the chief conjoined by the points in base, gules, for Barclay, Lord Brechin.

Escallops are the proper figure of those of the surname of Pringle, whose first ancestor is said to have been one Peterin, a famous pilgrim of the holy land, who settled in Scotland and whose descendants were called at first, Pilgrims, and afterwards, by corruption, Pringles. The most ancient of the family is Hop Pringle, of that ilk, designed of Tevioldale, where the name is most numerous; and these carry argent on a bend sable three escallops or; crest, an escallop as the former.

OF VEGETABLES, TREES, PLANTS, HERBS, ETC., AND THEIR USE IN ARMS

Vegetables, including trees, plants, flowers, herbs, fruits, etc., are borne in arms not only as symbolical, but as badges and marks of the countries and lands where they are most abundant, are carried upon arms on account of the fact that their names have relation to those of the bearers. These things have proper terms in blazon as other charges according to their position, disposition and situation in the shield.

THE OAK TREE is said to represent antiquity and strength; the olive tree, peace; the vines, joy; the fig, sweetness and tranquility; the apple tree, love; the palm, conjugal love, etc., which are to be considered more properly in emblems and devices than in armor.

With the McGregors, because their lands were overspread with the fir tree, carried for arms, argent, a fir tree, growing out of a mount in base, vert, surmounted by a sword bendways, supporting by its point an imperial crown proper in the dexter chief canton to perpetuate a special service done by them to the crown.

Those of the surname of Wood, in old evidents and anciently named with that of the Basco, which signifies the same, carry trees relative to the names. In a charter of King William to the town of Inverness, in the second year of the king's reign, William de Basco, cancellarius regis, and Hugh de Basco are witnesses.

Wood of Bennyton, the principal family of that name carried, azure, an oak tree growing out of a mount in base proper between two cross-crosslets *fitchee* or; the last being a part of the arms of Tulloch of Bennyton, which the family carried for marrying the heiress with whom the lands came.

* Sir John Wood, of Bennyton, baronet, carried the same arms recorded in New Register, with the badge of Nova Scotia, as baronet; and for crest, a savage from the loins upwards, holding a club erect in his right hand and wreathed about the head and middle with laurel proper; for supporters, two savages, each having a baton erect in their hands, and wreathed about the head and middle as the former.

Wood, of Balbigro, had azure, an oak tree growing out of a mount in base or, and in one of its branches are fastened two keys, azure, by strap.

Wood, of Largo, had azure, a tree growing out of a mount in base or, between two ships under sail argent, as admiral to King James II. and King James IV., under whose reigns he defeated the English at sea. King James III. gave to Andrew Wood, master of her majesty's Yellow Kerril, the lands of Largo, and in the year 1482 he got a grant of them hereditably and inredeemably, whose issue male continued in possession of the lands of Largo until the reign of King Charles I. John Wood, a cadet of Largo, founded a hospital for fifteen old men in the reign of King Charles II. near to the line of Largo.

Those whose names end with wood, as Spottswood, Calder-

wood, Carrewood, Showerswood, Blackwood, carry trees or branches of them relative to the name.

Spottswood of that ilk, a good old family in the shire of Berwick, carried argent on a chevron gules between three oak trees, eradicate, vert, a boar's head coupé of the field.

Calderwood, of Picadee, carried argent, a palm tree growing out of a mount, in base proper, surmounted by a saltire gules, and on a chief azure, three mullets of the first; crest, a hand holding a bunch of palm proper.

Watson, of Saughton, in the shire of Midlothian had argent, an oak tree, growing out of a mount in base proper; surmounted by a fesse azure; crest, two hands issuing out of a cloud fesse-ways, holding the trunk of an oak pale-ways, with branches spreading forth.

Wilkinham, of that ilk, carried argent upon a mount, a grove of first, proper; crest, a dove with an olive branch in its beak. Supporters, two foresters in long gowns, to show that their progenitors were foresters to the high stewards of Scotland.

Mr. William Arkman, of Cairny, advocate and representative of the Arkmans of Loriehen, an old family in Angus, carried argent, a sinister hand in base issuing out of a cloud fesse-ways, holding an oak tree pale-ways proper, with a branch sprouting out of the top thereof, surmounted by a bend engrailed gules; crest, an oak tree proper.

The name of Lothian carries argent on a mount in base proper, a pine tree vert, a talbot tied thereto proper; and, upon one of the branches a bugle pendant of the second; which arms, within a bordure vert are recorded for Richard Lothian, merchant in Edinburgh; and for crest, a bugle or hunting horn.

In England many families carry trees relative to their names as Pyriton and Pine who carry pear and pine trees.

THE BROOM-PLANT was the badge and ancient device of the Plantaganet earl of Anjou, father of King Henry II. by his wife Maud, the empress, daughter and heiress of King Henry I. He did not carry the carbuncle as the armorial figure of his father, Anjou, but the figure of England with the broom-plant for his device, as did also his son Richard I., of England, who adorned his helmet with that plant instead of a crest, as upon his seal of arm.

Henry Plantaganet, son of Geoffrey, count of Anjou, by Matilda, queen of England, succeeded Stephen, as King Henry II. This surname of Plantaganet came from his father, who, having committed a crime, punished himself by flagellation with birches of plantagenet, or green broom. Hence, as stated, that count wore a branch of it on his helmet as a sign of his humility or penance. This branch being marshalled with the arms of Angiers, the capitol of Anjou was introduced into the royal escutcheon of England by King Henry II., the Plantaganet.

EARS OF CORN—These, said to represent plenty, are carried in arms in relation to the names of the bearers. Their stalks are either couped or slipped, or eradicate, and when with leaves they are said to be bladed.

The name of Riddell carried, argent, a chevron gules between three ears of rye stripped and bladed vert.

Walter Riddell, of Menti, carried argent a chevron engrailed, gules between three ears of rye stripped and bladed vert; crest, a dexter hand proper, holding an ear of rye stripped and bladed vert; crest, a dexter hand proper, holding an ear of rye stripped and bladed or.

Ears of corn, when they are bound up in sheaves are called *garbs*, and when their bandings are of another tincture, they are said to be banded of such. *Garb*, or *jarb* is a French word for bundles of any kind of grain, called by Latins *facis pumenturius*, and by some *manipulas*. Imhoff, in his blazons for shields, sheaves and garbs has the word *mergetes*; as in that of Sheffield, earl of Mulgrave, later, duke of Buckingham and Normandy, viz.: argent, a chevron between three garbs gules, relative to the name of Sheffield.

The surname of Cuming carried relative to the name, azure, three garbs of cuming or. There were many eminent families of this name in Scotland, the first of whom was John Cuming, who for his singular valor and other good qualities got several lands from King David I., and in the reigns of King Malcom and King William, the name of Cuming, John, son of Richard, is frequently to be met with in charters, as also that of his son William Cuming, who was created earl of Buchan, and made justiciary of Scotland by King William. Those of the name of

Cuming became very numerous and forceful, but most of the families were driven out of Scotland for submitting to the English, and taking part with the Baliols against the Bruces.

The name of Whiteford had, argent a bend between two cotises sable, accompanied with two garbs gules. The first of the family was Walter de Whiteford, who, for his good services done at the battle of Largs, in the reign of King Alexander III., under the command of Alexander, seneschal, high steward of Scotland, got the lands of Whiteford, near Paisley, in the shire of Renfrew. There is a tradition that one of the heads of the family who stood firm for his country in the time of King Robert Bruce against the English, surprised a party of English who were long encamped on the opposite side of the river Dart, by a stratagem of putting great quantities of sheaves of wheat and other grain into the water; and to perpetuate this signal overthrow of them, they carry in their arms the wheat sheaves.

Kelso, of Kelsoland, carried sable a fesse engrailed between three garbs or, confirmed in 1636, as marked in a book of old blazon. John Kelso, of Kelsoland, with the consent of his father; mortifies to the abbot and coronet of Paulsing the lands of Langlebank between the town of Largs and Kelsoland in the year 1399; from him was descended Archibald Kelso, of Kelsoland, who married a daughter of Steward of Bladthall in the reign of King James VI.

The name of Yule comes gules a garb or, between three crescents argent.

In England many families carry garbs, as William Hatton, viscount Hatton: azure, a chevron between three garbs or.

FLOWERS, LEAVES, ETC., THEIR HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE AS APPLIED TO HERALDRY AND THE SENTIMENTS THEY EXPRESS

The use of flowers as emblems and devices, on account of their beauty and the sentiments expressed by them, existed at a very early date. They are among the first designs made use of in heraldry; they have also served as national emblems in various countries.

THE THISTLE—This, the most ancient badge of Scotland, sig-

nifies courage, determination and tenacity of purpose as implied in the motto *Nemo me impune lacessit*. (No one provokes me with impunity.) It has for many ages been the ensign of the most ancient and noble Order of St. Andrew, known also as the Order of the Thistle. Its growth is abundant in that country and the very nature of it seems to express the characteristics of the people.

The thistle, as a part of the royal achievement of Scotland, has been in use to be granted by Scottish kings as additional honor to well deserving subjects, notably to Kerth, earl of Kentore, a part of whose armorial bearings are: supporters—two chevaliers in armor, each holding in his exterior hand the banner of Scotland, with the motto, *pro rege et patria*. The thistle also embraces a part of the arms granted to Sir Hugh Harris, of Cousland, and to Sir George Oglevie and Sir George Oglevie, of Barras.

THE ROSE—This beautiful flower is significant as having been the device adopted by two royal factions. The rose of England was first publicly assumed as devices by the sons of King Edward III., viz.: John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, who adopted the red rose for the badge of his family, and his brother Edward, who was created duke of York in 1385, and took a white rose for his device: “which the fantors and followers of them and their heirs,” says Nesbit, “did afterwards beat for distinction in that bloody war between the two houses of York and Lancaster.”

“These ducal ups and downs gradually separated the whole nation into the two parties of York and Lancaster, and led up to those terrible civil wars long known as the war of the white and red roses, because the red rose was the badge of the House of Lancaster and the white rose was the badge of the House of York.” The facts relating to the origin of this difficulty which separated friends and neighbors, parents and children are briefly told in the following:

Richard, duke of York, protector of the realm, claimed the crown from the house of Lancaster, which had been usurped by Henry IV., grandfather of Henry VI., then on the throne of England. From that time, the nation had been divided into

two camps of enemies, distinguished by the devices of the two chiefs York and Lancaster. The red rose being assumed as a badge of sanguinary vengeance by the Lancastrians, the party of York adopted the white rose as a symbol of innocence of legitimacy, Richard, duke of York, being descended from Lionel, the second son of Edward III., whilst Henry, duke of Lancaster, issued from John of Gaunt, the third son. The first battle between the two roses took place at St. Alban, in 1455.

These two roses were called sisters, cousins, or rivals, on account of the chiefs of the two factions descending from two brothers. The streamer of the Yorkists bore the sign of a sun, embroidered with gold framed by roses of silver. The two families were finally united by Henry VIII., the one male heir of the House of Lancaster, in marrying Princess Elizabeth, the eldest daughter and heiress of Edward IV. of this House of York, in 1486; the two roses were united in one which became the royal badge of England.

King John I., of Great Britain, was the first who adorned the compartment of his achievement wherein the supporters stand, with a thistle vert, flowered gules, issuing out of the right side; and out of the left, a rose gules, stalked and leaved vert; the badges of the two kingdoms; that of England being altogether red to show that the right of Lancaster was better than that of York in the person of King Henry VII.

Roses, when they are represented in arms with stalks and leaves in blazon, are said to be stalked and leaved of such a tincture. When the breast of the rose is of a different tincture from the body, they are said to be seeded and leaved of such a tincture, and the French say *tigees* and *fewillees*. When the heart of the rose is of a different tincture from the body it is seeded.

The custom of the Pope's blessing of roses, and other flowers, has occasioned the bearing of such in arms as those are in the bearing of Grenovle. Many carry roses as relative to their names as the house of Rosenpan, in Denmark, who charged their chevron with three roses.

The town of Montrose, a burgh-royal, as relative to the name, carried roses; argent a rose gules, with helmet, mantling and

wreath, suitable thereto; crest, a hand issuing from a cloud and reaching down a garland of roses proper; supporters, two mermaids rising from the sea.

David Lindsay, earl of Crawford, being the first that was honored with title and dignity of duke of Montrose for life, in the reign of King James III., took as an addition to his arms an escutcheon argent charged with three roses gules. This he carried by way of surtout over his own arms. William, lord Graham, when first dignified with the title of earl Montrose, quartered with his own, argent, three roses gules for Montrose; and the family being afterwards raised to the high titles of marquis and duke of Montrose, carried the same arms.

In Scotland the name of Penrose is universally relative to their name, carrying primroses, viz.: argent on a fesse azure three primroses gules, as many mullets or.

Dr. Gilbert Primrose, mentioned by Echard in his "History of England," was among the eminent men who died in 1642, and was particularly recommended by the king himself to the University of Oxford for his great worth and learning; and afterwards by the same king, he was made a canon of Windsor. Dr. James Primrose, his son, was an eminent physician. Archibald Primrose, son of Duncan Primrose, who descended from the Primroses of that ilk, acquired lands of Burnbree from abbacy of Culross, and had two sons. James Primrose, the eldest son, was principal clerk of the privy council of Scotland in the reign of King James VI. Archibald Primrose, the second son, was knighted by King Charles II. in 1651. And on that king's restoration he was made lord register and one of the senators of the college of justice.

The achievements of Sir Archibald Primrose, of Carrington, had arms, or, a lion rampant vert and langued gules (being a concession by King Charles II. to him for his loyalty.) surmounting a fesse purpure charged with three primroses of the field: crest, a demi-lion gules, holding forth in his dexter paw a primrose proper.

Sir Archibald Primrose, grandson of the above, was, in the year 1700, advanced to the dignity and title of viscount Roseberry, and afterwards raised to the honor of earl Roseberry in

the year 1703. He married Dorothy, daughter and heir of Everingham Cressy, of Berking, in the county of York by whom he had issue. After he was dignified he used other arms, viz.: or, three primroses, within a double treasure, flowered and counterflowered gules; supporters, two lions vert; crest, a demi lion gules holding in his dexter a primrose gules.

The Roosevelt family, of Holland, relative to the name, bore: arms, argent on a mount vert, a rose bush with three roses proper; crest, three ostrich feathers per pale gules and argent; motto, *Qui plantavit curabit* (the one who planted it will take care of it). Clæs Martensen Van Roosevelt, meaning Nicholas, the son of Martin, of the Rosefield, who emigrated to America from Holland in 1654 was the founder of the American family of the name, the ancestor of President Theodore Roosevelt.

(To be Continued.)



A. Lincoln.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

LYMAN HORACE WEEKS, Editor

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THE LITERATURE OF COLONIAL VIRGINIA

BY CARL HOLLIDAY

II

(1676-1750)

IN the years immediately preceding 1676—perhaps for a decade—there was a decided dearth of literary work of any sort in the Virginia colony. In New England there had been already a crude but virile beginning in such highly edifying efforts as the “Bay Psalm Book” and Michael Wigglesworth’s “Day of Doom,” (1662). What was the reason for this early contrast? The answer is not difficult to find. Two characteristics of the Southern colony—the one economic, the other educational—were apparently threatening the intellectual life of the people. It has frequently been noted that the units of society in the two sections were very different; that in the North the people, through necessity, chose the close, densely populated community, the township, the village, and the city, while in the South the county became the measure of government, and the county court house often times the one center of interest in a wide area. It must be admitted that the New England environment, resulting from the compact form of settlement, no matter what its effects on the moral and physical well-being, was undoubtedly more stimulating to the intellectual life.

“The manor system of the South discouraged manufactures, prevented united municipal endeavors, and created a spirit of reluctance toward accepting new movements. Rank was based largely on possession of land. Extensive, but not intensive, agriculture wrought havoc to both soil and perseverance, and sowed the seed of a characteristic Southern form of poverty known as ‘land-poor.’ Such training destroyed here the very

kind of shrewdness and far seeing business ability which the New Englander was so rapidly gaining.

“Now, as a result of this system, there undoubtedly existed an admirable degree of domestic felicity, but, at the same time, too much individual independence and a consequent lack of co-operation in culture movements. The New England system was far more likely to cause greater consideration for the opinions of others, while that of Virginia just as certainly presented the danger of nourishing an intolerance born of ignorant egotism. In short, the social structure, a sort of modernized feudal system, with the destructive institution of slavery attached, became a blighting force in a district which, by its natural endowments, should at once have become the most populous and the richest portion of North America.”³¹

Whatever influences the intellectual life in one particular must influence it in all; and we find that for the time being Southern literature suffered. I have said that the educational conditions also had much to do with this literary barrenness. The Virginia historian, Campbell, declares that the first and second generation of Virginians were far inferior to their ancestors in knowledge. And yet, popular free education was intended as a part of the earliest plans of the Virginia Company. Funds amounting to several thousand pounds had been appropriated in 1621 by this corporation, for the founding of a free institution bearing the name of “East India School” and to be located at “Charles Citty.” There was to be a still higher school, and funds for this also had been provided. A certain scholar, George Thorpe, came over to establish the system, but he perished in the massacre of 1622, and thus the scheme failed. The company lost a portion of its power over the colonies; the control came partially into royal hands; and then it was that an official made the sneering remark: “Virginia education be damned; we want Virginia tobacco!”

These were the conditions during the latter half of the seventeenth century. Even as late as 1715, when Governor Spotswood dissolved the Virginia assembly he felt free to say: “I observe that the grand ruling party in your house has not furnished chairmen of two of your standing committees who can

31. Holliday's "History of Southern Literature," p. 48.

spell English or write common sense, as the grievances under their own handwriting will manifest." But before this time educational conditions had begun to improve. In 1693 William and Mary College had been established; by 1776 it had taken on somewhat the semblance of a university, with small beginnings in law and medicine; and it had already begun to show that rich fruit which its long career has given America. John Fiske has given but a slight hint of that fruit when he says:

"Though until lately its number of students at one time has never reached one hundred and fifty, it has given to our country fifteen senators and seventy representatives in Congress; seventeen governors of States and thirty-seven judges; three presidents of the United States:—Jefferson, Monroe, and Tyler; and the great Chief Justice Marshall."³²

The colony, moreover, was not without other signs of intellectual development. Fiske mentions the fact that among a Virginia musician's effects sold in 1755 were found Handel's "Acis and Galatea" and "Apollo's Feast," four books of the instrumental scores of Handel's oratorios, ten books of Handel's songs, the score of several Corelli sonatas, and the works of several other standard composers.³³ By 1716 Williamsburg had a theatre, and from time to time English companies went there and to Charleston.

But all this was at a later date than that with which we must deal at this moment. Ignorance was undoubtedly for a period the bane of Virginia life, and bigotry was its companion. Witches were tortured in Virginia as in New England.³⁴ The Virginia assembly passed a law in 1632 punishing all dissenters from the Episcopal Church, in 1662 all persons refusing to have their children baptized were banished; in 1741 the Presbyterians were persecuted by cruel laws; and as late as 1746 the Moravians and Methodists suffered "legal" indignities. Professor Moses Coit Tyler has summed it up, perhaps a little unfairly, but not greatly so, when he says:

32. Fiske's "Virginia and Her Neighbors," vol. II, p. 129.

33. See *William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. III, p. 251.

34. Burk's "History of Virginia," vol. II, Appendix XXXI.

“The units of the community isolated; little chance for mind to kindle mind; no schools; no literary institutions, high or low; no public libraries; no printing press; no intellectual freedom; no religious freedom; the forces of society tending to create two great classes; a class of vast land-owners, haughty, hospitable, indolent, passionate, given to field-sports and politics, and a class of impoverished white plebeians and black serfs;—these constitute a situation out of which may be evolved country gentlemen loud-lunged and jolly fox-hunters, militia heroes, men of boundless domestic heartiness and social grace, astute and imperious politicians, fiery orators, and, by and by, here and there, some men of elegant culture, most acquired abroad; here and there, perhaps, after a while, a few amateur literary men; but no literary class, and almost no literature.”³⁵

Thus opens the period from 1676 to 1776—the period which John Fiske has called “the century of political education.” If intellectual affairs were in such a condition as that noted above, what caused the sudden awakening, the rapid development, which took place in the years immediately following 1676? The reasons again are apparent.

BACON'S DECLARATION

For some time there had been a growing feeling among Virginians that they were not receiving all the rights and favors of government to which their loyalty to the king and their value to English commerce entitled them. Berkeley was frequently careless, impatient of any suggestions on the part of the people, somewhat haughty, and very slow to act in matters which did not immediately concern him and his. He had shown his character in his famous or, rather, infamous declaration: “I thank God there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years.” Also Charles II, when he came to the throne had acted in a most fool-hardy manner toward the colony. “His first parliament passed navigation acts that almost paralyzed her agriculture and industries; he himself gave to his favorites immense tracts of land that were not his to give; he placed over the colonists despotic and grasp-

35. Tyler's "History of American Literature," vol. I, 92.

ing officials.”³⁶ The people certainly were in no frame of mind to receive farther suggestions of serfdom.

But now in the fall and winter of 1675 the Indians began to invade the outer settlements; the colonists fled toward the coast; and the people called loudly for help from Berkeley. Seemingly unconcerned, he remained almost passive, and the savages were emboldened to more outrageous deeds. Something had to be done, and that immediately. A colonial army was organized, and one, Nathaniel Bacon, a man scarcely thirty years of age, was called to the leadership of the little band. The Indians were vanquished; peace was restored; and Bacon, the young warrior, became the idol of the people. But Governor Berkeley had refused to sign Bacon's commission as leader of the army, and his haughty spirit could not brook this rebellious act. He sent forth throughout Virginia his declaration that “Bacon, proceeding against all laws of all nations modern and ancient, is rebel to his sacred majesty and this country.”³⁷ But Bacon was not so easily abashed, and he came back at the unpopular governor with a “Declaration in the Name of the People of Virginia.”³⁸ We may not go into the details of that bold statement, except to note that it contained eight good reasons why Berkeley should not be proud of himself, and also to note that it ended with the following unblushing demand:

“And we do further demand that the said Sir William Berkeley with all the persons in this list be forthwith delivered up or surrender themselves within four days after the notice hereof; or otherwise we declare as followeth:

“That in whatsoever place, house, or ship, any of the said persons shall reside, be hid, or protected, we declare the owners, masters or inhabitants of the said places to be confederates and traitors to the people, and the estates of them, as also of all the aforesaid persons, to be confiscated; and this we the Commons of Virginia do declare, desiring a firm union amongst ourselves that we may jointly and with one accord defend ourselves against the common enemy.” . . . ³⁹

36. Holliday's "History of Southern Literature," p. 43.

37. Berkeley's Declaration against Bacon. "Aspinwall Papers," Massachusetts Historical Society, 1871.

38. Ibid.

39. "Aspinwall Papers," Massachusetts Historical Society, 1871.

In the conflict which followed, Bacon proved himself decidedly the shrewder antagonist, and undoubtedly would have won the victory had not death suddenly overtaken him. The cause of that death will never be known; but tradition says that poison in the hands of a faithless soldier did the mysterious work. His very burial place was kept secret; but tradition locates it near Gloucester Court House, Virginia. But one thing is certain: the souls of the people were at last fully awakened, and the century of political education had begun.

THE BURWELL PAPERS

In those days it was a dangerous business to praise a patriot. Therefore we shall find the first literary results of this "rebellion" unsigned. They go by the name of the "Burwell Papers"—for they long remained in the possession of the Burwell family—and may be found today in the publications of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Opening in the midst of a description of an Indian fight—for the first pages are lost—they tell in simple but effective words the story of our first national hero.

"They began," the account declares, "to have Bacon's merits in mistrust as a luminary that threatened an eclipse to their rising glories; for though he was but a young man, yet they found that he was master and owner of those inducements which constitute a complete man." The story tells of Bacon's work as leader, the admiration of the people, the refusal on the part of the governor to sign his commission. He is proclaimed a rebel. Ever a man of quick decision, he at once marches with five hundred men against the capital, makes terms of peace, and goes his way. Again he is proclaimed a rebel.

"This strange and unexpected news," as the narrative quaintly puts it, "put him, and some with him, shrewdly to their trumps, believing that a few such deals or shuffles (call them which you please) might quickly wring the cards and game too out his hand. . . ."

"It vexed him to the heart (as he was heard to say) for to think that while he was hunting wolves, tigers, and foxes, which daily destroyed our harmless sheep and lambs, that he and those

with him should be pursued with a full cry, as a more savage or a no less ravenous beast. But to put all out of doubt, and himself in some degree of safety, since he could not tell but that some whom he left behind might not more desire his death than to hear that by him the Indians were destroyed, he forthwith (after a short consultation held with some of his soldiers) countermarches his army, and in a trice came up with them at the Middle Plantation, a place situated in the very heart of the country.”⁴⁰

Have I not intimated that Bacon was the shrewder antagonist? He decided to fight a bloodless battle. Dispatching his men throughout the neighboring country, he ordered them to bring in all the colonial dames they could find, to place as shields in front of his own soldiers. The frightened ladies were brought to camp; they were put in the proper, or perhaps improper positions; and Bacon dared the enemy to come forth. According to the manuscript,

“The poor gentlewomen were mightily astonished at this project; neither were their husbands void of amazements at this subtle invention. . . . This action was a method in war that they were not well acquainted with (no, not those the best informed in military affairs), that before they could come to pierce their enemies sides, they must be obliged to dart their weapons through their wives’ breasts; by which means though they (in their own persons) might escape without wounds, yet it might be the lamentable fate of their better half to drop by gunshot, or otherwise be wounded to death.

“Whether it was these considerations, or some others I do not know, that kept their swords in their scabbards, but this is manifest: That Bacon knit more knots by his own head in one day than all the hands in town was able to untie in a whole week; while these ladies’ white aprons became of greater force to keep the besieged from falling out than his works (a pitiful trench) had strength to repel the weakest shot that should have been sent into his leaguer, had he not made use of his invention.”⁴¹

Thus the story continues, until it comes to the death of the young hero, and here the pathos is indeed sincere. One portion of that final description is in the form of an epitaph, “drawn,”

40. Bacon’s Proceedings in “Burwell Papers”.

41. Bacon’s Proceedings in “Burwell Papers”.

so the manuscript says, "by the man that waited upon his person, as it is said, and who attended his corpse to their burial place." We shall never know the name of the writer of the sorrowful elegy, but he had the gifts of a poet. In these lines we have the first original poetry of merit written in America.

"Death, why so cruel? What! no other way
To manifest thy spleen, but thus to slay
Our hopes of safety, liberty, our all,
Which, through thy tyranny, with him must fall
To its late chaos? . . .

. . . Now we must complain,
Since thou, in him, hast more than thousand slain,
Whose lives and safeties did so much depend
On him their life, with him their lives must end.

If't be a sin to think Death brib'd can be
We must be guilty; say 'twas bribery
Guided the fatal shaft. Virginia's foes,
To whom for secret crimes just vengeance owes
Deserved plagues, dreading their just desert,
Corrupted Death by Paracelsian art
Him to destroy; whose well tried courage such,
Their heartless hearts, nor arms, nor strength could touch.

Who now must heal those wounds, or stop that blood
The Heathen made, and drew into a flood?
Who is't must plead our cause? nor trump nor drum
Nor Deputations; these, alas! are dumb
And cannot speak. . . .

While none shall dare his obsequies to sing
In deserv'd measures; until time shall bring
Truth crown'd with freedom, and from danger free
To sound his praises to posterity.

Here let him rest; while we this truth report
He's gone from hence unto a higher Court
To plead his cause, where he by this doth know
Whether to Caesar he was friend or foe."⁴²

THE "T. M." MANUSCRIPT

In 1803 Rufus King, happening one day to attend an auction sale in London, found and purchased at a very small price a curious manuscript signed "T. M." and dated July 13, 1705.

42. Bacon's Proceedings in "Burwell Papers".

Upon examination it proved to be a report sent to Robert Harley, at one time Secretary of State for Great Britain, and evidently had been written in answer to his request for a trustworthy account of Bacon's Rebellion. Rufus King realized the value of the manuscript and soon sent it to Thomas Jefferson, who had it published in the Richmond *Enquirer* of September, 1804. Like the author of the "Burwell Papers," the writer is totally unknown, save for his own statement that he had been a member of the Virginia Assembly. But it is conjectured, with no small degree of reason, that he was Thomas Matthews, son of Colonel Samuel Matthews, once governor of Virginia.

Whoever he was, he wrote a most interesting story. According to him the whole rebellion had its origin in the fact that the Indians killed one of his servants, named Hen. Perhaps we who, in this day, live amidst the peace and safety of an advanced civilization, can gain some idea of the strange life of those times, from reading this one paragraph of T. M.'s narrative:

"My dwelling was in Northumberland, the lowest country on Potomac River, Stafford being the upmost, where having also a plantation, servants, cattle, etc., my overseer there had agreed with one Robt. Hen to come thither and be my herdsman, who then lived ten miles above it. But on a Sabbath-day morning, in the summer anno 1675, people in their way to church saw this Hen lying athwart his threshold, and an Indian without the door, both chopped on their heads, arms, and other parts, as if done with Indian hatchets. The Indian was dead; but Hen, when asked who did that answered, 'Doegs, Doegs,' and soon died. Then a boy came out from under a bed, where he had hid himself, and told them, Indians had come at break of day and done those murders.'⁴³

There is little need of our again going over the story of the rebellion; this one but enlarges and adds to the interest of the narrative found in the "Burwell Papers." Perhaps it would be more interesting to turn for a moment to a few of those portions that show the character of those curious days. How surprising it is, for instance, to read of such superstition as the following:

43. Force's "Historical Tracts".

“This unhappy scene ended [the killing of several Indians], Col. Mason took the king of the Doegs’ son home with him, who lay ten days in bed, as one dead, with eyes and mouth shut, no breath discerned; but his body continuing warm, they believed him yet alive. The aforementioned Capt. Brent (a Papist) coming thither on a visit and seeing his little prisoner thus languishing said, ‘Perhaps he is powwowed’ (*i. e.* bewitched), and that he had heard baptism was an effectual remedy against witchcraft, wherefore advised to baptize him. Col. Mason answered, no minister could be had in many miles. Brent replied, ‘Your clerk Mr. Dodson may do that office,’ which was done by the Church of England liturgy; Col. Mason with Capt. Brent godfather and Mrs. Mason godmother, my overseer Mr. Pinet being present, from whom I first heard it, and which all the other persons afterwards affirmed to me; the four men returned to drinking punch, but Mrs. Mason staying and looking on the child, it opened the eyes and breathed, whereat she ran for a cordial, which he took from a spoon, gaping for more, and so by degrees recovered, though before his baptism, they had often tried the same means, but could not by no endeavors wrench open his teeth.”⁴⁴

Again, there were rumors of fell disaster in the air. Everybody knew that something terrible was about to happen; for—But hear it in T. M.’s own words:

“About the year 1675, appeared three prodigies in that country, which from the attending disasters were looked upon as ominous presages.

“The one was a large comet every evening for a week or more, at south-west, thirty-five degrees high, streaming like a horse-tail westwards. . . .

“Another was flights of pigeons in breadth nigh a quarter of the mid-hemisphere, and of their length was no visible end; whose weights break down the limbs of large trees whereon these rested at nights, of which the fowlers shot abundance and eat them; this sight put the old planters under the more portentous apprehensions, because the like was seen, as they said, in the year 1640, when the Indians committed the last massacre. . . .

“The third strange appearance was swarms of flies about an inch long, and big as the top of a man’s little finger, rising out of spigot holes in the earth, which eat the new spouted leaves from

44. Force’s “Historical Tracts”.

the tops of the trees without other harm, and in a month left us."⁴⁵

We of to-day look upon the Red Man as a rather poor specimen of humanity,—an object of government charity, a loafing consumer of fire-water and tobacco. But there was a time when the native dignity and unbending will of the Indian compelled the admiration of his most tyrannical persecutors. Hear this bit of description from the pen of "T. M." A Virginia council of war is being held, and an Indian queen has been invited to the meeting in order to secure aid from her.

"Our committee being sat, the Queen of Pamunby . . . was introduced, who enter the chamber with a comportment graceful to admiration, bringing on her right hand an Englishman interpreter, and on her left her son, a stripling twenty years of age, she having round her head a plat of black and white wampum peague three inches broad in imitation of a crown, and was clothed in a mantle of dressed deer-skins, with the hair outwards and the edge cut round six inches deep, which made strings resembling twisted fringe, from the shoulders to the feet. Thus with grave, courtlike gestures and a majestic air in her face, she walked up our long room to the lower end of the table where, after a few entreaties, she sat down; the interpreter and her son standing by her on either side, as they had walked up. Our chairman asked her what men she would lend us for guides in the wilderness and to assist us against our enemy Indians. She spake to the interpretor to inform her what the chairman said (though we believed she understood him). He told us she bid him ask her son, to whom the English tongue was familiar, and who was reputed the son of an English colonel; yet neither would he speak to or seem to understand the chairman, but, the interpretor told us, he referred all to his mother, who, being again urged, she (after a little musing), with an earnest, passionate countenance, as if tears were ready to gush out, and a fervent sort of expression, made a harangue about a quarter of an hour, often interlacing (with a high, shrill voice and vehement passion) these words, 'Tatapatamoi Chipiack' (*i. e.* 'Tatapatamoi⁴⁶ dead')

"Her discourse ending, and our morose chairman not advancing one cold word towards assuaging the anger and grief her

45. Force's "Historical Tracts".

46. Her husband.

speech and demeanor manifested under her oppression, . . . rudely pushed again the same question, 'What Indians will you now contribute?' etc. Of this disregard she signified her resentment by a disdainful aspect, and turning her head half aside, sat mute till that same question being pressed a third time, she not returning her face to the board, answered with a low, slighting voice in her own language, 'Six;' but being further importuned, she, sitting a little while sullen, without uttering a word between, said, 'Twelve,' though she then had a hundred and fifty Indian men in her town; and so rose up and gravely walked away. . . .'⁴⁷

These were the people with whom the founders of this nation had to contend, and these were the people who, in their thirst for revenge, called forth the united efforts of those founders, prevented a dangerous intellectual apathy, and unconsciously aided in causing the power of thought to bring forth a new government among men. Friendly environments are always welcome; but thank Heaven for our enemies; they make us think.

ROBERT BEVERLY

One of those serious thinkers of colonial Virginia was named Robert Beverly (1676-1735). He was a native Virginian, the son of an English army officer who had settled in Middlesex county and who for some time had held the office of clerk in the House of Burgesses. Young Beverly was educated in England, and upon his return to America soon gained attention through his trained and solid intellect. Like his father, he entered actively into the political life of the colony, because clerk of the Virginia Council in 1697, and was a member of the House of Burgesses in the year 1699-1700.

It so happened that one day Beverly saw some proof-sheets of Oldmixon's "British Empire in America." He was astonished at the number of mistakes and marks of prejudice in the small portion read by him, and he at once saw the dangerous effects of such a publication and the need of an antidote. Possessed of an accurate knowledge of Virginia records, he himself determined to write the story of the colony's life. The result was his author-

47. Force's "Historical Tracts".

itative "History and Present State of Virginia" (1705), a work which attracted wide attention not only among the English but also among the French, into whose language it was translated.

In Robert Beverly we have something of a Southern Ben Franklin. He had "a quaint personality and a deal of sound sense,"⁴⁸ mingled with a good perception of the relative importance of things, and his descriptions of the Virginia of his day are full of both wise criticism and well-phrased pictures. Hear him describe an old time "possum" hunt:

"They have another sort of hunting, which is very diverting, and that they call vermin-hunting; it is performed a-foot, with small dogs in the night, by the light of the moon or stars. Thus in summer time they find abundance of raccoons, opossums, and foxes in the corn-fields, and about their plantations; but at other times they must go into the woods for them. The method is to go out with three or four dogs, and as soon as they come to the place, they bid the dogs seek out, and all the company follow immediately. Wherever a dog barks, you may depend upon finding the game; and this alarm draws both men and dogs that way. If this sport be in the woods, the game by that time you come near it is perhaps mounted to the top of an high tree, and then they detach a nimble fellow up after it, who must have a scuffle with the beast, before he can throw it down to the dogs; and then the sport increases, to see the vermin encounter those little curs. In this sort of hunting, they also carry their great dogs out with them, because wolves, bears, panthers, wild cats, and all other beasts of prey are abroad in the night."⁴⁹

And see the antiquity of Virginia hospitality:

"The inhabitants are very courteous to travellers, who need no other recommendation, but the being human creatures. A stranger has no more to do, but to inquire upon the road where any gentleman or good housekeeper lives, and there he may depend upon being received with hospitality. This good nature is so general among their people, that the gentry, when they go abroad, order their principal servant to entertain all visitors with everything the plantation affords. And the poor planters, who have but one bed, will very often sit up, or lie upon a form or couch all night to make room for a weary traveller to repose himself after his journey."⁵⁰

48. Holliday's "History of Southern Literature," p. 51.

49. Beverly's "History and Present State of Virginia".

50. Beverly's "History and Present State of Virginia".

But Beverly's work is not all praise. I have said that he indulges in "wise criticism," and in fact his words along this line are so wise that even the South of today may get some suggestive hints from them. There is no mincing of words in this straightforward rebuke:

"Indeed some few hides with much adoe are tann'd and made into servant's shoes; but at so careless a rate that the planters don't care to buy them, if they can get others. . . . Nay, they are such abominable ill-husbands that tho' their country be over-run with wood, yet they have all their wooden ware from England; their cabinets, chairs, tables, . . . to the eternal reproach of their laziness. . . . They sponge upon the blessings of a warm sun and a fruitful soil, and almost grutch the pains of gathering in the bounties of the earth."⁵¹

Here, then, we find a distinct demand for a more active intelligence on the part of Virginians. And here, too, is to be noted the still more important fact that the colony is realizing more and more the worthiness of its past and the possibilities of its future. Virginia now has a history and men take a pride in writing it. From now on we shall find the note of national consciousness ever growing more distinct, more persistent.

JAMES BLAIR

Mention has been made of the early intellectual conditions of the colony, of the failure in the intended system of public education, and of the founding and development of William and Mary College. The first president of that institution was a power in the land. He deposed two governors of Virginia, and in fact, as President Lyon G. Tyler of the college has put it, "walked rough shod over such small things as grammar masters and colonial governors."⁵² But let it not be thought that he was a mere wilful, domineering tyrant; the intense earnestness of the man and the dire necessity of the work compelled him to hold to his course in spite of all obstacles.

James Blair, a young Scotchman, came to Virginia in 1685. Born in 1656, he was educated at the University of Edinburgh, where he graduated in 1673, and for some years was rector of

51. Beverly's "History and Present State of Virginia".

52. Tyler's "Early Courses and Professors at William and Mary College", p. 1.

Cranston. But the bishop of London saw in this man a restless, aggressive spirit, one who possessed the Scotch fighting blood which had made a Bruce and a Wallace famous; and the observant Bishop seized upon him as a worthy warrior for the cause in America. So it was that Blair willingly left a home of comfort and refinement to do battle for his God in a land of hardships and dangers. He at once perceived that one of the gravest evils of the Virginia colony was the ignorance of its people. "Possessing the simple, strong, shrewd, persevering, positive, and energetic nature of the typical Scotchman, he *had* to fight, and forthwith he found his foe."⁵³

We may not enter into the details of James Blair's untiring efforts for the establishment of an adequate school in Virginia. Sufficient to say he obtained colonial money for the scheme; he returned to England and received more money and a charter, and by 1693 he was prepared to open the doors of William and Mary College. From that day his influences was so paramount, not only in Virginia, but in all the Southern colonies, that we are compelled to recognize him as the founder of Southern culture.

More than thirty years after the founding of the institution, that is in 1727, he published, with the aid of two friends, Henry Hartwell and Edward Chilton, a description entitled "The Present State of Virginia and the College." The little book was brought out in London, and both there and in Virginia aroused no small attention, and not a few evidences of bad feeling. But this was exactly what the zealous, hard-headed Scotchman desired. For the tract deals in no trickeries of language; it speaks frankly and boldly.

"When one considers the wholesomeness of its air, the fertility of its soil, the commodiousness of its navigable rivers and creeks, the openness of its coast all the year long, the conveniency of its fresh-water runs and springs, the plenty of its fish, fowl and wild beasts, the variety of its simples and dyeing-woods, the abundance of its timbers, minerals, wild vines and fruits, the temperature of its climate; . . . in short, if it be looked upon in all respects as it came out of the hand of God, it is certainly

53. Holliday's "History of Southern Literature", p. 57.

one of the best countries in the world. But, on the other hand, if we enquire for well-built towns, for convenient ports and markets, for plenty of ships and seamen, for well-improved trades and manufactures, for well-educated children, for an industrious and thriving people, or for an happy government in church and state, and in short for all the other advantages in human improvements, it is certainly, for all these things, one of the poorest miserablest and worst countries in all America, that is inhabited by Christians.'⁵⁴

At this point it would be well for all Virginians to arise and recite those significant words of that more kind-hearted Scotchman, Bobby Burns:

“O wad some Power the giftie gie us
To see oursels as ithers see us!”

I gladly spare the lovers of the Old Dominion from any more of such heart-rending quotations. Before leaving Blair, however, it would be well for us to consider the fact that he wrote one hundred and seventeen sermons on the Sermon on the Mount! They filled five goodly volume and created something of a stir in the English theological world of that day. The perseverance of a college president is proverbial, but this is a little above the average! However, we may not linger here to reflect on the psychological make-up of a man who could compose a hundred and seventeen sermons on one subject; but let us merely note, in passing, that each discourse is clearly and tersely written, that every argument is based on faultless logic, that every thought is to the point, and that there is not a line which could not be understood by an ordinary reader. At least, that is what preachers of the day said. What greater praise could a theologian desire?

HUGH JONES

In the days of this same James Blair there was at William and Mary, a professor of mathematics named Hugh Jones (1669-1760). Jones was as frank as Blair, and when he sat down to write his own book, “The Present State of Virginia” (1724), he described conditions, not as they should have been, but as they were. He had previously written an “English Grammar,” a

54. Blair’s “The Present State of Virginia”.

book on mathematics, and "Accidence to Christianity," and these texts sold rather widely; but his literary efforts did not attract extensive notice until his clear descriptions of Virginia and Virginians were given in "The Present State." Jones says of his Virginians that they are,

"For the most part . . . much civilized and wear the best of clothes according to their station; nay sometimes too good for their circumstances, being for the generality comely, handsome persons, of good feature, and fine complexions (if they take care), of good manners and address. The climate makes them bright and of excellent sense, and sharp in trade; an idiot or deformed native being almost a miracle."⁵⁵

Thus it is apparent that Virginians change but little as the centuries go by. But even Virginians have faults. Listen:

"They are more inclinable to read men by business and conversation than to dive into books, and are for the most part only desirous of learning what is absolutely necessary in the shortest and best method.

"They are not very easily persuaded to the improvement of useful inventions (except a few, such as sawing mills), neither are they great encouragers of manufacturers, because of the trouble and certain expense in attempts of this kind, with uncertain prospect of gain; whereas by their staple commodity tobacco, they are in hopes to get a plentiful provision; nay, often very great estates.

"Upon this account they think it folly to take off their hands (or negroes) and employ their care and time about anything that may make them lessen their crop of tobacco."

And behold the antiquity of the Southern custom of liquid refreshments and hot bread!

"Some planters, etc., make good small drink with cakes of persimmons, a kind of plums which grow there in great plenty; but the common small beer is made of molasses, which makes extraordinary brisk, good-tasted liquor at a cheap rate, with little trouble in brewing; so that they have it brisk and fresh as they want it in winter and summer. And as they brew, so do they bake daily bread or cakes, *eating too much hot and new bread, which cannot be wholesome, though it be pleasanter than what has been baked a day or two.*"

55. Jones' "The Present State of Virginia".

But in spite of such dangerous customs, Jones sees in Virginia a land unequalled in blessings. Can Virginians of to-day speak with truth such words as these?

"The plenty of the country and the good wages given to work-folks occasion very few poor, who are supported by the parish, being such as are lame, sick, or decrepit through age, distempers, accidents or some infirmities; for where there is a numerous family of poor children, the vestry takes care to bind them out apprentices till they are able to maintain themselves by their own labor; by which means they are never tormented with vagrant and vagabond beggars. . . ."

A desirable state of affairs, is it not? Little wonder that Jones waxes enthusiastic and delivers himself of the following boastful declaration:

"If New England be called a receptacle of Dissenters, and an Amsterdam of religion, Pennsylvania the nursery of Quakers, Maryland the retirement of Roman Catholics, North Carolina the refuge of runaways, and South Carolina the delight of buccaneers and pirates, Virginia may be justly esteemed the happy retreat of true Britons and true Churchmen. . . ."⁵⁶

WILLIAM BYRD

Perhaps the most learned and most versatile of all these "true Britons and true Churchmen" was Colonel William Byrd. Born at Westover, Virginia, the family seat which had been established by his father a few years previous, he was educated in England, Holland, and France, studied law under the best English attorneys of the day, was called to the bar in the Middle Temple, was elected a member of the Royal Society, and received every advantage which his splendid natural endowments and great wealth warranted. While still a young man he returned to the colony, succeeded his father as receiver-general of the colony, was for thirty-seven years a member of the Virginia Council, at length became its president, was three times colonial agent to Great Britain, and founded the cities of Petersburg and Richmond. We may well believe his epitaph, in its declaration that he was "the constant enemy of all exorbitant power and a hearty friend to the liberties of his country."

56. Jones' "The Present State of Virginia".

But interesting as it would be to look minutely into the varied activities of the talented Colonel, we must confine our inquiries to those quieter hours of his life, when he sat in his luxurious library and wrote down the memories, sentiments, and theories of his brilliant mind. What a library was that for those days! More than four thousand volumes, it is declared, and not for show, either. Colonel Byrd read them and loved them, and the well turned phrases of his writings show their influences. These writings may all be found today in the "Byrd Manuscripts," and, to use Horace Greeley's pet expression, "make mighty interesting reading."

In 1729 Byrd had charge of the party that ran the dividing line between Virginia and North Carolina. His "History of the Dividing Line" tells all about it; but—under no conditions should I advise North Carolinians to read the story. There are no churches in North Carolina, says Byrd, and the only people who have no religion at all are "the Hottentots of the Cape of Good Hope and of North Carolina!" But let Byrd himself describe the utter depravity of the Old North State:

"One thing may be said for the inhabitants of that province, that they are not troubled with any religious fumes, and have the least superstition of any people living. They do not know Sunday from any other day, any more than Robinson Crusoe did; which would given them a great advantage, were they given to be industrious. But they keep so many Sabbaths every week, that their disregard of the seventh day has no manner of cruelty in it, either to servants or cattle. . . . A citizen here is counted extravagant if he has ambition enough to aspire to a brick chimney. Justice herself is but indifferently lodged, the court-house having much the air of a common tobacco-house. I believe this is the only metropolis in the Christian or Mohammedan world, where there is neither church, chapel, mosque, synagogue, or any other place of public worship of any sect or religion whatsoever."⁵⁷

I am sure that I mean no ill toward the good people of North Carolina, when I add this final bit of description—a picture of an old-time North Carolinian and his spouse.

"Like the ravens he neither ploughed nor sowed, but sub-

57. "History of the Dividing Line" in the "Byrd Manuscripts."

sisted chiefly upon oysters, which his hand-maid made a shift to gather from the adjacent rocks. Sometimes, too, for change of diet, he sent her to drive up the neighbors' cows, to moisten their mouths with a little milk. But as for raiment, he depended mostly upon his length of beard, and she upon her length of hair, part of which she brought decently forward, and the rest dangled behind quite down to her rump, like one or Herodotus's East Indian pigmies. Thus did these wretches live in a dirty state of nature, and were mere Adamites, innocence only excepted."

We may not linger over the many merry pages in this book and in his others, "A Progress to the Mines" (1732) and "A Journey to the Land of Eden" (1732). A slight hint of their sarcasm is given when we discover the Land of Eden is no other than the aforesaid commonwealth of North Carolina. I am sure that its citizens all draw a sigh of relief when they hear that by this year he had found several preachers within its boundaries.

But it must not be concluded that Colonel Byrd was merely a brilliant scoffer. Many portions of his works are of most serious interest. His descriptions of the early efforts to explore the country, the endeavors to start manufacturing, the political issues, the curious customs of the settlers and of the Indians—these and many other interesting points are touched upon. For instance, note this hint of the misery of a night in the Dismal Swamp:

"They first covered the ground with square pieces of cypress bark, which now, in the spring, they could easily slip off the tree for that purpose. On this they spread their bedding;; but unhappily the weight and warmth of their bodies made the water rise up betwixt the joints of the bark to their great inconvenience. Thus they lay not only moist, but also exceedingly cold, because their fires were continually going out. For no sooner was the trash upon the surface burnt away, but immediately the fire was extinguished by the moisture of the soil, insomuch that it was great part of the sentinel's business to rekindle it again in a fresh place every quarter of an hour."⁵⁸

Many indeed are the extracts which we might take from the writings of this wide-awake scholar and man of affairs; but

58. "History of the Dividing Line" in the "Byrd Manuscripts."

we must close with the following specimen—his recital of the tender Indian legend of a Christ:

“These Indians have a very odd tradition amongst them, that many years ago their nation was grown so dishonest, that no man could keep any goods, or so much as his loving wife to himself. That, however, their God, being unwilling to root them out for their crimes did them the honor to send a Messenger from Heaven to instruct them, and set them a perfect example of integrity and kind behavior towards one another.

“But this holy Person, with all his eloquence and sanctity of life was able to make very little reformation amongst them. Some few old men did listen a little to his wholesome advice, but all the young fellows were quite incorrigible. They not only neglected his precepts but derided and evil entreated his person. At last, taking upon him to reprove some young rakes of the Conechta Clan very sharply for their impiety, they were so provok’d at the freedom of his rebukes that they tied him to a tree and shot him with arrows through the heart. But their God took instant vengeance on all who had a hand in that monstrous act, by lightning from Heaven, and has ever since visited their nation with a continued train of calamities, nor will he ever leave off punishing and wasting their people till he shall have blotted every living soul of them out of the world.”⁵⁹

In William Byrd the colonies possessed a writer of no small ability, a chronicler of most pleasing style and sentiment. Lively and witty, he yet possessed great common-sense and saw beneath the shallowness and uncouthness of the life about him the possibilities which have since become realizations. His life was full of labors for his native land; else we might have had more from him today. As it is, we know him as one who shows more personality and appeals more intimately to us than perhaps any other Virginian of the pre-Revolutionary days.

WILLIAM STITH

William Byrd died in 1744. Three years later another Virginian brought out a valuable piece of work entitled “The History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia.” Its author was the Reverend William Stith, president of William and Mary College. Stith was born in Virginia in 1689, is believed to have studied in England, was there ordained a clergy-

59. “History of the Dividing Line” in the “Byrd Manuscripts.”

man, and in 1731, became master of the grammar school at William and Mary. It is known that he was chaplain of the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1738, and that during the last three years of his life he was president of the famous college. Little else concerning the details of his life is known; but here and there in the records of the times we find traces of his influences in colonial activities. We must judge the man chiefly by his one piece of literary work.

In "The History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia" Stith intended to give the story of his colony from the beginning down to his own day; but the scale upon which he attempted the task would have required many, many more years than Providence allotted him. That one volume published at Williamsburg in 1747 was a lengthy piece of work in itself, and yet it covered but the first seventeen years of the colony's existence. But his record of those few years, with its detail and accuracy, is one of the most valuable contribution to American history written before the nineteenth century. Based upon records many of which have since gone out of existence, presenting every important fact and proof of every important statement, and in almost every event impartial to the last degree, it stands forth as the work of a genuine scholar. In spite of the fact that Thomas Jefferson thought the style inelegant,⁶⁰ the book impresses the reader of today not only by its frankness and evidence of extreme carefulness, but also by not a few bits of well written description. For instance, read his account of a sea-battle:

"The following year, 1591, Sir Richard Grenville was sent, by the Queen, Vice-Admiral to the Lord Thomas Howard, with seven ships of war, and a few other small vessels, to intercept the Spanish plate-fleet. At the Azores, this small squadron was surprised by fifty-three capital ships, purposely sent from Spain; and Sir Richard Grenville, who was unwilling to leave a great part of his men, then on shore for water and other necessities, to the insolence and barbarity of the islanders, staid so long in getting them off, that he was hemmed in between the enemy's fleet and the island of Flores. In this dangerous situation he scorned to show any signs of fear, or to owe his safety to flight; but he bravely bore down upon the enemy, and endeavored to

60. Jefferson's "Complete Works," vol. VIII, p. 415.

break through them, in which attempt he maintained a gallant and obstinate fight with the best of the Spanish ships for fifteen hours together. He was at once laid aboard by the *St. Philip*, a ship of fifteen hundred tons and seventy-eight large pieces of ordinance, and four other of the stoutest ships in the Spanish fleet. . . . Yet he behaved himself with such uncommon bravery and conduct that he disabled some, sunk others, and obliged them all to retire. Neither did he ever leave the deck, though wounded in the beginning of the close fight, till he received a dangerous wound in the body by a musket bullet. When he went down to have it dressed, he received another shot in the head, and his surgeon was killed by his side. By this time also most of his bravest men were slain, his ship much disabled, his deck covered with dead and wounded, and scattered limbs, and his powder spent to the very last barrel. Yet in this condition he ordered the vessel to be sunk, but it was prevented by the rest of the officers; though many of the crew joined with him, and the master-gunner, if he had not been restrained, would have killed himself sooner than fall into the hands of the Spaniards.

“When the ship, or rather wreck, was surrendered, Sir Richard was carried on board the Spanish Admiral, where he died within two days, highly admired by the very enemy, for his extraordinary courage and resolution. And when he found the pangs of death approach, he said to the officers, that stood around him, in the Spanish tongue: ‘Here die I, Richard Grenville, with a joyful and quiet mind, having ended my life like a true soldier, that fought for his country, Queen, religion and honor,’ thus summing up, in short, all the generous motives that fire the breasts of the truly brave and great, to exert themselves beyond the common pitch of humanity.”⁶¹

With all apologies to Thomas Jefferson, there seems to be, nothing inelegant about this.

Stith had decided opinions as to the duties of the historian, and one of these was as to the duty of absolute justice in descriptions of all great personages. He says:

“I take it to be the main part of the duty and office of an historian, to paint men and things in their true and lively colors; and to do that justice to the vices and follies of princes and great men, after their death, which it is not safe or proper to do whilst they are alive.”

He then proceeds to apply the principle to his Royal Highness, James I:

61. Stith's "History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia."

“King James I. fell indeed far short of the Caesar’s superlative wickedness and supremacy in vice. He was, at best, only very simple and injudicious, without any steady principle of justice and honor; which was rendered the more odious and ridiculous by his large and constant pretensions to wisdom and virtue. And he had, in truth, all the forms of wisdom; forever erring very learnedly, with a wise saw or Latin sentence in his mouth. For he had been bred up under Buchanan, one of the brightest geniuses and most accomplished scholars of that age, who had given him Greek and Latin in great waste and profusion, but it was not in his power to give him good sense. That is the gift of God and nature alone, and it is not to be taught; and Greek and Latin without it only cumber and overload a weak head, and often render the fool more abundantly foolish.”⁶²

I cannot forbear from setting against this some brief passages from his description of Captain John Smith. That this first leader possessed a fascination for Stith cannot be doubted. With what pride he closes his description of the Captain!

“I shall finish his character with the testimonies of some of his soldiers and fellow adventurers. They own him to have made justice his first guide and experience his second: That he was ever fruitful in expedients to provide for the people under his command, whom he would never suffer to want anything he either had or could procure: That he rather chose to lead than send his soldiers into danger; and upon all hazardous or fatiguing expeditions, always shared everything equally with his company and never desired any of them to do or undergo anything that he was not ready to do or undergo himself: That he hated baseness, sloth, pride, and indignity more than any danger: That he would suffer want, rather than borrow, and starve sooner than not pay. . . . That his wit, courage, and success here, were worthy of eternal memory. . . . That notwithstanding such a stern and invincible resolution there was seldom seen a milder and more tender heart than his was: That he had nothing in him counterfeit or sly, but was open, honest, and sincere; and that they never knew a soldier before him so free from those military vices of wine, tobacco, debts, dice, and oaths.”⁶³

Is not the patriotic note clear in this passage? Here again is conclusive evidence of that love of home-land and of that admiration for the past of the homeland, which were soon to cause a

62. “The History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia.”

63. “History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia.”

new nation to come to light. Men read such lines, not with the eyes of temporary sojourners in a wealth-producing land, but as proud citizens of a country gained by the toil and suffering and very blood of their ancestors.

We now stand at the middle of the eighteenth century. Rumors of rebellion were in the air. The newspapers of New England were hinting at English tyranny; the orators of the South dared to speak of a future American commonwealth. Already, (1740), Patrick Tailfer, Hugh Anderson and David Douglas of Georgia had published a bitter tirade against their governor and against British government in general. In it the war-cry of the American Revolution had been sounded. Everywhere men were discussing the rights of the governed; the "century of political education" was fast drawing to a close.

A wonderful galaxy of constructive thinkers were preparing in that day. Henry Laurens, who was to suffer so much for his country in later times, was now a thriving young merchant and political leader at Charlestown, South Carolina; George Washington was surveying the western wilderness; Patrick Henry, through hearing a school-teacher's stories of Greece and Rome, had suddenly felt the thrill of inspiration; William Henry Drayton, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison—But it is useless to attempt to give the names of those numerous founders of the Republic. Let us leave the subject here. The battle is on; the colonial days are soon to pass away; Virginia is to be the Mother-State of a mighty Union. No longer shall we find her writers telling the sentiments of Virginians for Virginians; they are about to speak the emotions of a nation. Within a few years Patrick Henry is to stand within the old walls of St. John's Church in Richmond, and fuse the sentiments of a people into that one sentence: "Give me liberty, or give me death;" Thomas Jefferson is to weld the beliefs of that people into the most eloquent and effective document of modern ages; George Washington is to lead the patriots of that people to victory and freedom. Colonial literature, like colonial life, has ceased; it has assumed a greater importance; it has entered the stream of National Literature.

BY MRS. C. F. MC LEAN

IN the May, 1909, number of the AMERICAN HISTORICAL MAGAZINE will be the first chapters of one of the most valuable historical publications that has appeared from the American magazine press for many years. This will be a complete history of slavery, as it has existed in the United States. It will be from the pen of Mrs. C. F. McLean, whose contributions to this magazine and to other historical periodicals have given her a recognized position among native historical writers.

In the first installment of this series of papers, Mrs. McLean will have an introduction treating briefly of the subject of slavery from the world point of view. She will review the origin of slavery and present many interesting facts concerning the slavery of white peoples by those of the same and other nationalities, and also the slavery of other races, such as the white slaves of the colored races and the colored slaves of the white races. With this brief explanatory introduction leading up to the main subject the history of white slavery in the American colonies will be taken up. Then the beginning of African slavery in these colonies will be related, the cause of its installation and the different phases of its development being carefully set forth and explained.

Following will be a consideration of the extent and status of slavery at the time of the declaration of independence, and the attitude of the leaders of the American Revolution in regard to it at that date, and, subsequently, their opinions and conclusions as voiced in the constitutional convention. Connected with this part of the subject will be a careful, soundly studied and exhaustive review of public opinion in the north and in the south regarding slavery at the close of the Revolution, and the causes of the change of views that came about in those two sections will be presented.

Then will come full consideration and explanation of the action of the various states on the slavery question and the introduction of the subject into national legislation. From that point onward, in successive numbers of the magazine, the subject will be treated completely and in a scholarly manner in all its different phases and brought down to the present day.

RISE OF THE UNITED EMPIRE LOYALISTS

BY THE VISCOUNT DE FRONSAC

[Revised—with additions—from the original edition, especially for the American Historical Magazine.]

II

THE MANORIAL ESTABLISHMENTS OF THE COLONIES

MARYLAND MANORS

THE charter and arrangements of colonial Maryland, the Carolinas and New York, apart from a general subinfeudation to the king, peculiar to all other feudal charters, provided for the especial establishment of patrician orders.

The colony of Maryland, of great extent from beyond the Susquehanna river on the north to the Potomac river on the south and west, was a principality conceded to the family of Calvert, lords of Baltimore. The province contains the most beautiful, healthful and most productive part of North America—the unrivalled eastern shore of the Chesapeake bay, as well as the less noted western shore. A region it is, with easy access to the commerce of the seas, to the richness of the land, broken into creeks and inlets teeming with the oyster, the menenoes, the terrapin; abounding in fruits including the fig, the best known area for the sweet potato and the yam. Truly the province of Maryland was a terrestrial paradise in colonial days—a paradise that even the mad extravagance, corruption, oppression and malfeasance of the grim democracy of the United States has not yet succeeded in entirely suppressing—so strong are the arms and limitations of Nature!

In the beginning, when Lord Baltimore began the settlement of the colony of which he was by grant of the king sovereign lord proprietor, he decided that an aristocracy was as necessary a

part of the state as a democracy and that its function should be independent—that is, not confused with the function of democracy; that its true ancient Greek meaning of “right to rule” should be exemplified. This was in 1634, after he had brought over the first settlers to the shores of the Chesapeake. However, although the assembly refused to pass his “Bill for Baronies,” he possessed sufficient authority from the King as lord proprietor to establish manors with hereditary magistracy attached thereto. This was like what in ancient feudal history is called creating subinfeudations.”

But in regard to the power of the lord proprietor to do these things:—In the first place, the statute of *Quia Emptoris*, which had been enacted in the reign of King Edward I., in 1290, and which decreed that in all sales or “feoffments” of land the holder should bear allegiance not to the immediate lord or grantor but to the king, was set aside in favor of Lord Baltimore by King Charles I., so that in Maryland Lord Baltimore was sole tenant of the crown and had the power of erecting manors as though he were the king himself. While allegiance to the king was preserved, oath of office was administered in the name of the proprietor and all writs ran “In the year of our dominion.” Now, the lord of a manor has a right to hold court and judge all offences happening within the limits of his manor, except the crimes of murder, counterfeiting and treason. This right is hereditary so long as the manor passes in the family from father to son. If the manor is sold all rights are transferred to the purchaser. At first no one could possess a manor but a “descendant of British or Irish,” but in 1683 it was decreed that manors might be held by “any person living or trading in the province properly qualified.” This was similar to the manner of holding seigneuries established by the French king, Louis XIV., in Canada, in 1663. But the seigneur, as an officer, was obliged to be the military commander over his tenants, to instruct them for the defense of the country and to settle their disputes as a magistrate.

The ancient records show that in Maryland the manorial system died out, not because it was unpopular, for no complaint is mentioned by the people against it, and the benefits as founders of the province which the lords of the manors conferred on the

people could not be forgotten. But what caused it to decline was the introduction of slavery. Many ignoble and unscrupulous but enterprising persons began to use slaves on their places to do the work. A manorial grant did not authorize slavery. This was in the latter part of the seventeenth century, and as time progressed the lords of manors found themselves steadily falling behind in revenue, owing to the small return which their tenants gave them. They were eclipsed in splendor of display by the ignorant, low bred, but wealthy, parvenues whose places were worked by slaves. So, one by one, yielding to the temptation and pressure of events, the lords of the manors descended from their exalted position, sold the portions occupied by tenants to those tenants and with the money purchased slaves to work the portion of the manor reserved for themselves. So the manor disappeared in the plantation.

Those who read this should not forget that the lords of the manors of Maryland were the founders and patricians of the province. Lord Baltimore recognized them as such in the writs by which he endowed them with manorial rights. He permitted that anyone finding favor in his sight as a proper person and bringing wealth and people to the province might acquire such manorial rights on the possession of at least 2,000 acres. As an example, a part of the writ creating George Talbot, a cousin of Lord Baltimore, lord of Susquehanna manor in Cecil county in 1680 is here in evidence:

“Know that for and in consideration that our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin and counsellor, George Talbot, of Castle Rooney, of County Roscommon, in the Kingdom of Ireland, hath undertaken, at his own proper cost and charges, to transport, or cause to be transported into the province within 12 years from date thereof 640 persons of British or Irish descent here to inhabit, and we not only having a great love, respect and esteem for our said cousin and counsellor, but willing also to give him all due and lawful encouragement in so good design of peopling and increasing the inhabitants of this our Province of Maryland, well considering how much this will conduce to the strength and defense thereof, and that he may receive some recompense for the great charge and expense he must be at, in importing so great a number of persons into

this our province aforesaid," * * * * "we have thought fit to grant unto our dear cousin and counsellor all that tract or dividend of land called Susquehanna, lying in Cecil County, in our said province. * * * * containing an estimate of 32,000 acres. * * * * with all the prerogatives and royalties of a manor and the magistracy thereof."

These Talbots belonged to an ancient Norman family that had been settled in Ireland for generations. Of the Catholic party, they were opposed to Protestant England, and it was the religion only of James II. that recommended him to the Catholic Irish in the days when Prince William of Orange, invited to England by the Protestants, chased King James over into Ireland. The George Talbot mentioned in this as lord of the manor of Susquehanna was cousin of Richard Talbot, earl of Tyrconnell, commonly known as "Dick" Talbot, who was one of the Irish generals in the service of King James II. against the Prince of Orange in 1698. It is said that Talbot, while deputy governor, stabbed a man with whom he quarrelled and fled and took refuge in a cave in Cecil county, where for a long while his food was brought him by several trained falcons. Some of the Talbot loyalists settled in Nova Scotia in 1783.

Bashford Manor, on the Wicomico, was granted to Dr. Thomas Gerrard in 1650 for an annual quit rent of 15 bushels of corn. In 1678 he sold it to Governor Thomas Notley, who divided it afterwards into small holdings and sold it, the manor then becoming extinct. The name of Governor Notley has passed into many families and preserves the memory of one of the foremost founders of Maryland.

Brooke Place Manor, in St. Mary's county, in 1654 reckoned as its lord Governor Robert Brooke, president of Lord Baltimore's council. He had in 1650 the manor of De la Brooke, on Battle creek, in Calvert county. He had come from England with his wife and 10 children and brought over 28 other persons—servants, retainers and colonists. He became the commander of the county. His eldest son, Baker Brooke, was confirmed as the lord of the manor. The council of Governor Charles Calvert met at his manor-house July 19, 1662, and it was standing until

about 80 years ago. This name may be found among the loyalists of Ontario.

Cross Manor, on St. Inigoes Creek, in 1639 had been erected in favor of the Honorable Thomas Cornwaleys. The manor-house, built of English brick, is the oldest brick house in Maryland, yet standing. Captain Cornwaleys was associated with Lord Leonard Calvert and Mr. Jerome Hawley in the government of the province. The Cornwaleys, or Cornwallis family, were represented in Nova Scotia.

Evelynton Manor, in the "Baronie of St. Mary," was conceded to the Honorable George Evelyn in 1638. He was commander of Kent county in 1637. He came as agent of Clabery & Co., of London (Claibourne's partners), and he superseded that person after that person's departure for England in 1637. He was the means of bringing Kent Island under Lord Baltimore's jurisdiction. He left the colony in 1638 and returned to England, but he had a brother, Captain Robert Evelyn, who was interested more permanently in the province. The Evelyns are among the earliest royalist names of Quebec Province.

Warburton Manor, in Prince George's county, in 1690 owned as its lord Colonel William Digges, son of Governor Digges, of Virginia, whose father was Sir Dudley Digges, master of the rolls to King Charles I. He married Jane Sewall, daughter of Lady Baltimore by her former marriage with the Honorable Henry Sewall, of London. This manor passed to William, the eldest son of Colonel Digges, and to his children, one of whom, a daughter—Jane—married Colonel John Fitzgerald, of Virginia. The government of the United States purchased a part of the manor, on which was erected Fort Warburton, which was blown up in 1814. The Diggeses of the Nova Scotia loyalists, some settling in Ontario, perpetuate their traditions.

Fenwick Manor, on Cat Creek, in 1651 became the fief of Cuthbert Fenwick, member of Lord Baltimore's council. In 1659 the manor house was the scene of the trial of Edward Prescott for "hanging a witch." The only witness who was summoned was Colonel John Washington, great-grandfather of President George Washington. When the day arrived for the trial instead of the witness came a letter of excuse in the follow-

ing phraseology: "Because then, God willing, I intend to gette my young sonne baptized, all the Company and Gossips being allready invited." As the witness did not appear, the prisoner was discharged. The Right Reverend Edward Fenwick, the first Roman Catholic Bishop of Cincinnati, was a descendant of Cuthbert, lord of this manor, whose only brother, Ignatius Fenwick, married Sarah Taney, of the family that produced Chief Justice Roger Brooke Taney, of the United States Supreme Court. Many other descendants of the lords of Fenwick Manor are scattered about the Western Shore and in the city of Baltimore. It is likely that the Fenwick loyalists of Nova Scotia are their best representatives.

Little Bretton Manor, granted to William Bretton in 1640, passed to the Jesuit missionaries. The house was built of English brick and is yet standing. It has a commanding position, overlooking St. Clement's bay and the Potomac river. William Bretton came over from England in 1637 and was a member of the assembly. His wife, Mary, was daughter of Thomas Tabbs, who came over at the same time. He brought with him, besides his wife and four-year-old son, three servants. For nearly 20 years he was clerk of the assembly. There were several of this Bretton, or Brittain, family among the officers of the loyalist corps settled at St. John, New Brunswick having commissions from the Province of New Jersey.

Resurrection Manor between Town and Cuckold creeks, was the possession of the Honorable Thomas Cornwaleys in 1650, but it passed soon after into the Snowden family. In 1659 and in 1662 the privy council of the province met there. Captain Cornwaleys came to Maryland with the first expedition and brought with him five servants. He was one of the earliest commissioners of the province. Later he returned to England. The Snowdens came from Wales in 1660 and left many descendants. A leading member of this family, Randolph Snowden, was a loyalist grantee of St. John, New Brunswick.

Portland Manor, in Anne Arundel county, was the lordship of the Darnalls, whose ancestor, Colonel Henry Darnell, relative of Lord Baltimore, came over 20 years before the Protestant revolution in England. Woodyard, another residence of this family,

in Prince George's county, is in existence at the present time and is said to be the most interesting family residence in Maryland. This family has many descendants residing in the state. This name is met with in Ontario.

St. Clement's Manor, consisting of St. Clement's island and part of the adjacent mainland, in 1639 was one of the manors of Dr. Thomas Gerrard, member of the council. It is the only one of the old mansions the records of which are preserved. From 1659 to 1672 court was held there continuously. This Dr. Thomas Garrard was a strong Catholic, but he married a Protestant lady and became involved in the intrigues of Claibourne against Lord Baltimore. For this he was attainted of treason and was forced to fly into Virginia, in which colony he settled in the county of Westmoreland, where his descendants intermarried largely and perpetuated the name. The family came originally from Lancashire, England, where it had been seated for several generations, but the name is of Germanic origin and is met with quite frequently in localities settled by Saxon and German people. Samuel Gerrard, first president of the Bank of Montreal, was probably of this family.

St. Michael's, St. Gabriel's and Trinity Manors were the dependencies of Leonard Calvert in 1639. In 1707 these manors, with the exception of the Piney Neck estate, had passed by inheritance to the children of George Parker from the line of their mother's family, who was a daughter of Gabriel Perrot. The first of the Parker family mentioned in the annals of Maryland is William Parker, who was one of a committee commissioned during the lord protectorate of Oliver Cromwell in England to have charge of the affairs of the province, the rights of the Lords Baltimore falling in abeyance during that period, as the Lords Baltimore were royalists. There were several Parker loyalists of this family settled in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

St. Elizabeth's Manor, yet another belonging to Hon. Thomas Cornwaleys in 1639, was on Smith's creek, but it became the property of the Honorable William Bladen, the first "public printer" of Maryland. His son was Governor Thomas Bladen, who married Barbara, daughter of Sir Thomas Janssen.

St. Inigoes Manor, in St. Mary's county, was owned by Mr.

Thomas Copley, better known as the Jesuit priest, Father Philip Fisher. The property is yet retained by the Jesuits.

St. Joseph's Manor, near Tom creek, on the Patuxent, has been the lordship of the Edloes and Platers. Both these families were among the early settlers. The name of Joseph Edlow, or Edloe, is preserved among the Maryland archives as the first of that family on American shores in 1634. The Platers were disloyal to the crown in 1776, one of them, George Plater, being quite notorious for this. But probably in the transfer of the manor from one family to another other considerations than that of fealty were principal.

Bohemia Manor, in Cecil county, was conceded to Augustine Herman by Lord Baltimore to reward him for making the first map of Maryland. He was of a respectable family in Bohemia, in Europe, but had settled in the Dutch possessions of New Amsterdam, now New York, where in 1651 he married Jane Varlett. He had visited England and was thought by the Dutch to be altogether too familiar and social with the English to suit their taste. So, on one occasion, when he returned to New Amsterdam, after 1672, he was arrested and imprisoned. An old account says that he was permitted to take his famous gray horse into jail with him—which must have been in a barn—and that he mounted his horse and dashed out and, though pursued closely, he escaped by swimming with his horse the Delaware, his horse dying of exhaustion on reaching the further shore. The Augustine Manor was conceded to Herman also by Lord Baltimore.

Within the manorial domain of Bohemia was the first attempt made in America by a body of men to practice the principles of socialism by the abolition of private property. One of the sons of the lord of the manor joined this body to the great grief of his father, who manifested that grief in a codicil of his will, whereby he put the disposal of his property out of the reach of his visionary son. The families of Thomson, Foreman, Chambers and Spencer claim descent from the lords of Bohemia Manor, and were among the loyalists who left the Province of Maryland when the ancient regime was overthrown.

Great Oak Manor, in Kent county, was the lordship of Marm-

aduke Tilden. His ancestors had been lords of Great Tyldens, near Marden, South Kent, England. The family had possessed lands in the parishes of Brenckley, Otterden, Kennington, and Tilmanstone in the reign of King Edward III., and William Tylden paid for lands in Kent, England, when the Black Prince was knighted. Sir William Tylden, of Great Tyldens, was the grandfather of Marmaduke Tilden, lord of Great Oak Manor, a direct descendant of Sir Richard Tylden, who was seneschal to Hugh de Lacy, constable of Chester, accompanied King Richard, the Lion Hearted, to the Holy Land and fought under him at the battle of Ascalon against the Sultan Saladian in the year 1190 A. D. One of the sons of Marmaduke Tilden was his heir, also a Marmaduke, and the greatest proprietor in Kent, owning 31,350 acres. He married Rebecca Wilmer and left a numerous posterity. A famous name among the loyalists of Canada.

Eastern Neck Manor, Kent county, owned the sway of Major James Ringgold, whose father, Thomas Ringgold, came to Kent in 1650 in the fortieth year of his age, bringing his two sons, James and John. Major James Ringgold married Mary, daughter of Captain Robert Vaughan, commander of the county. Among the descendants of this family may be counted the commander of Ringgold's artillery in the war between Mexico and the United States in 1846.

Fort Kent Manor, on Kent Island, belonged to Giles Brent. The Brents were related to the Calverts, Lords of Baltimore. They consisted of the brothers Giles and Foulk, and the sisters, Margaret and Mary, who came into the province in 1638, bringing a considerable number of servants, male and female. Of their descendants Robert Brent married Anna M. Parnham, of the family of the Honorable John Pole, of the privy council of England; James Fenwick Brent married Laura, daughter of Gen. Walter H. Overton, of Louisiana, and General Joseph L. Brent married Frances R. Kenner, daughter of Duncan Kenner, of Louisiana. Of this family, also, was the Honorable Robert James Brent, one time attorney general of Maryland and an oracle of the Maryland bar. Some also were more decided for the old regime, for nearly all the Maryland gentry favored the royal cause.

Doughoregan Manor was the seat of the Carrolls, the first of whom in Maryland was Charles, who landed at Annapolis sometime in the seventeenth century. To this family belong two celebrated men in the early history of the United States—Charles Carroll of Carrollton, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and Right. Reverend John Carroll, the first vicar general of the United States, as well as the first archbishop in Maryland. The grandson of Charles Carroll of Carrollton—John Lee Carroll—was one time governor of Maryland. Two of a junior branch of this family were among the loyalists to Nova Scotia.

Stokley Manor, whose lord was Jeremiah Laton, in 1675 was bequeathed to the “first Protestant minister who might settle in Baltimore county,” so great was his desire to hear the Word spoken as it had been spoken in Massachusetts, from where he had emigrated. A branch of this family were among the settlers of King’s county, Nova Scotia, in 1760, after the expulsion of the Acadian French.

St. Barbary’s Manor belonged to the Carville family, the first of whom was the Honorable George Carville, attorney general of the province. A person of great consequence in the romance of history has been made the subject of a novel, “Richard Carvel,” and is supposed to belong to this family. In the city of St. John’s, New Brunswick, Canada, a mansion house called Carvell Hall, belonging to a family of that name, being likely of loyalist origin and mayhap from the Western Shore of Maryland.

Beaver Dam, West St. Mary’s and Chaptico, with 20 other unoccupied manors, belonged to Lord Baltimore’s kin until the American Revolution, when, as they were loyalists, true to the crown, their property with that of their relative, Henry Harford, the heir of Frederick Calvert, last Lord Baltimore, and other loyalists, was confiscated. And thus perished the last of the manors, the property of those who had nourished the province into strength and maturity.

CAROLINA MANORS

From the beginning of Albermarle sound to St. Mary’s river and back as far in the interior as the French claim along the

Mississippi were the lands of the Carolinas named for the king, Charles II. He was reigning when the province was established as a feudal fief, having several Co Seigneurs as Lords-Proprietors. Before this, in the early part of the 17th century there had been established a French Huguenot settlement on the St. Mary's river by de Laudauniere, under the patronage of the admiral de Coligni of France. But the colonists had been massacred by the Spanish of Florida "not as Frenchmen but as heretics"—a proceeding that was instigated by the bigot queen of France, Catherine de Medici—the same who planned the massacre of St. Bartholomew in that country. But the Spaniards paid dear for it, for a French Huguenot lord, Dominic de Gourgues, fitted out an expedition by the sale of his estate for the purpose, and landed with an armed force at St. Mary's, where the Spanish had built a fort. This he captured and hung every mother's son of them on crosses about the place with the words above each "Not as Spaniards but as murderers."

This was the land, now vacant, which King Charles II. granted, as a co-seigneurie to a company of the British noblesse at the head of whom was the Duke of Beaufort. The manner in which they subinfeudated the territory was into twelve counties; each county into eight seigneuries, eight baronies and twenty-four communes. The titles of landgrave, with the rank of earl, and cacique, with the rank of viscount, were granted to certain of the gentry who undertook to settle in the country and aid with their arms and wealth in the establishment and rulership of the colony. A landgrave received four baronies and a cacique two with seats in the local council, or high court, of the colony. Tracts of land of more than 3000 acres and less than 12000 might be erected into manours with courtsleet. The communes were divided into lots for tenants to hold of the lords-proprietors if they did not chose to be tenants of the landgraves and caciques. Every tenant, or colonist, was obliged to swear allegiance to the king and constitution of the province.

The high court of parliament at first consisted of ten members, one-half chosen by the lords-proprietors and one-half by the free-holders, but later seven became the number of representatives for the lords-proprietors. The landgraves were John

Locke, the philosopher (1671), Sir John Yeamans (1671), James Cartaret (1670), James Colleton (1670), Sir Edmund Andros (1672), Joseph West (1674), Joseph Morton (1681), Thomas Collerton (1681), Daniel Axtell (1681), Sir Richard Kirle (1684), John Price (1686) who alienated in favor of Thomas Lowndes. There was also a gentleman named Smith among the Landgraves whose title passed to the Rhett family. One of the Bellingher family became possessed later with one of these titles. Of the early caciques were Capt. Wilkinson (1681), Maj. Thomas Rowe (1682), John Gibbes (1682), Thomas Amy (1682), John Smith (1682), John Moncke (1683). The government of which they were the controlling factors subsisted until 1692, when the king purchased from the lords-proprietors their sovereignty and issued a royal charter by commission to the governors. The province became divided into North and South Carolina and the landgraves and caciques, retaining right to their titles, honors and estates, were obliged to share the privileges of the council, or upper house, of the local government, with the other gentry of the colony, while a lower house, or assembly, was created for the representation of the free-holders in general.

“From that period of which the right and title of the land of Carolina were sold and surrendered, by the lords-proprietors, to the king, and he assumed the immediate care and government of the province, a new era commences in the annals of that country, which may be called the era of its *freedom, security and happiness*. The Carolinians who had labored long under innumerable hardships and troubles from a weak proprietary establishment, obtained at length the great object of their desires—a *royal government* the constitution of which depends on commissions issued to a governor by the crown, and the instructions which attend these commissions. The governor and royal council formed the executive judiciary and military departments and were assisted in the legislative function by an assembly elected by the free-holders, as in the other provinces.”

The aristocracy of South Carolina has claimed from the first a most prominent place in the history of the Anglo-American colonies by reason of its firm establishment, its high ancestry and its strong hold on the administration of affairs—a hold which

was weakened by the revolution of 1776 and disappeared entirely before the close of the civil war of 1861-5—to be replaced by that of the debased and servile democracy of the modern republic.

NEW YORK MANORS

The Dutch had the earliest establishments in New York, although all that land had been within the empire of Charles V. and the claims of the French. The territory of the Dutch Province of New Netherland was colonized by them under patronage of the Dutch West Indian Company early in the 17th century, and extended from the Connecticut river to Maryland. True to the constitutional law of Europe they represented the aristocracy not only in the administration but in territorial holdings and magistracy.. The charter of New Netherland² declares:

“III. That all such be acknowledged PATROONS of New Netherland who shall within the space of four years next, after they have given notice to any of the chambers (or colleges) of the West Indian Company here (Amsterdam) or to the commander-in-chief there (America) undertake to plant a colony there of fifty persons to be shipped from here.

“IV. That from the time that they make known the situation of the places where they propose to settle colonies, they shall have the preference of all them to the absolute property of such lands as they have chosen.”

“V. That Patroons by virtue of their power shall and may be permitted at such places as they shall settle their colonies to extend their limits 12 miles along shore.

“VI. That they shall possess forever and enjoy all the lands lying within said limits * * * and also the chief command and lower jurisdiction * * * No person to be privileged to fish or hunt but by permit of the Patroons * * * And when one may establish one or more cities (towns) he shall have power and authority to commission officers and magistrates.

* * * * *

“XIX. No colonist or servant shall be permitted to leave his Patroon without permission.”

Servants and menials were transported to the colony and descendants of many of these are among the newly rich. Such rise from hovel to palace, unless assisted by real merit of race, can

2. New York Historical Society Collections. Second Series, vol. I, p. 370.

happen only under corrupt and republican regimes, among political and financial swindlers, confidence men and grafters. And when such people rise, merit and honor—"in the opposite scale of the balance" as Plato has said,—necessarily "must fall." This is why the relics of the ancient provincial aristocracy consider such people, in spite of their great but ill-gotten wealth, not only no better than their ancestry, but ethically much worse.

How different is the aspect with which the honest and sympathizing reader regards the rise of one endowed by honest genius, struggling upward towards that place of command to which he has been prepared by Nature. From the labors of the humble cot, from the exaction of the laws of existence in other places no less lowly, he turns and nourishing the hours of his vigilance, and preparation and study by hours plucked from the sheaf of his own slumber—as the pelican feeds her offspring by drops of blood from her own bosom—he mounts the pathway to dominion. By patience, by energy, by talent, by learning, by undying loyalty to his cause, by honesty in all his obligations, by magnanimity to as honest rivals who unite finally with him for constitution and state, he succeeds at last to the joy of the honest beholder, or perishes like some legendary Old Guard with his face to the foe.

And that foe in politics, in finance, in sociology, is always the political sycophant, the financial swindler and confidence-man, the social intriguer and vandal—all combined—who occupy that place among mankind which the vampire, the vulture and the hyena do in the animal creation. Amidst these two groups however flourishing on successful chicanery and legalized fraud may be planted the one, what king, or prince, or potentate however strong and mighty is there who can expect his empire to endure if he turn from these of honorable achievements to those of corrupt splendor and wealth? These two forces are in opposition in the state, the one the deadly enemy of the other, and as Plato says, the one can not rise in power but the other must fall. Woe to the state, woe to the king, if it be the fall of genius and honor!

Among the great Dutch families of patrician degree in New York were de Peyster, de Veber, Schuyler, Van Brugh, Bayard, Van Rensselaer, Stinwyck, Beekman, Kip, de Milt, Van Bus-

kirk, Van Curler, Colden, Cuyler, Cruger, Van Twiller, Houten, de Vries, Stuyvesant, Kieft.

Several of the new manors are described in the *Heraldic Magazine* of 1867. Cortlandt manor of 83,000 acres was granted by royal patent in 1697 to Stephen Van Cortlandt, supposed of the Dukes of Courland in Russia and bearing the same blason, argent, the wings of a wind-mill, sable, voided of the field, between 5 estoiles gules. His ancestor was Stephen Van Cortlandt of South Holland in 1610, whose son Oloff came to New York in 1649 as a freeholder. His son, Stephen, first lord of the manor, was mayor of New York and royal counsellor in 1677, from whom was descended the last lord of the manor, Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt, a United Empire Loyalist in 1783.

Fordham Manor was granted by royal patent, November 13, 1671, to John Archer, whose ancestry is traced to Humphrey Archer, born in 1527. His son John, 2nd lord of the manor, married Sarah Odell in 1686. The best of this family were royalists in 1776.

Morrisania Manor, by royal patent to Lewis Morris, governor of New Jersey in 1638. He descended from William Morris, of Tintern, County Monmouth, England, and bore, 1st and 4th gules, a lion rampant, regardant or, 2nd and 3rd argent, 3 torteaux in fesse; crest, a castle in flames. His son Lewis, born 1698, was a judge in admiralty, as was his son Richard.

Scarsdale Manor was erected by royal patent March 21, 1701, for Colonel Caleb Heathcote, son of Gilbert, of Chesterfield, County Derby, and brother of Sir Gilbert, Lord Mayor of London. He married a daughter of Colonel Smith of Long Island, former governor of Tangier. He was surveyor-general of the province. His manor passed to his daughter Ann who married James de Lancey, lieut.-governor and ancestor of that noble United Empire Loyalist. General James de Lancey, of 1776-83, whose posterity are in the lower provinces.

Pelham manor, 9,166 acres, was granted to Thomas Pell, in 1666, grandson of John Pell and Margaret Overand who was son of the Reverend John Pell, rector of Southwick, County Sussex, England, in 1590. His son John obtained additional patent in 1687. The family arms are: ermine, on a canton azure, a pelican or, vulned gules.

Livingston Manor, 120,000 acres, in 1686, was granted to Robert Livingston who traced to the Reverend Alexander Livingstone, of Stirling, Scotland, of 1590. This particular family was of extreme puritan-Presbyterian party containing several clergymen ancestors in succession.

Philipsburg Manor, 1,500 square miles, was granted royal patent of 1693 to the royal councilor Frederic Philipse, who was born in 1626 at Bolsward, Friesland, and whose arms were, azure a demi-lion rampant, issuing from a ducal coronet argent, crowned or; crest, the same. His son Philip married Maria, daughter of Governor Sparks, of the Barbadoes. His son Frederic married Joanna, daughter of Governor Anthony Brockholst, of New York, whose children were I., Colonel Frederic, United Empire Loyalist, leaving 10 children; II., Philip, United Empire Loyalist.; III., Susan, married Colonel Beverley Robinson, United Empire Loyalist; IV., Mary, married Major Roger Morris, United Empire Loyalist.

Gardiner Manor, 3,300 acres, on Gardiner's Island, New York, was erected in 1639, for Colonel Lion Gardiner from England. It was possessed by that family up to the Revolution of 1776, when its rank and privileges were destroyed.

Queen's Manor, Long Island, belonging to the Lloyd family of illustrious Welch ancestry, was granted by royal patent in 1697. Of this family was Henry Lloyd, a United Empire Loyalist who removed to Halifax in 1783.

There was always considerable hostility between the Dutch and English settlements, until it was ended by the treaty of Breda which ceded New Netherland to England, the name of which was changed to New York, in honor of James Stuart, duke of York, who held it as a fief from his brother, King Charles II. The article of the surrender of the province to England, stipulates "security of property, liberty of conscience and of discipline and the maintenance of existing customs of inheritance for the Dutch population."³ Governor Richard Nicholls, commissioned by the duke of York, met thirty-four delegates from seventeen counties February 28, 1665.

Under the English administration the patroonate system of the Dutch was continued into a manorial system as in Mary-

3. Roberts "New York," vol. I, p. 93.

land, and several manors with local magistracies established a nobility in permanent official functions. Among these manorial families may be mentioned Livingston, Morris, and de Lancy, while later the Johnson obtained a baronetcy, the best of whose descendants were loyalist emigres to Canada at the close of the American Revolution in 1783.

Governor Thomas Dongan, son of an Irish baronet, succeeded Governor Nicolls, but the extent of his authority had been diminished by the cession of New Jersey to Carteret and another, yet he claimed for the province, Pemaquid, Martha's Vinyard and Nantucket. He had been instructed by the duke of York to represent the nobility by a council of ten members among whom were Stephen Van Courtlandt and Colonel Frederic Philipse, both lords of manors. An assembly was instituted of eighteen members to be elected by the freeholders of the province. The governor and council were to have authority to establish courts, appoint officers, make war and peace for the protection of the province, but the war-revenue or any excessive call could be collected only by assent of the assembly.⁴ The assembly had "free liberty to consult and debate on all laws." The first government met at Albany October 17, 1683, in which was signed the following resolutions:

"That the supreme authority under the king and lord-proprietor shall reside in the governor, council and a general assembly. The elections of assembly are for all free-holders. No aid, tax, custom, loan, benevolence or imposition whatever shall be levied within this province, on any pretense, but by the consent of the governor, council and representatives of the people in general assembly."

When the duke of York became King James II. he rescinded portions of these resolutions as incompatible with the authority of the assembly and the constitution: namely, that the lord-proprietor should not be mentioned with the king and that the general assembly was not the fount of authority in this province (which authority lies in the constitution at the head of which is the king). He extended liberty of conscience to "all persons of what religion soever," going beyond the resolution of the

4. Roberts "New York," vol. I, pp. 189-190.

assembly which included only those “professing faith in God by Jesus Christ.”

As for provincial New York, although it was the most foreign in its population of all the provinces, it furnished the most loyal example—with the exception of Georgia—of all the provinces. And Georgia, originally a part of Carolina, had been made a personal fief of Sir James Oglethorpe in 1732, and its leading people, friends of Oglethorpe and poor-debtors to whom he had given homes in his colony, would have been unworthy the name of humanity had they been otherwise than loyal.

THE MIDDLE COLONIES

Pennsylvania had been granted by King Charles II., in 1657, to William Penn, a wealthy English Quaker, whose father, Admiral Penn, had been so angry with his son for adopting “Quakerish ideas” that it aroused the son’s latent obstinacy on this subject until it became a mania in him and a source of ridicule in others. He prevailed on the good nature of Charles II., however, to grant him a tract of land in America, where he might try his scheme of founding a “Quaker State.”

The Quaker did not believe in war or ostentation, so all those who wished to escape the danger of the one and the expense of the other were enrolled in this peculiar sect whose members adopted a sober garb, sat with their hats on in church and in court, refused to take an oath, and “theed and thowed” all the world. It is said that they won more land in the New World by trading with the Indians on a glass-bead basis than any group of the other colonists won with the sword. They were a very prosperous and careful people. When the heirs of Penn were true to their allegiance in 1776-83 they took the occasion to cancel their obligations of debt towards them by an allegiance to the opposite party.”

Delaware had been in Lord Baltimore’s grant as Avalon but was cut off, under the charge of Lord Delaware, for whom it was named. Its early people, some Swedes, some Dutch, some English, were like those of New Jersey, which had been separated from New York.

(To be Continued).

PENNSYLVANIA PIONEER DAYS

COPY of an entry on fly-leaves of a book which belonged to John Ormsby, and is now in the possession of Dr. J. A. Phillips of Pittsburgh, Pa. The first leaves have been destroyed or lost.

* * * expectation. The young people came to my Seminary in numbers so that I had uncommon success in Philadelphia that year.

Next spring I had equal success in Lancaster and Yorktown, Pennsylvania. By this time I found my finances much recruited, so that I was resolved to take a trip to Virginia and so on to Charlestown, So. Carolina, and from thence embark for Europe. When arrived at Alexandria on Potomack, I put up at the best Inn in town, where I was invited to a ball the ensuing night, which I unfortunately agreed to. After the diversion was over, I escorted my partner, Mrs. Spotswood and family, a mile or two up the Rappahannock, and was in a profuse sweat in the month of August so that when I returned to my lodging I found myself seized with a violent inflammatory fever. Here I was attended with three doctors, who with the rapacious landlord, fleeced me of all my ready cash so that I had nothing left but a handsome Gelding, my sword, watch and very valuable clothes, etc.

However, it pleased God that I recovered as much strength as to teach some branches of Mathematics, etc., till I found I was able to set out with a heavy heart once more for Philadelphia' (instead of going to England or Ireland).

About this time Gen'l Braddock and his formidable army, were daily expected to land in Virginia, etc., and as I was known to have served in the British Army (as above mentioned) I was offered a Captain's Commission in the Levies, and to act as Adjutant. To this I cheerfully agreed, as a military life best suited my inclinations; but alas, man appoints and God does as he thinks fit; just as I was preparing my Regimentals, etc., I was

sized with a nervous fever and ague, with which I was afflicted all the year 1758, being nearly three years, so that all my golden hopes vanished. At the last mentioned era, the savages were massacring the frontier inhabitants of Pennsylvania, etc., so that an expedition was preparing against them, to be under the command of Gen'l Forbes. Now I thought to have an opportunity of gratifying my fondness for military talents, but my shattered constitution and ill state of health, still like my evil genius prevented me.

However, I put on a resolution of going to the frontiers in some capacity, and if I gathered strength, to accept of a commission which was offered me by different states. Accordingly I set out for the Ohio to act as Commissary of Provisions, which was a wretched employment provisions being so scarce that I could hardly supply the General's table. When the Army arrived as far as Turtle Creek, a Council of War was held the result of which was that it was impracticable to proceed, all the provisions and forage being exhausted. On the General being thus informed he swore a furious oath that he would sleep in Fort Duquesne or in Hell the next night. It was a matter of indifference to the old, emaciated General where he died as he was carried on a litter the whole distance from Philadelphia and back again. You may judge the situation of nearly 3,000 men, in the wilderness, 250 miles from the inhabited country. About midnight a tremendous explosion was heard from ye westward, upon which old Forbes swore that the French magazine was blown up, either by accident or chance, which revived our drooping spirits a little.

The above conjecture of ye head of iron was verified by a deserter from Duquesne who said that the Indians who watched the march of the English army declared to the French that there was as many white people coming against them as there were trees in ye woods. This report so terrified the French that they set fire to their magazines, barracks, etc., and pushed off in their boats, some up and some down the Ohio, so that next morning we got peaceable possession without fight. Next morning we arrived at Duquesne which made a wretched appearance, as the whole of the buildings and other improvements which the French had,

were burnt to ye ground. You may judge our situation when I can assure you that we had neither flour, flesh-meat or liquor in store; the only relief offered for the present was plenty of bear-meat and venison, which our hunters brought in and which our people devoured without bread or salt. There were several parcels of Pack-horses with provisions coming up from the inhabited country, but the savages seized the most of them and murdered the drivers.

Our emaciated Gen'l Forbes was carried on his litter back to Philadelphia where he died in a few days after his arrival. Gen'l Forbes was a brave soldier, but was afflicted with a complication of disorders. A few hours before his death he swore a great oath that he died contented as he got possession of Ft. Duquesne and made the damned French rascals run away. You may easily judge my situation being improved to purchase plenty of all necessaries but could not be supplied for the reasons above mentioned. However, as I was engaged in the business, I thought it beneath me to desert it in the time of real distress, so I even jogged on in hopes of better times.

Very few incidents occurred during the year 1759, at the end of which a series of fresh troubles commenced. The French in Canada began to raise an Army at Niagara to attack our small garrison at Duquesne (now called Fort Pitt) which was in an ill state for defense, when our Commandant, Col. Mercer was informed by express that there were 1500 French regulars and a strong body of Indians making ready for an expedition to Duquesne, which were to attack us in three days at farthest. This information, you may be sure, struck a severe panic, being above 300 miles from any relief and surrounded by the merciless savages, from whom no expectation of mercy was in view; but immediate destruction, either by the Tommahock or famine. I must own I made my sincere application to the Almighty to pardon my sins and to extricate us from the deplorable situation.

Our Prayers were heard and extricated from the expected massacre, for the day before the expected attack an Indian fellow arrived from Niagara, who informed us that when the above French and Indians got in their boats as far as Vinango on their way to F. Pitt, an express came from Niagara informing the com-

manding officers that General Johnson laid seige to Niagara with a formidable English Army, so that the French Army were countermanded and ordered to return with the utmost expedition. This was done and when they arrived within a days march of Niagara, the brave Irish General Johnson ordered an ambushcade in a difficult pass, through which the above troops were to march, so that they were ev'ry man either killed or taken, — — —, to the great joy, I mean grief, of poor Ormsby and his associates. So far from grief was the event that the greatest rejoicings pervaded the whole. Blessed be the Almighty Lord for this, and all other mercies conferred on me in particular, which may be evinced by the following occurrences of my life.

In the year of our Lord 1760 Gen'l Stanevix appeared on the Ohio at the head of an army with Engineers, artificers with full power to build a large Fort redoubts, etc., where Fort Duquesne stood. I now had plenty of business on hand as I had the charge of the provision branch, and the Engineer branch as paymaster to the works, which I continued to transact till I unfortunately entered into Indian trade by the advice of the Indian Agent, Col. Croghan. At this time I had been accumulating since I arrived in these Western Parts, a handsome sum of money, which to my sorrow, I laid out for large quantities of Indian goods, Pack-Horses, etc., in which trade I had good success till the year 1763 when the savages murdered my clerks and people and robbed me of all my effects and goods to a considerable value, and what was more greivous than my losses, left me above £1500 indebted to the Philadelphia Merchants.

You may now look on the roveing blade as irretrievably lost and ruined. I was then advised by my merchants to give up as an insolvent debtor, but I told them that if they gave me reasonable time, I would endeavor to pay them honestly, to which they agreed. Next year, viz. July 1764, I married a Miss McAllister, who made me very happy, not only in bringing me five beautiful children, but assisted me with the greatest industry to satisfy our creditors and to bring up our children in the fear and admonition of God. Our first attempt in business was at a village called Bedford in Pennsylvania, where I improved a farm, built a house and had pretty good success, till I met with

an accident which nearly put a period to my existence, in the following manner:—I employed a number of men to clear a Meadow on ye above farm, and when the men went to their dinner, I took up one of their axes and began to chop a middleing tree (which was the first I ever attempted) and when it was coming down I ran for it, but unhappily, right in its way so that it struck my head partly in the ground. I was carried home and with much difficulty the blood was stopped when, I suppose, very little was left. There was no Surgeon in those parts so that I was under a necessity to send for one to Monnoccocy at a heavy expense. I lay under this doctors hands near six months before I could stir abroad. But blessed be my redeemer for it, I then recovered and my senses unimpaired, which very few expected wou'd be ye case.

I now found I was able to apply a little to improve my farm and to send a few goods to the care of John McClure at Pittsburgh, but he, unfortunately, was killed by an Indian, left my little store exposed to the rabble 'till the Commandant ordered the trifles left to be locked up. Here was another crash to a weak back, as McClure kept a very wicked account as appeared by his private papers. I then employed Eph'm Douglass to look after my little affairs. By this time my philad. debt began to Swell to a deluge, being near £3500 including int. However, I still put my confidence in the Almighty that he would point out some way to extricate me, which was done in the following providential manner. See the following narrative:

About the year of our Lord 1770, I moved my family to Pittsburgh, they consisted of my sons John, Oliver and daughter Jennie, then a child; our meeting was in one sense agreeable, but as to circumstances,—they may be easily guessed. After I left my dear wife tollerably settled, I thought I would make one push more at dame Fortune, say, rather Providence. Off I set to Philadelphia with a heavy heart and empty pockets. However I put up (as I always did) at the best Tavern, Litles,—but lived in the most economickal manner. I was one day musing over my distressed situation, when a certain Maj'r Trent, an Old Indian Trader, told me he just then met some foreigners who wanted to lay out a large sum of depreciated money for lots in

the Indianna Grant. You may easily guess how my heart jumped in my breast. I, in short, sold out of 21 shares at £300 each, 117 shares, and to receive the depreciated money in payment. Directly I then waited on my creditors and informed them of the above offer, which if they would accept of, as it read they wou'd sell off my lands and Houses at Bedford, which I was sure would pay them off with interest due 11 years. This was agreed to. Happy day! I then deposited my large bundles of depreciated money in safe hands and out for Bedford, sold my concerns there to Co'l. George Woods and Lawyer Smith, crammed my saddle bags with de. paper money and waited directly on my creditors and cleared off the whole of their demands which amounted to near £5000,—took up my bonds and set out for Pittsburgh with a much lighter heart than when I left it. You may easily guess the reception I met with from the most virtuous and affectionate woman in the world. To see my dear, turning over 5 Cancelled Judgment Bonds and sundry other papers of consequence,—nay the little ones laughed and cried in turn as they saw their parents do.

As I mentioned in page 33 of this narrative that the Indians robbed me, etc. They served all the traders the same way and murdered many. In the year 1764 Mr. William Johnson obtained from the Indians a compensation for our loss's, which was a tract of land consisting of $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions acres, which grant was called the Indienne. All the surviving sufferers were now in full hopes of being reimbursed, but the mercenary Virginia Government sold our land of course cheated many widows and orphans. All the suffering traders or their attorneys, gave in their account of losses to the agents, so that my account was proved before a Magistrate which amounted to £3500,—and some incidental accounts. These accounts were thrown into shares of £300 each in order to share the land in proportion, which landed share we never received, owing to the villany of the Virginians, etc. The above mentioned Trent was one of the agents, and Mr. George Morgan, who lives on Chartiers Creek, is the only one alive, who has sued the Virginian Government, but whether anything can be recovered, time will tell.

However, the shares I have sold answered my purpose, as the

concerns I sold at Bedford and the shares enabled me to get clear of an enormous load of debts. For if I had not the good fortune to do as I have done in about six months after I cleared off with the Merchants, not a shilling of the depreciated money would pass, at least none would be obliged to accept it in payment of debts. It is true that the above load of debts was contracted by means of the Indian depredations, so that the merchants promised to accept of any mode of payment I could fall upon in future. Thus had I the good fortune to get something out of the fire for my losses, which was more than all the rest of the sufferers got, owing to the cruel treatment of our good neighbors as above mentioned. I have still all the documents relative to the Indianna affairs, so that an old debt may be better than a new grudge.

After I settled my affairs as aforementioned, I looked after my land affairs, having some valuable tracts left and some I purchased so that I could support my dear wife and children in a state of independence. The first rub I met with was the death of my dear daughter Mrs. Bedford and a few years after, my elder son John died. The loss of both these well accomplished children was a severe trial to their worthy mother and affectionate father. These losses hardly subsided when my dear wife took very ill under which she labored for six months, at the end of which, namely, the middle of June A. D. 1799 she expired in my arms. If the reader of the mournful catastrophe does or ever did know real sorrow for departed friends, cast an eye upon an old man who recently lost his beloved children and now his heart's delight and the supporter of his old age; it beggars description.

Wrote the above Dec. 14th, 1802.

I endeavored to keep house for about three months after my recent irreparable loss, but found it impossible as every trifling incident brought the loss of my beloved companion to my view. Near 35 years I was blessed with a virtuous and affectionate wife and left me a crazy old vessel, almost useless in this world.

I forgot to mention in the course of this narrative, in the year 1763, that the murdering Indians who robbed me and murdered my people, laid siege to the old Fort in Pittsburgh, and as I had

a house there and a few goods in remnants, etc., I chose to stay there and assist in defending it from the savages, etc. The vile Indians continued to block up our Garrison for near three months when Co'l Bouquet was ordered to proceed to Pittsburgh at the head of about 1500 men, part regulars. The savages having early intelligence of this march, watched Bouquet's motions very narrowly 'till the army encamped on a dry ridge within about 30 miles of Pittsburgh. Here the savages collected all their forces and attacked Bouquet on all sides in a furious manner, being sure of their prey as they served Braddock. The English army was in a wretched situation as the Indians very artfully secured all the Springs of Water in that neighborhood. Thus they fought all day without a drop of water but what they sucked out of the tracks of beasts as happily a small rain fell. As Bouquet in the beginning ordered an encampment to be made of the bags, saddles, etc.; the Indians still advanced that way where the sick and wounded lay in a deplorable condition. In this desperate situation of the English army, a certain Captain Barret who commanded a small detachment of Maryland Volunteers, informed Bouquet that he and his army would be cut off if they followed that mode of fighting. Bouquet then agreed to his proposal which was that a quick march shou'd be ordered towards the breastworks, which would take up the attention of the Indians, while the two small squads shou'l run round the savages, and upon beating a flaen, they should rush up and give the savages a general volley in their rear, which had the desired effect, for the Indians were sure that a reinforcement attacked them. They broke and ran and yelped up the hills and the English in close pursuit of them as far as prudence wou'l permit.

The English began their march and arrived safe at Pittsburgh next day without being molested by the Copper Gentry. If Capt'n Barrett had not happily suggested the above manovre, the savages intended to storm the camp and very probably would massacre the chief part of the army. As the success of Bouquet in conducting his army and provisions to our relief at Ft. Pitt, of course if he was defeated, we wou'd all be either starved or Tommohocked. There was not a pound of good flour or meat to serve the Garrison and a number of inhabitants who joined

me to do duty—Notwithstanding that, under God, the success of our preservation was owing to the above mentioned Capt'n Barrett, yet, when Bouquet and his officers were regaling themselves in luxurious living, not one of them offered the brave New Englander a cup of cold water, nay would not own that the victory was any way due to him. I happily received a little relief by the escort which I gladly shared with Barrett, as I was formerly acquainted with him at Bedford. I think I may set down the above deliverance from savage cruelty to a providential escape. Bouquet, like an Artful, Cowardly Swiss as he was, accumulated the whole honor of the aforesaid success to his superior knowledge of tactics, by which he was promoted from Lieut. Co'l. to a Brigadier. But he did not enjoy it long for in a few months after he was ordered to a command to the Southward and died at St. Augustine, very little regretted. I think the above may be recounted a providential escape from the barbarous cruel savage foe.

The next occurrence of consequence in which I was implicated was the American Revolution, which, if it turned out in the favor of the English would infallibly ruin me, as I adhered to the American cause, there would be no mercy showed me by losing my chief independence in lands, etc. Notwithstanding my attachment to the Americans, they never gave me the value of a shilling recompense for all my losses.

In the year of our Lord 1794, another Revolution was very near taking place in this Western Country, which went by the name of Tom. Tinker's war. It was a deep laid plot to overthrow the established Government to the west of the Allegheny Mountains, which was spreading like wildfire further west; but by the intrepid conduct of the Glorious Hero, Gen'l Washington, it was suppressed in the bud. As there was neither a regular army nor Militia in the country, they might carry on their nefarious practices undisturbed if it were not prevented by the vigilance and popularity of the worthy Gen'l Washington, who raised a considerable number of Volunteers, etc., on the East side of the mountains, who were marched to Pittsburgh, so that the Hen-hearted Insurgents were glad to cry "Pecavy" and accommodate matters on the terms that were offered them. The low-lived

rascals were very daring in Pittsburgh, etc. especially. They were very near setting fire to a store and the house in which I lived,—nay, destroying the whole town and vissinage. By the above sketch of these villainous proceedings, I made a Royal, nay Providential escape of being totally ruined. There was a great deal of damage done on Gen'l Nevil's estate on Chartiers Creek, Maj'r Kirkpatrick's likewise, where a Mr. McFarlan was shot dead.

Thus ended Tom Tinker's war, which was aided and abetted by many whitelivered rascals who wou'd pass for real Patriots and genuine friends to the country. The above was the last material transaction in which the generous and glorious Hero, General Washington distinguished himself,—not like the clocking-hen and croaking frogs, who transact the business of the United States at the City of Washington,—Witness the Yellow Genevian, etc. The Genevian mentioned in the last page is well known by his dapper, swarthy appearance and his extreme avarice and cunning is well known. He has accumulated an immense fortune from a small be-ginning.

I have given in the last page a sketch of an attempt that was villainously made by some of the most wealthy inhabitants of the western waters, to overset the established Government, and as there was no military force in the country to oppose them, there remains no doubt but what they would succeed if it were not for the timely exertions of the noble Gen'l Washington who raised a large body of militia in Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania; tho' the military law at that time did not compel them to go beyond their respective districts, yet such was the powerful influence of the brave veteran, Washington, that many offered their services gratis to compliment the saviour of their country. It is almost incredible to mention the vast number of men who appeared at their respective meetings on the Monongahela, Chartiers, etc. A large gang of fellows forced themselves into my house at Pittsburgh, who very impudently called for victuals and drink. I told them I had none for them and ordered them out of my house, and if it were not for the kind treatment my wife gave them they really wou'd burn the house.

From the year of our Lord 1794 to the year 1804 very few

transactions occurred worthy notice, but one which to me was distressing in the extreme. My youngest son, Joseph, unfortunately went upon a traiding voyage to New Orleans and from thence to Jamaica, where he took in a large cargo of coffee in a vessell bound for Norfolk in Virginia, and took a passage for himself in another ship bound for the same place. But to my unspeakable sorrow, my dear boy was ship-wrecked and drowned on that coast. What rendered my affliction compleat was that 10 more passengers were drowned with him and were thrown into a hole in the beach indiscriminately, so that I had not the satisfaction of my dear boy being decently buried. God of his infinite mercy, pittie his old father who will always feel the irreparable loss during his life. O thou omnipotent power, grant me patience and resignation to thy will. Grant me sufficient fortitude to pass thro' the vale of misery which the Almighty has allotted for me; whether long or short. Grant that I may put my whole confidence in the mercies of my redeemer who has shed his precious blood for me and the race of Adam. Witness the spikes drove into his limbs and the thorns.

My dear son was drowned the 20th December, 1803.

Aug'st ye 19th 1792.

Memorandum.

As the following lines may be of service to my family hereafter, I have taken the trouble to acquaint them that my father, Oliver, was the youngest brother of four, viz:—John, Paul, Joseph and my father.

My uncle John enjoyed the family estate of Clohane, near Newton, Gore and Ballenie, in the province of Conaht, Ireland, —which estate (being very considerable) descended to his eldest son Henry, who, I am informed, died without issue, male, if so, the estate (being hereditary in the male line for many ages) must have descended to James Ormsby Esq., who was grandson to my uncle Paul, his father, Charles, then being dead. But should the day come that the male line should prove extinct in the above mentioned offspring of my uncle Paul and Joseph, then it must revert to the eldest of the male line of my family. The idea may be thought Chimerical by some, but still it is not im-

possible, so that this short history may be of service hereafter,— if it does not, it will not eat any bread.

As I was gay and thoughtless when I left my native country, I took very little heed to chronological accounts of families; but this far I remember: That my grandfather's name was Robert the son of John, etc., and that the first of the name of Ormsby (who arrived from England) joined Earl Strangbo in the reduction of Ireland, and that another set of adventurers of the name, came over with their families in 1641, who assisted in preventing the Protestants from being totally massacred in that country.

I should not forget that my grandfather by my Mother, was Co'l Barry, (descended from a Jun'r branch of Lord Barrymore,) who lost his leg in the wars of Flanders.

To conclude this sketch. If being related to the greatest quality in that country, namely, the Gores, Blakeneys, Bingham, Stauntons, etc., could be of any service, their blood runs in my veins, also many other families of distinction.

Inclosed are two letters received many years ago.

That which is signed Henry, was then in possession of the extensive estate of Clohane, and the other signed James, was then the presumptive heir of Clohane and a Maj'r in the British service.

His brother Arthur was Maj'r of another regiment, and were much esteemed as excellent officers. I might exhibit here some mournful and some ludicrous scenes of my life, but as this memo. is only intended as a short memento to my family, especially for the expectations that may one day be realized respecting the estate, I shall write no more at this time, but subscribe myself John Ormsby.

A
JOURNAL
OF THE
PROCEEDINGS
IN

The Detection of the Conspiracy

FORMED BY

Some *White* People in Conjunction with *Negro* and other *Slaves*,

FOR

Burning the City of *NEW-YORK* in AMERICA,

And Murdering the Inhabitants.

Which Conspiracy was partly put in Execution, by Burning His Majesty's House in Fort GEORGE, within the said City, on Wednesday the Eighteenth of *March*, 1741 and setting Fire to several Dwelling and other Houses there, within a few Days succeeding. And by another Attempt made in Prosecution of the same infernal Scheme, by putting Fire between two other Dwelling-Houses within the said City, on the Fifteenth Day of *February*, 1742; which was accidentally and timely discovered and extinguished.

CONTAINING,

A NARRATIVE of the Trials, Condemnations, Executions, and Behaviour of the several Criminals, at the Gallows and Stake, with their *Speeches* and *Confessions*; with Notes, Observations and Reflections occasionally interspersed throughout the Whole

AN APPENDIX, wherein is set forth some additional Evidence concerning the said Conspiracy and Conspirators, which has come to Light since their Trials and Executions.

I. LISTS of the several Persons (Whites and Blacks) committed on Account of the Conspiracy; and of the several Criminals executed, and of those transported with the Places whereto.

By the Recorder of the City of NEW YORK.

Quid facient Domini, audient cum talia Fures? Virg. Ecl.

NEW-YORK

Printed by *James Parker* at the New Printing-Office, 1744.

AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY PRINT

THE ORIGIN OF THE BOOK OF MORMON

BY BRIGHAM H. ROBERTS

(*A Reply to Mr. Theodore Schroeder*)

IV

M. Schroeder's Treatment of Parley P. Pratt

MR. SCHROEDER'S next development of his attempted "Cumulative evidence and argument" is to establish a connection between Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon, through Parley P. Pratt. He first deals with the movements of Pratt from his birth until he is established in Amherst, Lorain County, Ohio, a few miles west of Cleveland, in 1826. In order to lay a foundation for his conclusion Mr. Schroeder gives an exaggerated idea of the notoriety of Joseph Smith at this time "as a 'peep-stone' money digger, through mention made of him in papers published in several counties in southern New York and northern Pennsylvania."¹²⁹ For authority of this statement Mr. Schroeder cites only Tucker, author of "Origin and Progress of Mormonism," and the Rev. Clark Braden, in the "Braden-Kelley Debate." He might just as well have only cited Tucker, for Braden but repeats, in slightly altered form what was said by Tucker. The latter in his work produces not a single news-paper item, nor gives a single reference to any publication in justification of his statement. There was none to give prior to 1826. Joseph Smith's "notoriety" was purely local up to that time.

Mr. Schroeder represents that Parley P. Pratt was a peddler "who knew almost every body in western New York,"¹³⁰ therefore he very likely knew the Smith's previous to 1826. For the statement that Pratt was a peddler, and "ubiquitous," Mr.

^{129.} *American Historical Magazine*, Jan., 1907, p. 58.

^{130.} "Hand Book on Mormonism" (1882), p. 3.

Schroeder can only cite an address, before the Union Home Missionary meeting in 1881, by Mrs. Horace Eaton, of Palmyra;¹³¹ and she was evidently repeating one of the many idle rumors from the vicinity of Palmyra, as there is no evidence for the statement of Mrs. Eaton, and the story is refuted by the facts as stated in the first three chapters of Pratt's "Autobiography," where his struggles to secure and clear a farm, in partnership with his brother, are detailed. This farm was near the then small town of Oswego, on Lake Ontario, in Oswego County. It is true that Pratt in the autumn of 1826 visited his uncles, Ira and Allen Pratt, in Wayne—then Ontario—county, New York,—exact location not given. There is nothing "ubiquitous" about his movements, or any evidence of his wide acquaintance with people.

To give a coloring of dishonesty to the character of Pratt, Mr. Schroeder writes the following passage:

"One of the temptations inducing Pratt's departure from New York was to get to a country where, as he himself expresses it, there is 'no law to sweep (away) all the hard earnings of years to pay a small debt.' The ethical status of an average country ment of his 'small debts' furnishes a fertile immorality in which ment of his "small debts" furnishes a fertile immorality in which to plant the seeds of religious imposture."¹³²

Mr. Schroeder conceals the fact that the "small debt" not "debts" as put by him, was merely a remainder due to Mr. Morgan of whom Pratt had purchased the farm near Oswego, and which owing to his brother's failure to meet his share of the payments, as also bad markets for the crop of 1826, Mr. Pratt could not pay. Whereupon the farm it had taken years to clear of timber, and the crop was seized by Morgan for that debt. Is Mr. Schroeder justified in giving a sinister aspect to this matter?

We have Pratt located in Amherst, 1826. Sidney Rigdon makes his second journey from Pennsylvania and arrives at Bainbridge, Ohio, in 1826, and in capacity of "Disciple" preacher

131. *American Historical Magazine*, Jan., 1907, p. 58, also "Hand Book on Mormonism," p. 3.

132. *American Historical Magazine*, Jan., 1907, p. 59.

visits the surrounding towns where he becomes acquainted with Pratt. All this is granted. But Mr. Schroeder in trying to fix upon the exact time and circumstance of their first meeting, resorts to a jugglery of facts, and builds on the distorted mass such conclusions as can be characterized only by the term shameful. I quote Mr. Schroeder:

“The date of their first meeting is nowhere given, but may reasonably be inferred from an address delivered by Parley P. Pratt in 1843 or '4. In this discourse Pratt tells of an occurrence which transpired on his way to his future Ohio home, which occurrence furnishes the key to his first connection with Mormonism. On his way he stopped at a humble cottage, the name of whose occupant he carefully fails to give. Here, while asleep (so he says), “a messenger of a mild and intelligent countenance suddenly stood before me (Pratt) arrayed in robes of dazzling splendor.” According to Mormon theology, an angel is but an exalted man. Of course Sidney Rigdon was an exalted man; why not, then, an angel? This angel claimed to hold the keys to the mysteries of this wonderful country, and took Pratt out to exhibit those mysteries to him. Pratt then had portrayed to his mind the whole future of Mormonism; its cities, with inhabitants from all parts of the globe; its temples, with a yet unattained splendor; its present church organization was, with considerable definiteness, outlined; its political ambition to establish a temporal kingdom of God on the ruins of this government was set forth with quite as much definiteness as in the subsequent more publicly uttered, treasonable sermons. I conclude from the exact manner in which this “Angel of the Prairies” foreknew the ambitions, hopes, and future achievements of the Mormon Church and the similar admitted fore-knowledge of Rigdon and the subsequently established connection between Rigdon, Pratt, and Smith, that the “Angel of the Prairies” who outlined to Pratt his then contemplated and now executed religious fraud, was none other than Sidney Ridgon himself, and that this fact accounts for Pratt’s failure to give the name of his host or the date of his first meeting with Ridgon.”¹³³

“THE ANGEL OF THE PRARIES”

The work here quoted for these supposedly historical incidents, is entitled “The Angel of the Praries,” and is a work of pure fiction, a product of the author’s imagination, profess-

133. *American Historical Magazine*, Jan., 1907, p. 59.

edly and confessedly so.¹³⁴ It was never delivered as a public address in Nauvoo, though Mr. Schroeder in the above calls it successively an "Address delivered by Parley P. Pratt," a "discourse," and in his notes a "sermon."¹³⁵ It was merely read in the presence of Joseph Smith and "a general council," most likely the First Presidency and Mr. Pratt's associates of the Twelve Apostles, as "a curious and extraordinary composition in the similitude of a dream." Such is its author's characterization of it. "It was designed," he continues, "as a reproof of the corruptions and degeneracy of our government, in suffering mobs to murder, plunder, rob and drive their fellow citizens with impunity. It also suggested some reforms."¹³⁶ It is no more history, or even prophecy than Johnson's "Rasselas" or Sir Thomas More's "Utopia" is history or prophecy. Yet this fiction, and I charge that Mr. Schroeder knew it to be fiction—for he could learn the facts from its preface—must be pressed into service as solemn prose history in order to complete and sustain the vagaries of the Schroeder-Spaulding theory! At first on meeting with this shameful perversion one is inclined to an outburst of vexation. On second thought he remembers that this fragment is but of a piece of the whole fabric of the Spaulding theory, and smiles.

But let us follow Mr. Schroeder further into the realms of his deductions built upon this piece of literary fiction, the "Angel of the Praries." Parley P. Pratt returned to the home of his aunt Van Cott in Canaan, Columbia County, New York, for the purpose of marrying a Miss Halsey to whom he was engaged. This was in the summer of 1827. Mr. Schroeder makes Pratt's visit to New York for the above purpose, the occasion of placing the Spaulding manuscript in the hands of Joseph Smith, and all the connections are perfected for revamping this old manuscript story into a pretended volume of scripture. And this is the way of it as *per* Mr. Schroeder:

"Pratt was married September 9, 1827. On September 22, 1827, a 'heavenly messenger' appeared to Joseph Smith and

134. "Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt," edition of 1874, p. 367.

135. Note 101 *American Historical Magazine*, Jan., 1907, p. 74.

136. Same as note 134.

unfolded to him the scheme of the Book of Mormon, and disclosed the whereabouts of the 'Golden Plates.' This 'heavenly messenger' is called the Angel Moroni. According to Mormon theology, 'God may use any beings he has made or that he pleases, and call them his angels, or messengers.' 'Gods, angels, and men are all of one species, one race, one great family.' 'God is a man like unto yourselves; that is the great secret.' Why, of course! 'That is the great secret.' God is but an exalted man,' and may call Parley Parker Pratt his angel. Parley Parker Pratt was the 'heavenly messenger,' the angel who, on that day (September 22, 1827), appeared to Joseph Smith and told him where were the golden plates, that is, Spaulding's 'Manuscript Found.' Sidney Rigdon for Smith's purposes, was the 'exalted man,' the 'God' who sent this 'heavenly messenger,' Parley Parker Pratt, just as the Mormon people now look upon Joseph Smith as the 'God to this people.' ¹³⁷

One might well consider himself under no obligation to treat seriously such a palpable perversion of Mormon ideas as is here presented. But this taking a piece of Mormon fiction, the "Angel of the Prairies," and misrepresenting it first as a "discourse delivered by Parley P. Pratt at Nauvoo; thence elevating it from fiction to a sober historical document; thence building upon it this misrepresentation, and perversion of Mormon ideas and historical facts, exhibits in the person of Mr. Schroeder that order of intelligence that could conceive of others following the same process in relation to the Spaulding Manuscript, until it was converted into a pretended revelation. I think Mr. Schroeder will not gain much for his "evidence" or his "argument" by this wicked perversion of Mormon ideas and facts of history, since it must suggest the innate weakness of a cause that requires such intellectual dishonesty, as is here exhibited.

It is true that the Mormons are anthropolomorphists in that they believe that Jesus Christ is the "brightness of God's glory and the express image of his person"¹³⁸—the revelation of God as well in form as in spiritual attributes; they believe that Jesus Christ is not only divine, but Diety; that he exists now as he did after his resurrection from the dead, an immortal per-

137. *American Historical Magazine*, Jan., 1907, pp. 60, 61.

138. "Hebrews" 1, 3.

sonage of flesh and bones and spirit—hence that God is an exalted man; that he uses other men, perfected and glorified, such as Noah, Moses, Elijah, and others, as his angels and arch-angels and messengers, to aid in the accomplishment of his purposes. But to represent the Latter-day Saints as believing in or accepting such jugglery as that which Mr. Schroeder charges is an outrage and a direct and conscious misrepresentation of the faith of a people. Joseph Smith indeed proclaimed that God appeared to him; in fact he claims that both the Father and the Son appeared to him, but it is blasphemy to think of Rigdon impersonating them, or either of them, in the manner and for the purpose represented by Mr. Schroeder. This revelation moreover was given in 1820, not 1827.¹³⁹ Joseph Smith said an angel visited him and revealed to him the existence of the Book of Mormon; but this was a very definite personage, a man who lived in America in the fourth Century of the Christian Era, now raised from the dead and sent to make this revelation of the American volume of scripture; he was not Parley P. Pratt; and he revealed the existence of the Book of Mormon to Joseph Smith in September, 1823, not 1827.¹⁴⁰

THE SUPPOSED MEETINGS OF JOSEPH SMITH AND SIDNEY RIGDON BEFORE THE PUBLICATION OF THE BOOK OF MORMON.

Mr. Schroeder after getting the Spaulding manuscript into the hands of Joseph Smith, *via* Parley P. Pratt, proceeds next to bring Sidney Rigdon and Joseph Smith together for the necessary collaboration on the manuscript. The chief, and I may say the only, authority that Mr. Schroeder really gives for this charge is that of Pomery Tucker, author of "Origin, Rise and Progress of Mormonism," (1867). Tucker having brought his narrative down to the year 1827, announces the appearance of a "mysterious stranger" at the Smith residence. No name or purpose of this stranger is given out even to the nearest neighbors, but it was observed that "his visits were frequently repeated." Afterwards Tucker makes out this mys-

¹³⁹. See Joseph Smith's own account "Pearl of Great Price," writings of Joseph Smith, and many other Mormon works.

¹⁴⁰. *Ibid.*

terious stranger to be Sidney Rigdon. The other "witnesses," Mrs. Eaton (1881), as also J. H. McCauley, in his "History of Franklin County, Pa.," together with Abel Chase and Lorenzo Saunders, neighbors of the Smith's (the last three are the "witnesses" named by Braden in the "Braden-Kelley Debate," and for which that disputant gives no authority) but repeat the charge of Tucker. Mr. Schroeder himself in another matter, however, discredits Tucker. In his note 115, he says: "Tucker * * * says Rigdon officiated at the wedding of Joseph Smith and Emma Hale, but he fixes the date of the wedding in November, 1829, when in fact it seems to have occurred Jan. 18, 1827. Tucker therefore may have been misinformed."¹⁴¹ And Joseph Smith, who ought to know, says that he and Emma were married by Esquire Tarbill.¹⁴²

Lucy Smith, in her "History of the Prophet Joseph," makes mention of a stranger coming to the home of the Smith's in company with Joseph about the time Martin Harris lost 116 pages of the translation of the Book of Mormon. The reason for the stranger accompanying the prophet to his home was the dejection of spirits and illness and physical weakness of the latter, and out of kindness the stranger insisted upon accompanying Joseph home from the point at which he left the stage on which he had travelled from his home in Harmony, Pennsylvania. Mr. Schroeder, of course, seeks to press the incident into service as an evidence of the acquaintance and co-operation of Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon before the Book of Mormon is published; hence as seen through Mr. Schroeder's eyes, the "stranger" is Sidney Rigdon. There is nothing, however, in the narrative of Lucy Smith to warrant the conclusion that this stranger was Sidney Rigdon; and Mr. Schroeder is certainly in error as to the "stranger" being present at the interview between Martin Harris and the Smith's on the next day—the only circumstance that could have made the coming of the "stranger" in any way significant in Mr. Schroeder's theories.¹⁴³

141. "Origin and Rise and Progress of Mormonism," pp. 28, 46, 75, 121.

142. "History of the Church," Vol. I, p. 17.

143. The incident of the "stranger" and Joseph, the prophet is found in chapter XXV of Lucy Smith's "History of Joseph, the Prophet," Mr. Schroeder's reference to the incident is in his note 113.

Of course, this allegation of the appearance of Rigdon at the Smith home, resting upon no other basis than the fabrication of Tucker, comes in direct conflict with the express statement of both Parley P. Pratt and Sidney Rigdon, but I am not trying this issue upon the *per contra* testimony of "interested" witnesses. I hold that this particular charge of collaboration between Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon, involving frequent association and in fact demanding almost constant association between the two in the years from 1827 and 1830, necessarily breaks down under its own weight of absurdity. The movements of Joseph Smith and of Sidney Rigdon are too well known to allow of that association taking place, to say nothing of its being kept secret. The distances separating them during those years are too great to be covered by Sidney Rigdon, even if his falsely alleged occasional absences from Ohio were allowed to stand unchallenged. This matter of distance that separated them, together with the slow modes of travel—by carriage or horse-back—badness of roads, etc., seem not to be taken into account at all in the fabrications of Tucker. Sidney Rigdon is operating exclusively in Ohio, in Kirtland and vicinity from 1827 to 1830. Mr. Kelley in his debate with Braden thus summarized the movements of Rigdon during these years from Hayden's "History of the Disciples:"

"The Disciple (Campbellite) history sets forth, that Rigdon was their standing minister for the year 1825, at Bainbridge, Ohio; for the year 1826 at Mentor and Bainbridge; for the year 1827 at Mantua; for the year 1828, at Mentor, and this year is the time when he met Alexander Campbell at Warren, Ohio, at their assembly, where the famous passage at arms took place between Campbell and Rigdon of which so much has been said. The next year, 1829, Rigdon continued the work in Mentor, and at Euclid, and founded the church in Perry, Ohio, Aug. 7th. The next year, 1830, he continued as their minister, (and the ablest of them all), at Mentor, Euclid, Kirtland, and occasionally at Hiram, Perry, Mantua, and Plainsville."¹⁴⁴

Joseph Smith's movements during the years named are between Manchester, New York, Harmony, Pennsylvania, and

144. "Braden-Kelly Debate," p. 100.

Fayette township (where the Whitmer's lived), New York; a distance from Ohio points, where Rigdon was operating, by the nearest roads traveled, of from 250 to 300 miles. Does any one believe that the necessary collaboration was possible under such circumstance as Mr. Schroeder's theory of origin for the Book of Mormon calls for?

On this whole question of collaboration, and conspiracy by Rigdon, Pratt and Smith in the production of the Book of Mormon the following paragraph from the writings of Elder George Reynolds is most convincing:

“Has it ever entered into the thoughts of our opponents that if Sidney Rigdon was the author or adapter of the Book of Mormon how vast and wide spread must have been the conspiracy that foisted it upon the world? Whole families must have been engaged in it. Men of all ages and various conditions in life, and living in widely separate portions of the country must have been connected with it. First we must include in the catalogue of conspirators the whole of the Smith family, then the Whitmers, Martin Harris and Oliver Cowdery; further, to carry out this absurd idea, Sidney Rigdon and Parley P. Pratt must have been their active fellow-conspirators in arranging, carrying out and consummating their iniquitous fraud. To do this they must have traveled thousands of miles and spent months, perhaps years, to accomplish—what? That is the unsolved problem. Was it for the purpose of duping the world? They, at any rate the great majority of them, were of all men most unlikely to be engaged in such a folly. Their habits, surroundings, station in life, youth and inexperience all forbid such a thought. What could they gain, in any light that could be then presented to their minds, by palming [off] such a deception upon the world? This is another unanswerable question. Then comes the staggering fact, if the Book be a falsity, that all these families, all these diverse characters, in all the trouble, perplexity, persecution and suffering through which they passed, never wavered in their testimony, never changed their statements, never ‘went back’ on their original declarations, but continued unto death (and they have all passed away), proclaiming that the Book of Mormon was a divine revelation, and that its record was true. Was there ever such an exhibition in the history of the world of such continued, such unabating, such undeviating falsehood? If falsehood it was. We cannot find a place in the annals of their lives

where they wavered, and what makes the matter more remarkable is that it can be said of most of them, as is elsewhere said of the three witnesses, they became offended with the Prophet Joseph, and a number of them openly rebelled against him; but they never retraced one word with regard to the genuineness of Mormon's inspired record. Whether they were friends or foes to Joseph, whether they regarded him as God's continued mouthpiece or as a fallen Prophet, they still persisted in their statements with regard to the book and the veracity of their earlier testimonies. How can we possibly with our knowledge of human nature make this undeviating, unchanging, unwavering course, continuing over fifty years, consistent with a deliberate, premediated and cunningly—devised and executed fraud!"¹⁴⁵

The last matter of argument in the quotation above, the unwavering adherence of the witnesses to the coming forth of the Book of Mormon and the relationship they sustained to that work, has peculiar force when applied to the case of Sidney Rigdon. He claims to have known nothing of the Book of Mormon until it was presented to him (as we shall see later by a statement of his) by Parley P. Pratt and Oliver Cowdery, some six months after its publication. But let us suppose for the sake of the argument, that he really took the part assigned to him by Mr. Schroeder in bringing into existence the Book of Mormon; that he stole the Spaulding "Manuscript Found" about 1816; that hearing of Smith through Pratt, he then sent the said manuscript to Smith to be announced as a revelation from God; that afterwards he collaborated with Smith to produce the Book of Mormon out of it. It will go without saying that a thief, and especially such a thief, as Rigdon is here represented to be, is a very ignoble character; and it will not be too much to say that if such a character is hard pressed by his associates, or is, what he might consider, ill treated by them, he will very probably betray them. Sidney Rigdon certainly considered himself both hard pressed and positively wronged by his brethern—but he never "revealed" the "fraud" in which Mormonism is supposed to have had its origin. Joseph Smith sought to be rid of him as his

145. "Myth of Manuscript Found," (1883) pp. 35-6.

counselor at the October Conference of 1843. He directly charged Rigdon with treachery, of being leagued with his deadly enemies, and that he had no confidence in his "integrity and steadfastness;" that Rigdon had been profitless to him as a counselor since their escape from Missouri in 1839. By virtue of a vigorous denial on the part of Rigdon as to some of the charges, and a plea for mercy as to some delinquencies confessed, he was sustained by the conference in his office of counselor to the prophet, notwithstanding the latter was not satisfied with the conclusion of the matter reached by the Conference. "I have thrown him off my shoulders" said he, "and you have again put him upon me. You may carry him, but I will not."¹⁴⁶

After the death of the prophet Sidney Rigdon put in a claim for precedence in authority, claiming that right by virtue of his office as counselor to the prophet now martyred. The priesthood of the church assembled as a body to hear the cause, President Brigham Young presenting the counter claims of the Twelve Apostles as the proper presiding authority in the absence of the First Presidency. Sidney Rigdon was rejected by that body of the priesthood;¹⁴⁷ and shortly after left Nauvoo full of disappointment and bitterness; but he never in those trying days, or in any of the subsequent years of his life, by hint or direct charge or confession, revealed any "fraud" in which Mormonism is supposed to have had its origin; but on the contrary, as we shall see, emphatically reaffirmed his true relationship to the work, and his faith in it.

There is one person, however, who undertakes to say that Sidney Rigdon "revealed" the secret concerning the origin of the Book of Mormon. This is Clark Braden, who quotes one James Jeffries of St. Louis, as saying in substance that in the fall of 1844, Rigdon in several conversations admitted to him the existence of the Spaulding manuscript; that it traced the origin of the Indians from the lost tribes of Israel; that the manuscript was within his reach for several years; that "He (Rigdon) and Joe Smith used to look over the manuscript and

146. *Millennial Star*, Vol. 22, pp. 215-6.

147. *Millennial Star*, Vol. 25, pp. 215, 279.

read it on Sundays. Rigdon said Smith took the manuscript and said 'I'll print it,' and went off to Palmyra, New York." On this "testimony," the Reverend Clark Braden comments: "On his way from Nauvoo to Pittsburg (in the fall of 1844) he (Rigdon) called on his old acquaintance, Mr. Jefferies, in St. Louis, and in his anger at the Mormons, he let out the secrets of Mormonism, just as he told the Mormons he would if they did not make him their leader."¹⁴⁸ This "evidence," however, since it costs him nothing to set aside such palpable absurdity, Mr. Schroeder, with a show of bigness and condescension, discredits by saying: "an alleged admission of Sidney Rigdon to James Jefferies I consider of doubtful value."¹⁴⁹ In this case, as in that of the item presented by Mrs. Ellen E. Dickinson, to the effect that it was "remembered" by some of the Conneaut witnesses in 1834, that the "Spaulding Manuscript was the translation of the Book of Mormon"—the "evidence" manufactured in support of the Spaulding theory of origin, becomes a little too raw for Mr. Schroeder, and his gorge rises at it, and with an air of superiority he "considers it doubtful."

Closely connected with Sidney Rigdon's relationship to the coming forth of the Book of Mormon is another matter several times alluded to by Mr. Schroeder, in common with all other advocates of the Spaulding theory of origin, namely, the assumption that "Joseph Smith, the nominal founder and first prophet of Mormonism, was probably too ignorant to have produced the volume unaided." It is because of this assumed inability of Joseph Smith to produce the book that the Spaulding manuscript and Sidney Rigdon are brought into the scheme of production. And yet it is clearly demonstrable that Joseph Smith did not need the assistance of either Spaulding or of Sidney Rigdon in the production of a book equal, if not superior, to the Book of Mormon from a literary stand point. I refer to the "Book of Doctrine and Covenants." It is true this book was not published until 1835; but the revelations of which it is composed began in 1828, and by the close of 1833, one

¹⁴⁸. "Braden-Kelly Debate," p. 42.

¹⁴⁹. *American Historical Magazine*, Jan., 1907, p. 75 and note 115.

hundred and one of the revelations forming the major part of the book, were received and are of record.

There can be no question as to the authorship of this book. Joseph Smith—under a divine inspiration, as Latter-day Saints believe—dictated these revelations, and in this way he is their author; and they disclose a literary force and beauty far ahead of the Book of Mormon. If any one shall doubt it, let him read and compare sections 20, 42, 76, 84, 88, and 107 of the “Doctrine and Covenants,” with the Book of Mormon. Any part of the book would demonstrate what is here claimed, but these sections particularly demonstrate it. Moreover in all published documents in the current periodicals of the Church, those that may be referred respectfully to Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon, will disclose the superior excellence in every respect of those produced by the former, over those produced by the latter.

This Spaulding theory, moreover, supposes the necessity of a superior intelligence to Joseph Smith in the production of the Book of Mormon—in the inception of the “Mormon fraud.” But will some one explain—for Mr. Schroeder fails us at this point—how it is that Sidney Rigdon, as soon as the Book of Mormon is launched, though having been up to this point the “master spirit” of Mormonism, now suddenly falls into second place in the development of Mormonism, and becomes merely the scribe of the Prophet, as Mr. Schroeder himself points out. It should be remembered that in 1827, the year in which Mr. Schroeder brings them together for the work of collaboration, Rigdon was thirty-four years old, Joseph Smith but twenty-two; and when the Church was organized, Joseph was but twenty-five and Rigdon thirty-seven. With Rigdon’s better education (which is granted), how comes it that this man, superior in education and knowledge of the world, and of greater age, consents to occupy second place to Joseph Smith? If Rigdon was the great moving spirit of Mormonism during its incubation, why did he not continue so after the Book of Mormon was printed? The answer is that Sidney Rigdon never was the prophet’s superior in talents or even in literary power of expression.

Then, again, in this connection, I call attention to the fact that if the Book of Mormon had been produced as charged by Mr. Schroeder, it would not have been so full of petty errors in grammar and the faulty use of words as is found in the first edition of the Book of Mormon. While entertaining no exalted opinion of the education of either Mr. Spaulding or of Mr. Rigdon, and the works of both are before me, on which to base that judgment, yet I cannot conceive it possible that they, even though but half educated would make such language errors as appear in the first edition. Take for example the following passages from said first edition of the Book of Mormon—speaking of the Urim and Thurmim it says:

“And the things are called interpreters; and no man can look in them, except he be commanded, lest he should look for that he had not ought, and he should perish; * * * but a seer can know of things which has past, and also of things which is to come * * * and hidden things shall come to light, and things which is not known shall be made known by them.” (Page 173).

“Blessed are they who humbleth themselves without being compelled to be humble.” (Page 314).

“Little children doth have words given unto them many times which doth confound the wise and the learned.” (Page 315).

“But they had fell into great errors, for they would not observe to keep the commandments of God.” (Page 310).

Such errors as the foregoing occur frequently throughout the first edition of the Book of Mormon. They are ingrained in it; they are constitutional faults. And while perfectly explicable on the supposition that one unlearned in the grammar of the English language, as confessedly Joseph Smith was, obtaining the thought from the Nephite characters in which the Book of Mormon was written, but left to express said thought in such faulty English as he was master of¹⁵⁰;—yet utterly inexplicable on the supposition that the manuscript from which the Book of Mormon was printed was

150. For an exposition and defense of this theory of the translation of the Book of Mormon, see the author's treatise of the subject, in "Defense of the Faith and the Saints," (1907) pp. 249-311.

written by Solomon Spaulding and revamped by Sidney Rigdon. The errors in grammar and the occasional wrong use of words are just such errors as would be made by Joseph Smith, an unlettered youth, in working out the translation, but just the errors that such educated men as Spaulding and Rigdon would pride themselves in avoiding. I am of the opinion that this consideration alone would be sufficient to convince a candid mind that whoever wrote the Book of Mormon, neither Sidney Rigdon nor Solomon Spaulding ever wrote it, or any part of it.

In this connection I also call attention to the fact that it is utterly impossible that the Book of Mormon should be the Solomon Spaulding story, "Manuscript Found," plus the religious matter supposed to have been supplied by Sidney Rigdon. This is the claim of all Spauldingite theorists, including Mr. Schroeder. It is based upon the assumption of Joseph Smith's lack of knowledge of theological subjects and controversies. If the book, however, was constructed as the Spaulding theorists claim it was, the line of cleavage would be apparent; the necessarily incongruous parts must be discernable; but no critic has yet appeared bold enough to point out which was originally Spaulding's, and which the Rigdon addition. The fact of the matter is there is no line of cleavage; no point at which one ends and the other begins. You might just as well talk about a line of cleavage between what the element of earth and what the element of sunshine has contributed to the coloring of the pansy or the rose, as to try to indicate what is the religious part added to the Book of Mormon by Rigdon, and what the historical part supplied by Spaulding. The religious and historical parts of the Book of Mormon are perfectly fused. They can no more be separated than sun-light and sun-warmth can be separated from our earth's atmosphere. As the sun's rays penetrate and permeate our earth's atmosphere, so the religious elements, incidents and spirit alike, permeate the Book of Mormon—in it they are one and inseparable.

OF THE CONVERSION OF PRATT AND RIGDON

As part of Mr. Schroeder's chain of evidence, by which he hopes to establish the cumulative proofs that Pratt, Rigdon and Joseph Smith connived in palming off upon the world the

Spaulding manuscript as a revelation—the Book of Mormon—he points to discrepences in the published accounts of the suddenness or slowness of Pratt's and Rigdon's conversions. Holding that the accounts of their sudden and miraculous conversion, had to be modified, and, in fact, concealed lest they should lead to the suspicion of connivance, if Rigdon and Pratt should be found giving too ready a credence to the Book of Mormon. Of the variations pointed out in Pratt's conversion it is only necessary to say that they are such variations, so slight and unimportant, that if it is considered that they are made by different persons, or, as in the case of Pratt himself, on widely separated occasions, the variations are the sure witnesses that the account is not a concocted one. In the case of one of the authorities quoted, Lucy Smith, mother of the prophet, and author of the "Life of the Prophet Joseph," Mr. Schroeder should be corrected. He states, following a misapprehension of Orson Pratt's, in order to make his statement of more force, that Lucy Smith's book was written under the supervision of Joseph Smith.¹⁵¹ This is not true, as Lucy Smith did not begin to write her book until after the martyrdom of her son, Joseph. It was in the fall of the year of 1844 that she began her work, and the prophet was killed in June of that year, all of which could have been learned by Mr. Schroeder by consulting the foot notes of the edition of Lucy Smith's book published by the Reorganized Church, in 1880.¹⁵²

The discrepancy as to the time element in the conversion of Sidney Rigdon—as to whether it was two days after Pratt and Cowdery's arrival at Kirtland, or two weeks—may not be as satisfactorily accounted for as in the case of Parley P. Pratt. Still the chief authority for Mr. Schroeder's whole theory of the Spaulding origin of the Book of Mormon favors the longer period for the conversion of Rigdon, since Mr. Howe represents that the "sudden" conversion of Rigdon occurred "after many pretensions to disbelieve it."¹⁵³ Furthermore, in view of the whole question here debated, and the

151. *American Historical Magazine*, Jan., 1907, p. 67.

152. "Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet," by Lucy Smith, p. 90, foot notes.

153. "Mormonism Unveiled," Howe, p. 290.

overwhelming evidences educed against the contentions of Mr. Schroeder, the matter of the time it took to convert Sidney Rigdon to Mormonism is of but slight importance.

THE DENIALS OF RIGDON

Mr. Schroeder throughout his argument, intermittently seeks to add force to his "evidence" by saying that Sidney Rigdon never denied this, that, or the other statement though made in his life time. He notices only Rigdon's denial published in the *Boston Journal* in 1839, and represents it as "absolutely the only recorded public denial ever made by Rigdon, though from 1834 to 1876 he was almost continually under the fire of this charge, reiterated in various forms and with varying proofs."¹⁵⁴ Of course, Mr. Schroeder is allowed to speak with some degree of authority upon the anti-Mormon side of this controversy; but for all that there are some things he does not seem to know about Sidney Rigdon's denials and affirmations. It may be that of the several statements to which Mr. Schroeder attaches the remark of Rigdon's silence, Rigdon never saw one of them; and there is one denial made by Mr. Rigdon that Mr. Schroeder has failed to note, made in 1836; and which, since it is general in its character, may be made to cover the whole period in which Mr. Rigdon is said to have made no denial. In the January number of the Latter-day Saints' *Messenger and Advocate*, after denouncing Howe's book and those who advocate it, and referring to Mr. Scott, Mr. Campbell and other professed ministers, he says:

"In order to avoid investigation this brotherhood will condescend to mean, low subterfuges, to which a noble-minded man would never condescend; no, he would suffer martyrdom first. Witness Mr. Campbell's recommendation of Howe's book, while he knows, as well as every person who reads it, that it is a batch of falsehoods."¹⁵⁵

Inasmuch as Howe's book, published in 1834, charges Rigdon's complicity with the whole procedure by which the Book of

154. *American Historical Magazine*, Nov., 1906, p. 527.

155. *Messenger and Advocate*, Jan., 1836, p. 242.

Mormon is alleged to have been produced out of the Spaulding manuscript, and Rigdon above denounces Howe's book as "a batch of falsehoods," we may say there has been in existence ever since January, 1836, Rigdon's denial of the whole Spaulding theory of his complicity with a scheme to deceive men in respect of the Book of Mormon.

However, if that is not sufficient to be convincing, then I wish to produce a well authenticated denial of the most sweeping and convincing nature. John W. Rigdon, the son of Sidney Rigdon, has written a somewhat extended biography of his father which he has filed in its manuscript form in the Church Historian's Office at Salt Lake City. In this narrative he relates his own experience in connection with Mormonism, and his attempt to learn the truth from his father respecting the latter's early connection with the Book of Mormon. He tells of his visit to Utah, in 1863, where he spent the winter among the Mormon people. He was not favorably impressed with their religious life, and came to the conclusion that the Book of Mormon itself was a fraud. He determined in his own heart that if ever he returned home and found his father alive, he would try and find out what he knew of the origin of the Book of Mormon, "although," he adds, "he had never told but one story about it, and that was that Parley P. Pratt and Oliver Cowdery presented him with a bound volume of that book in the year 1830, while he [Sidney Rigdon] was preaching Campbellism at Mentor, Ohio." What John W. Rigdon claims to have seen in Utah, however, together with the fact that Sidney Rigdon had been charged with writing the Book of Mormon, made him suspicious, and he remarks:

"I concluded I would make an investigation for my own satisfaction and find out if I could if he had all these years been deceiving his family and the world, by telling that which was not true, and I was in earnest about it. If Sidney Rigdon, my father, had thrown his life away by telling a falsehood and bringing sorrow and disgrace upon his family, I wanted to know it and was determined to find out the facts, no matter what the consequences might be. I reached home in the fall of 1865, found my father in good health and (he) was very much pleased to see me. As he had not heard anything from me for some

time, he was afraid that I had been killed by the Indians. Shortly after I had arrived home, I went to my father's room; he was there and alone, and now was the time for me to commence my inquiries in regard to the origin of the Book of Mormon, and as to the truth of the Mormon religion. I told him what I had seen at Salt Lake City, and I said to him that what I had seen at Salt Lake had not impressed me very favorably toward the Mormon Church, and as to the origin of the Book of Mormon I had some doubts. You have been charged with writing that book and giving it to Joseph Smith to introduce to the world. You have always told me one story; that you never saw this book until it was presented to you by Parley P. Pratt and Oliver Cowdery; and all you ever knew of the origin of that book was what they told you and what Joseph Smith and the witnesses who claimed to have seen the plates had told you. Is this true? If so, all right; if it is not, you owe it to me and to your family to tell it. You are an old man and you will soon pass away, and I wish to know if Joseph Smith, in your intimacy with him for fourteen years, has not said something to you that led you to believe he obtained that book in some other way than what he had told you. Give me all you know about it, that I may know the truth. My father, after I had finished saying what I have repeated above, looked at me a moment, raised his hand above his head and slowly said, with tears glistening in his eyes: 'My son, I can swear before high heaven that what I have told you about the origin of that book is true. Your mother and sister, (Mrs. Athalia Robinson,) were present when that book was handed to me in Mentor, Ohio, and all I ever knew about the origin of that book was what Parley P. Pratt, Oliver Cowdery, Joseph Smith and the witnesses who claimed they saw the plates have told me, and in all of my intimacy with Joseph Smith he never told me but the one story, and that was that he found it engraved upon gold plates in a hill near Palmyra, New York, and that an angel had appeared to him and directed him where to find it; and I have never, to you or any one else, told but the one story, and that I now repeat to you.' I believed him, and now believe he told me the truth. He also said to me after that that Mormonism was true; that Joseph Smith was a Prophet, and this world would find it out some day.'¹⁵⁶

Not only does John W. Rigdon give this valuable statement

¹⁵⁶. "Life of Sidney Rigdon," by his son, John W. Rigdon, ms. pp. 188-195. The passages quoted in the text will be found in the "History of the Church," Vol. I, pp. 122-3. Also "Y. M. I. A. Manual" for 1905-6, pp. 485-6.

as to his father's position respecting the Book of Mormon, but he adds the following from his mother:

"After my father's death, my mother, who survived him several years, was in the enjoyment of good health up to the time of her last sickness, she being eighty-six years old. A short time before her death I had a conversation with her about the origin of the Book of Mormon, and wanted to know what she remembered about its being presented to my father. She said to me in that conversation that what my father had told me about the book being presented to him was true, for she was present at the time and knew that was the first time he ever saw it, and that the stories told about my father writing the Book of Mormon were not true. This she said to me in her old age and when the shadows of the grave were gathering around her; and I believe her."¹⁵⁷

THE REAL ORIGIN OF THE SPAULDING THEORY

A word upon the real origin of the Spaulding theory. It did not originate by a "woman preacher,"¹⁵⁸ reading extracts from the Book of Mormon whereupon there was a "spontaneous" recognition of Solomon Spaulding's story "Manuscript Found," and an outburst of popular indignation against this disception, as is usually represented to be the case by those who advocate the Spaulding theory, and by Mr. Schroeder in particular.¹⁵⁹ Especially is Mr. Schroeder insistent upon the "spontaneity" with which the Spaulding work was recognized when the Book of Mormon was publicly read at Conneaut; though to get this "spontaneity" Mr. Schroeder must needs rely upon the Davison statement which he acknowledges Mrs. Davison never wrote, and which he says can have no "evidentiary weight except in those matters where it is plain from the nature of things that she must have been speaking from her own personal knowledge"¹⁶⁰—and in the matter here to be mentioned

157. "History of the Church," Vol. I, p. 123, note.

158. It is claimed that the words "woman preacher" found in the Davison statement was a typographical error (see Clark's "Gleanings by the Way,") and should read "Mormon preacher;" but the typographical error being claimed after it was learned that the Mormon Church at that time had no Mormon preachers, gives it the color of one of those "afterthoughts" which are so frequently seen in this Spaulding theory, that one in spite of himself remains doubtful.

159. *American Historical Magazine*, Jan., 1907, p. 71.

160. *Ibid.* Sept., 1906, p. 394.

Mrs. Davison could have had no personal knowledge at all. So that Mr. Schroeder throws aside his own limitations within which Mrs. Davison's statement is to be given evidentiary weight, in the interest of his desire for the force of "spontaneity" in the recognition of the Book of Mormon as Spaulding's work. According to the Davison statement, then, when the "woman preacher" in a public meeting read extracts from the Book of Mormon, John Spaulding, residing at Conneaut at the time, and present at the meeting,

"recognized perfectly the work of his brother. He was amazed and afflicted that it should have been perverted to so wicked a purpose. His grief found vent in a flood of tears, and he rose on the spot, and expressed to the meeting his sorrow and regret that the writings of his deceased brother should be used for a purpose so vile and shocking. The excitement in New Salem (Conneaut) became so great that the inhabitants had a meeting and deputed Dr. Philastus Hurlburt one of their number to repair to this place (Monson) and to obtain from me (Mrs. [Spaulding] Davison) the original manuscript of Mr. Spaulding."

One marvels that all this was missed by the authors of "Mormonism Unveiled." Dr. Hurlburt was present, too, in that meeting, and was the chief agent and factor in compiling Howe's book. Yet in the statement published in that book, and credited to John Spaulding, there is not a word of this dramatic circumstance—this splendid "spontaneity," so much the joy of Mr. Schroeder. There is no "agony of grief;" no "flood of tears;" no "denunciation on the spot;" no reference to a purpose "vile and shocking;" just a plain statement that he had "recently read the Book of Mormon;" and the claim that he found nearly the same historical matter in it as in his brother's writings; some names that were alike; and that the "Manuscript Found" held to the theory that the American Indians were descendants of the "lost tribes;" evidently supposing that the Book of Mormon held the same theory. Had any such circumstance as described in the Davison statement occurred, it would undoubtedly have appeared in John Spaulding's statement published by Howe five years before this second version was put forth.

But notwithstanding the bad odor of the whole Davison statement, and the violation of his own principle, under which only it is to be considered possessed of evidentiary weight, Mr. Schroeder uses this highly dramatic fiction to introduce his "clinch" evidence of the plagiarism charged against those responsible for the publication of the Book of Mormon.

The true story of the origin of this Spaulding theory is as follows: When Dr. Hurlburt was finally excommunicated from the Church he took to lecturing against the Mormons, holding forth first at Springfield, Erie County, Penn., some distance east of Conneaut. Finally visiting the Jackson settlement (presumably in the same county) he learned, from one of the Jackson's, of Solomon Spaulding, and that he had written a story called "Manuscript Found." "Not that any of these persons," says my authority, who was well acquainted in the Jackson Settlement, also with Dr. Hurlburt, and attended his anti-Mormon meetings in the neighborhood—"not that any of these persons had the most distant idea that his [Spaulding's] novel had ever been converted into the Book of Mormon; or that there was any connection between them."¹⁶¹

It was the conception of Dr. Hurlburt that this Spaulding manuscript could be used in concocting a counter theory for the origin of the Book of Mormon—"a long felt want," by the way, among those who opposed the book and the work growing out of it. With the information he had obtained in the Jackson Settlement, Hurlburt repairs to Kirtland, holds a public meeting, at which there is great joy, and enthusiasm among the anti-Mormons in that vicinity, because of Hurlburt's theory of the origin of the Book of Mormon. One Mr. Newel, a bitter anti-Mormon, promised to advance \$300 for prosecuting the work of identification, and others contributed liberally for the same purpose. Out of this meeting grew the public meeting held later at Conneaut;¹⁶² and which sent Hurlburt upon his journey to Monson, Mass., for Spaulding's manuscript which ultimately he obtained of Mr. Jerome Clark at Hartwicks, New York, on the order of Mrs. (Spaulding) Davison. This manu-

¹⁶¹. "Origin of the Spaulding Story" (1840), B. Winchester, p. 8.

¹⁶². *Ibid*, pp. 6-14.

script Hurlburt brought to E. D. Howe of Plainsville, Ohio, for the forth-coming book, "Mormonism Unveiled." It was a disappointment to these conspirators, as already detailed; and as explained by Hurlburt in a letter to Mrs. Davison, "It did not read as expected, and he should not print it."¹⁶³

In passing, it should be said that Hurlburt never received but the one manuscript. The theory put forth that he obtained two, one the true "Manuscript Found," which it is alleged, he sold to the Mormons,—such is the suspicion of the Spauldings—and a worthless one, the Roman manuscript, now at Oberlin, which he gave to Howe, is one of the many fictions that have grown out of the innumerable surmisings and conjectures associated with the Spaulding theory. Hurlburt himself says on this point, in a signed statment under date of August 19, 1879:

"I do not know whether or not the document I received from Mrs. Davison was Spaulding's Manuscript Found, as I never read it entire, and it convinced me that it was not the Spaulding Manuscript; but whatever it was, Mr. Howe received it under the condition on which I took it from Mrs. Davison—to compare it with the Book of Mormon, and then return it to her. I never received any other manuscript of Spaulding's from Mrs. Davison, or any one else. Of that manuscript I made no other use than to give it, with all my other documents connected with Mormonism, to Mr. Howe. I did not destroy the manuscript nor dispose of it to Jos Smith, or to any other person."¹⁶⁴

This manuscript received by Hurlburt and given to Howe is the only Spaulding manuscript written by Spaulding, making any reference to the antiquities of America. It is the simon-pure and only "Manuscript Found." Against this it is urged by Mr. Schroeder that "no such title is discoverable any where upon or in the body of the manuscript in the Oberlin library."¹⁶⁵ And yet with strange inconsistency he himself a few pages further on admits—"It is even possible that this first manuscript (meaning the one now at Oberlin), may at sometime have

163. See Haven-Davison Interview.

164. "New Light on Mormonism" appendix, p. 260, No. 17. Letter from Hurlburt; also No. 8, another letter from Hurlburt, and No. 16 a letter from Howe.

165. *American Historical Magazine*, Sept., 1906, p. 386.

been labeled "Manuscript Found."¹⁶⁶ But what is better than any "label" on the manuscript inside or outside; better than any admission of Mr. Schroeder's, is the fact that this manuscript is the one Mr. Spaulding feigned to have found, and that he pretended to translate into English. It is the "found" manuscript, and the only one that Spaulding pretended or feigned to have found. It is the one that Mrs. McKinstry says she had in her hands "many times" at Sabine's after 1816; and that "on the outside of this manuscript were written the words, 'Manuscript Found.'"

Perhaps it was this positive statement that drove Mr. Schroeder to the admission that it is possible that this manuscript at Oberlin may have been so labeled. The descriptions of the Spaulding manuscript called "Manuscript Found," by others, who had knowledge of it, agree very nearly as to its size, and their descriptions fit the manuscript at Oberlin and not at all such a manuscript as would be required to make the Book of Mormon. Thus, Mrs. McKinstry says that the manuscript she had in her hands many times at Sabine's, and that was tied up with some other stories, and had written on the outside of it, "Manuscript Found," made a manuscript about "one inch thick." Mrs. (Spaulding) Davison in the Haven interview says her husband's manuscript was "about one third as large as the Book of Mrmon." (i. e. as would be required to make the Book of Mormon). The Davison statement represents that John Spaulding was perfectly familiar with the work of his brother, "Manuscript Found," "and repeatedly heard the whole of it read," which might be possible with the Spaulding manuscript, which, now that it is printed, makes 112 pages, but scarcely possible respecting a manuscript making a book of about 600 such pages.

This manuscript of Spaulding's has finally been really "found" and published as already detailed; and its publication has resulted in the overthrow of the Spaulding theory of the origin of the Book of Mormon; and that quite in another way than from disclosing the fact that there is no incident, or name, or set of ideas common to the two productions. The

166. *Ibid*, p. 390.

publication of the "Manuscript Found" not only demonstrates that this particular manuscript was not the foundation of the Book of Mormon, but it demonstrates, also, that no other writings of Solomon Spaulding's could possibly be the Book of Mormon. Spaulding's manuscript, as published, makes a pamphlet of some 112 pages, of about 350 words to the page, enough matter to give a clear idea of his literary style. I am sure that no person, having any literary judgment will think it possible for the author of "Manuscript Found" to be the author of the Book of Mormon.

Composition in writers becomes individualized as distinctly as the looks, or appearance, or character, of separate individuals; and they no more write in several styles than individuals impersonate different characters. True, by special efforts this latter may be done to a limited extent by a change of tone, costume and the like, but underneath these impersonations is to be seen the real individual; and so with authors. One may sometimes affect a light, and sometimes a serious vein, in prose and poetry. He may imitate a solemn scriptural style even, or the diction of some Greek or Roman author, but underneath it all will be seen the individuality of the writer from which he cannot separate himself any more than he can separate himself from his true form, features, or character. Since we have in this "Manuscript Found" enough of Mr. Spaulding's style to determine its nature, if this manuscript of his was used either as the foundation or the complete work of the Book of Mormon, we should be able to detect Spauldingisms in it; identity of style would be apparent; but these things are entirely absent from every page of the Book of Mormon. Mr. Rice, in whose possession the Spaulding manuscript was found in 1884, does not over-state the matter when he says: "I should as soon think that the Book of Revelation was written by the author of Don Quixote, as that the writer of this manuscript was the author of the Book of Mormon." And again, he is right when he says: "It is unlikely that any one who wrote so elaborate a work as the Mormon Bible, would spend his time in getting up so shallow a story as this"—i. e. the Spaulding Story.

THE MOTIVE FOR PUBLISHING THE* BOOK OF MORMON

It must be said for Mr. Schroeder that his theory of the motive prompting the publication of the Book of Mormon is quite in harmony with his theory of its origin. For it is fitting that a thing founded in fraud should—and it very likely would—have the “greed of gain” as the “dynamics of the scheme;” and that “love of gold, not God,” would be the moving cause of action. The only point at which Mr. Schroeder breaks down in his theory of the motive, is just where he breaks down in his theory of origin—namely, in the proof.

The excerpts from the revelations quoted by Dr. Schroeder fail as proofs for his assumption. He ranges all through the numerous revelations given to the Church from 1830 to 1841. Of the thirteen excerpts quoted by him two only have any bearing upon the Book of Mormon; and these two are from a revelation to Martin Harris, who had covenanted with Joseph Smith and with the publisher of the book, Mr. Grandin, that he would pay for printing it. Yet when the time came to make good his plighted word, he hesitated; whereupon the word of the Lord came, as quoted by Mr. Schroeder: “Impart a portion of thy property; yea, even part of thy lands, and all save the support of thy family.” So far Mr. Schroeder quotes. The very next paragraph (35) of the revelation goes on—“Pay the debt thou has contracted with the printer. Release thyself from bondage”—(i. e. the bondage of debt). Again Mr. Schroeder quotes (verse 26) “I command that thou shalt not covet thine own property.” The full paragraph is: “And again I command thee, that thou shalt not covet thine own property, but impart it freely to the printing of the Book of Mormon, which contains the truth and the word of God.”¹⁶⁷ Just wherein these passages, which are the only ones out of those quoted from the “Doctrine and Covenants” that bear at all on the Book of Mormon—just wherein they bear witness to the “greed of gain” being the motive that prompted the publication of the book; or how they sustain the idea that “love of gold, not God.” was the “dynamics of the scheme,” I fail to see.

167. “Doctrine and Covenants,” Sec. 19: 34, 35, 36.

As for the rest of the passages quoted by Mr. Schroeder, they fall into two classes: first, those that relate to the consecration of properties to the Church; and second, those that command that provisions be made for the sustenance of Joseph Smith and others who were devoting their energies to the work of the Lord. In relation to the first class it will make matters clear for the reader to know that the Saints were called upon to recognize this principle: The earth is the Lord's. He created it. It is his, by virtue of proprietorships; consequently all that man holds, of the world's wealth, is held as a stewardship under God. To give visible recognition to this truth, the Saints were commanded in Missouri to consecrate their property to the Lord through his servants, and receive back a stewardship as from the Lord; and this in order that the great truth—coming now to be recognized by the best Christian thought of the age as the proper attitude of mind for the believer in God, in respect of his material possessions—might once for all be established as a doctrine of the Church, emphasized by this visible act of consecration.

As to the second class of quotations directing that provisions shall be made for the material needs of Joseph Smith and his family—is it necessary to argue at this late day what Paul seems to have settled long ago, *viz*: “They which minister about holy things, live of the things of the temple. * * * Even so hath the Lord ordained, that they which preach the Gospel, should live of the Gospel.”¹⁶⁸ Is not the justice of this principle universally recognized? I say Mr. Schroeder breaks down at the production of proof for his theory as to motive. And his play upon the changes in this respect has but the sound of brass when applied to Joseph Smith personally or to all the leaders of the Mormon Church from its inception. Never have a people been more blessed with unselfish leaders than the Latter-day Saints. Men blessed with divine insight and power have given their services, practically without remuneration, for the welfare of their people. They have labored in season and out of season for them. They have given not only a teaching service, tending to make the truth clear, but they have

¹⁶⁸. “Corinthians” 9: 13, 14.

given freely of their business ability, executive and judicial abilities. Men of statesman-like quality of character have devoted their lives to their people, and practicably without earthly reward, and many of them, the most of them, in fact, have died poor in this world's goods, but rich in the consciousness of service for fellowman well performed.

I write these words from the midst of a people, who, when they read them, will think of hundreds of men who have lived and wrought out life's service among them, in the very spirit here described. "Greed of gain" furnish "the dynamics" of the Mormon scheme? "Love of gold, not of God," the motive force in Mormonism? "A desire for money" "the inspiring cause of every act of the Mormon Prophet, the very divinity that moulded his thoughts and revelations, and brought into being Mormon's books!"¹⁶⁹ Nonsense, Mr. Schroeder; you have studied human nature as well as Mormonism to little purpose if you really think so. Joseph Smith was loved by his people to the verge of idolization. He won and kept that love of theirs to the day of his death. He had the satisfaction of seeing one of his great prophecies fulfilled—a prophecy given out from a prison cell, in 1839, and when his fortunes were fallen to their lowest point—when his enemies seemed to triumph, and traitors were arrayed against him—then came the assurance from God—"Thy people shall never be turned against thee by the testimony of traitors."¹⁷⁰ And they never were, either before his death, or since. "Greed of gain," selfishness; "Love of gold, not God," does not produce these results. Selfishness never wins or holds hearts. Only a life that pours out itself in floods of unselfish service for others wins and holds affections. Such was the life of Joseph Smith, such the lives of Mormon leaders.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

And now my task draws towards its close. My purpose in this paper, in the main, has been merely to refute the theory, together with the alleged evidences and arguments of Mr. Schroeder. My method has been to refute him largely out of the

169. *American Historical Magazine*, May, 1907, p. 221.

170. "Doctrine and Covenants," Sec. 122.

material and authorities which he himself has introduced. And of course this has kept the discussion of the origin of the Book of Mormon within narrow limits. This paper has been more in the nature of a rejoinder than anything else to Mr. Schroeder's reply to the theory set forth by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints for the origin of the Book of Mormon.

By this undesigned order of the discussion and by its necessary limitations, the reader is at the disadvantage of not having immediately before him the theory of the divine origin of the Book of Mormon, sustained by the strong array of evidences and arguments, that may be marshalled in its support.¹⁷¹ But it will help in forming a right conclusion as to the merits of this discussion if what is here suggested be held in mind, namely: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints sets forth the claim of a divine origin for the Book of Mormon, sustained by special witnesses, whom God raised up to testify of that origin; sustained also, as that Church believes, by a world of evidences, both external and internal. To this Mr. Schroeder has offered a counter-theory of origin, the "Spaulding Theory", to which I have offered this rejoinder. My effort has had no higher aim than this, believing that nothing more was required of me under the circumstances. If my paper shall prove to be, as I think it must, a successful rejoinder; if it exhibits how inherently weak, and foolish this Spaulding theory is, even when most skillfully set forth; if it exhibits the tissue of falsehood and of malice, of which that theory is made up; and the bitterness and hatred in which it had its inception; and exposes the dishonest sophistry by which that theory has been supported,—I shall be content.

B. H. ROBERTS.

Salt Lake City, Jan., 1909.

¹⁷¹. For an extended treatise on this subject see the writer's "New Witness for God," published as Young Men's Manuals, Nos. 7, 8 and 9, 1903-1906.

IN the May and July numbers of the AMERICAN HISTORICAL MAGAZINE will be the first of a series of interesting historical articles from the pen of the Reverend Andrew M. Sherman of Morristown, N. J., author of "Historic Morristown," "Life of Captain Jeremiah O'Brien," "Phil Cerver: A Romance of the War of 1812," and other works dealing with our early national life. Other papers of like character will follow in subsequent numbers of the magazine. All will be well illustrated.

THE WICK HOUSE, MORRIS COUNTY, NEW JERSEY

THE Wick House (or "Wick Hall"), as it was sometime referred to during the Revolution, built about 1750, is still standing, in a good state of preservation, four miles southwest of Morristown, N. J. It is particularly famous because of the well-authenticated fact that in the early part of 1781, a saddle horse was for several days kept in one of its spare bed chambers to prevent its being taken by some intoxicated American soldiers from the owner, "Tempe" Wick, the daughter of Major Henry Wick, the proprietor of the extensive farm which then comprised about 1,400 acres. The rare historical environment of the Wick House has added greatly to its fame. It will be described in the May number of the AMERICAN HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

CAPTAIN JOHN O'BRIEN, MACHIAS, MAINE

CAPTAIN JOHN O'BRIEN, of Machias, Me., was one of six stalwart brothers—Jeremiah, Gideon, John, William, Dennis and Joseph—all of whom assisted in the capture of the British armed schooner Margaretta, in Machias (Maine) Bay, on the twelfth of June, 1775. This was the first sea-fight, and the first American victory of the Revolution, and the brilliancy of the achievement sent a thrill of hope through the colonies. John O'Brien, like his brothers Jeremiah and William, subsequently engaged in privateering, and he rendered splendid service to the colonies during the seven years war for independence. The forthcoming article will be a sketch of this famous privateersman and it will appear in the July number of the AMERICAN HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

BOOK OF BRUCE

BY LYMAN HORACE WEEKS

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

CASTLES AND CHURCHES

DURING the more than nine centuries that have elapsed since the Bruce stock was established in Scotland it has, both in its main line and in its collateral branches, been identified with nearly all the famous historical places of the Northern Country. In successive generations its representatives owned castles which are now in ruins, while memories of them and of their ancestors are indissolubly attached to such religious and national shrines as Iona, Dunfermline, and others. An account of some of the most important of these castles and churches reveals how large a part the Bruces had in the life of their times and how tradition and romance have lovingly dwelt upon whatever the Bruce name has enriched in historical association.

IONA

No island in the waters that roll upon the coast of Scotland has been more renowned than Iona, the ancient burial place of the Scottish kings before the time of Malcolm Canmore, the royal ancestor of the Bruces. As Dr. Johnson expressed it in one of his letters it is:

“The illustrious island which was once the luminary of the Caledonian regions, whence savage clans and roaming barbarians derived the benefit of knowledge and the blessings of religion. . . . That man is little to be envied . . . whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona.”



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Before the sixth century the island was a great centre of druidism. About the year 563 the Irish saint Columba emigrated thither and upon that spot set up the cross and propagated the Christian faith.

Columba, who made Iona famous and sacred, was born in 521, the son of Felim, who was a son of Neill, the great king of Ireland. He was highly educated and travelled widely. Before he was twenty-eight years of age he built churches in Ireland and then sailed away from his home to carry his religion to the lands of the Picts. King Brudius granted him possession of Iona and there he established himself to preach and teach the doctrines of Christianity. It was not long before Iona became celebrated throughout the civilized world. The institutions there planted and perfected were the foundations of the church in that part of the world, and the library of Columba was known as one of the richest in literary treasures in that age. The name of the island, Icolmkill, or cell of Columba, was derived from its famous monastic establishments. Relics which still exist indicate the former greatness of the place. In an enclosure adjoining St. Oran's Chapel were buried sixty-one kings; forty-eight Scottish, four Irish, eight Norwegian, and one French.

Paulus Jovius, writing in the sixteenth century, said of Iona:

“In the church of Iona there are preserved very ancient annals and parchment rolls, containing laws and charters signed by the kings and sealed with their effigies on seals of gold or wax. It is also reported that in the same library there are ancient works of Roman history, from which we may expect the remaining decades of Titus Livius, which, indeed, we have lately heard, letters from Scotland have promised to Francis, King of France.”¹

In 1595 the sanctuary of Iona was quaintly thus described by another historian:

“Within this ile of Columkill there is ane sanctuary or kirkzaird, callit in Erische Religioran, (the cemetery of St. Ouran who was one of the companions of St. Columbus at the foundation of the monastery) quhilk is a very fair kirkzaird and weill biggit about with staine and lyme. Into this sanctuary there is

1. “Descriptione Britanniæ,” by Paulus Jovius, Venetia, 1548.

three tombes of staine, formed like little chapelis, with ane braid gray marble or quhin staine in the gavill of ilk ane of the tombes. In the staine of the ain tombe there is written in Latin letters, 'Tumulus Regum Scotiae' that is, the tombe or grave of the King of Scotts. Within this tombe according to our Scotts and Erische cronikells there layes forty-eight crowned Scotts Kings, through the whilk this ile hes been richlie dotat be the Scotts Kings, as we have said. The tombe on the south syde forsaide, hes this inscription 'Tumulus Regum Hyberniae,' that is, the tombe of the Irland Kinges; for we have in our auld Erische cronikells, that ther wes foure Irland Kinges eirdit in the said tombe. Upon the north side of our Scotts tombe the inscription bears 'Tumulus Regum Norwegie,' that is, the tomb of the Kings of Norroway, in the quhilk tombe, as we find in our ancient Erische cronikells, ther layes eight Kings of Norroway, and also we find that Coelus, King of Norroway, commandit his noblis to take his bodey and burey it at Colmkill if it chanced him to die in the Isles, but he wes so discomfitit that ther remained not so maney of his armye as wald burey him ther; therfor he was eirded in Kyle, after he stroke ane field against the Scotts, and wes vanquist be them. Within this sanctuary also lyes the maist part of the Lordis of the Isles, with their lineage, Twa Clan-Lynes (Clan Lean) with their lynage, M'Kynnon and M'Guarrie with their lynages, with sundrie utheris inhabitants of the hail isles; because this sanctuary wes wont to be the sepulture of the best men of the Isles and also of our Kings, as we have said, because it was the maist honerabil and ancient place that was in Scotland in thair dayes, as we reid."²

SCONE

The town of Scone in the sheriffdon of Perth is situated on the north bank of the river Tay near the centre of Scotland. Its name in the Gothic, is Skorn and in the Anglo-Saxon, Scon, meaning beautiful. It was famous particularly for the abbey that was founded there by King David I. for the monks of St. Augustine. Some historians assert that a religious house was established here for the Culdees monks by King Alexander I. During the life of that monarch the place was occasionally the royal residence and under the monks it was a trading centre,

2. "Description of the Western Isles;" by Donald Munro, High Dean of the Isles.

with customs payable to the monastery. The abbey wall enclosed about twelve acres of land. In the Reformation the abbey and the king's palace were destroyed.

“So was that abay and plaice appointed to sockage; in doing whereof they tuk no long deliberation, bot committed the holle to the merciment of fyre, guhairat no small number of us war offendit.”³

At Scone was held the earliest ecclesiastical council of Scotland of which there is any authentic record. In the Pictish Chronicle it is said:

“Constantine, the son of Ed, and Kellach bishop, together with the Scots, solemnly vowed to observe the laws and discipline of faith, the rights of the churches and of the gospel, on the Hill of Credulity, near the royal city of Scone. Henceforward this hill deserved this name, *i. e.* (Collis Credulitatis) of the Hill of Credulity.”

Few traces of the old monastery have come down to modern times. The contemporaneous church and buildings are of the seventeenth century and later. Many memories of the hapless Stewarts cling to the place. Queen Mary was often there and the king's room where James I. and perhaps Charles II. slept on the eve of their coronations is still shown.

Scone was particularly endeared to the Scots as the ancient place of coronation of the Scottish kings. There was the famous coronation stone, or stone of destiny, seated on which the monarchs received the crown and sceptre. It is a small block of red sandstone imbedded with pebbles and, as the royal emblem of Scotland, was always regarded with the deepest veneration.

According to ancient traditions the history of this stone went back to the Tuatha de Danaans, the Scythian family that invaded Ireland, immediately preceding the Milesian conquest, coming from Persia or Greece. They were skillful far above the native people about them and for that reason were regarded as possessed of magic powers. It is told of them that when they came to Ireland they brought with them a remarkable stone

3. Knox's "Historie," p. 146.

called *lia fail*, “the stone of fate or destiny;” and from this Ireland received the name *Inis Fail* or *Island of Destiny*.

“This *lia fail* was held in the highest veneration; and sitting on it the ancient monarchs of Ireland both in Pagan and in Christian times were inaugurated at Tara.”

It is stated that whenever a legitimate king of the Milesian race was inaugurated the stone would emit a peculiar sound, an effect produced probably by some mechanical contrivance of the clever druids.

One account has it that in the beginning of the sixth century Fergus MacEarca, who had become king of Scotland, requested the Irish monarch Murtoth MacEarca, his brother, to send him the *lia fail* to be used on the occasion of his inauguration so that he might have security to his throne in accord with the ancient prophecy that the Scotie race would continue to rule as long as this stone should be in its possession. Another account says that the stone was not brought to Scotland until the ninth century, when Aidus Finliath, king of Ireland, sent it to his father-in-law Kenneth McAlpin, king of all Scotland. The *lia fail* was preserved with great care and veneration for centuries, first in the monastery of St. Columkill, on Iona Island; afterwards at Dunstaffnage in Argyleshire, the first royal seat of the Scottish kings of the Irish race, and later at Scone, to which place it was taken by King Kenneth and where it was preserved until 1296, when King Edward I. carried it away to England with other regal appurtenances and deposited it in Westminster Abbey.

This stone of destiny has been Latinized as *saxum fatale* and has been called by some writers Jacob’s stone, from the tradition that it is part of the stone called Jacob’s pillow at Bethel, as related in the book of Genesis. The stone is mentioned by Boethius and other early Scottish historians and the following Irish verse concerning it is classic:

“Cineadh Scuit, saor an fhine,
Mun budh breag an fhaisdine,
Mar a ffuighid an Liagh Fail
Dlighid flaitheas do ghabhail.”

“If Fate’s decrees be not announced in vain,
Where’er this stone is found the Scots shall reign.”

GLAMIS

Associated as it is with the tragedy of Macbeth, Glamis castle, in Forfarshire, probably enjoys a wider fame than almost any other building in Scotland. The present structure preserves little likeness to that which existed in the time of Duncan, and indeed changes have been made in it since the poet Gray described it, in 1765, as follows:

“Rising proudly out of what seems a great and thick wood of tall trees, with a cluster of hanging towers on top . . . the house from the height of it, the greatness of its mass, the many towers atop, and the spread of its wings has really a very singular and striking appearance.”

Rebuilt and altered as it has been, it is even now one of the noblest buildings of its kind in the Land of the Thistle, architecturally dating from the fifteenth century and since. Fordun and other chroniclers tell that in the vicinity of Glamis Malcolm II. was attacked and mortally wounded in 1034, and that his assassins were drowned by breaking through the ice as they attempted to cross the neighboring loch of Forfar. The earliest proprietary notices of Glamis show it to have been a thanedom, and its lands regal domains. In 1372, King Robert II. by charter granted it to Sir John Lyon, designating it as “our lands of the thainage of Glammis.”

Sir Walter Scott spent a night in the castle in 1793, and he thus concluded a curious account of his sensations on the occasion.

“In spite of the truth of history, the whole night scene in Macbeth’s castle rushed at once upon me, and struck my mind more forcibly than even when I have seen its terrors represented by John Kemble and his inimitable sister.”

DUNFERMLINE

Dunfermline in Fifeshire, some fifteen miles from Edinburgh, and the burial place of King Robert Bruce, is indissolubly associated with the memory of the kings of Scotland from the time

of Malcolm Canmore to the days of the Bruces. The town is beautifully situated on the brow of a gentle eminence that overlooks the surrounding country and the waters of Forth. For centuries it was the favorite royal residence, and in modern times it has been the home of the earls of Elgin, descendants of King Bruce. Its antiquities are many, but of the ancient tower of King Malcolm III. only the ruin remains, two low broken walls. The tower was probably built about the middle of the eleventh century. Fordun, canon of Aberdeen, the early Scottish historian, thus describes it in giving an account of the marriage of King Malcolm III.

“The nuptials were magnificently celebrated A. D. 1070 at Dunfermline which the reigning king then held *pro oppide*” (his town or fortified residence) “for that place was naturally well defended in itself, being surrounded by a very thick wood, and fenced with precipitous rocks, in the middle of which was a pleasant level ground, also strengthened by rock and water, so that this might be supposed to be said of it:

“*Non homini facilis, vox deunda feris.*

“Not easy for man, scarcely to be approached by wild beasts.”

This tower or castellated palace was not a spacious edifice nor does it appear to have been sumptuous. Still, here the famous monarch, ancestor of Robert Bruce, lived with his queen, Margaret, daughter of Edward, son of Edmund Ironside, king of England. Not far away from the hill on which the tower stands is St. Margaret's cave, where the Queen was accustomed to retire for her secret devotion. The tower is referred to in the ballad of Sir Patrick Spens:

“The King sits in Dunfermline toun
Drinken the blood red wine,
Whare sall I find a skeely skipper
Will sail this ship o' mine.”

A short distance from the tower are the ruins of a palace that was once the residence of the sovereigns of Scotland. Only a small portion of the wall, two hundred and fifty feet in length and sixty feet in height, supported by buttresses, now remains.

4. “*Scotichronicon*,” by John Fordun.

At the western end is a high window, completely covered with ivy, and a chimney of the room in which, tradition says, the ill-fated Stewart monarch, Charles I., was born. Subterranean passages and crypts are still intact. The palace was probably built before 1100. The last monarch who occupied it was Charles II., in 1650.

Most interesting of the antiquities of Dunfermline are the ruins of the old abbey which was destroyed at the time of the Reformation. It was built "at great expense." John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, an old historian, wrote of it as "templum, in civitate Dunfermilingensi magnifice suis impensis extructum, sanctiss. Trinitate dicavit." Turgot relates that "it was enriched with numerous ornaments, vessels of solid gold, and an inestimable crucifix, formed of gold, silver, and precious stones." Originally built by Malcolm Canmore, additions were made from time to time by the successors of that monarch, particularly Alexander I., David I., Alexander II., and James VI.

The monastery was dedicated to Margaret, the queen of Malcolm Canmore, who died in 1093. Queen Margaret was canonized in 1249 and on June 13 in the following year the bones of the sainted one were transferred from the place where they were originally deposited "in the rude altar of the Kirk of Dunfermline" to the choir of the abbey church. The young king, Alexander III., with his mother and a large company of nobles and clergy were present to witness the ceremony. The remains were placed in a silver sarcophagus, which, the chroniclers state, was adorned with precious stones; and then a miracle occurred. King Malcolm had been buried beside his queen, and at first all the strength of many men were not sufficient to remove the relics of the sainted Margaret from the spot until those of her husband had first been lifted and deposited in the place where hers were destined to lie. Wyntonn in his *Cronykil* tells of this miracle:

"With all thare powere and thare slycht,
Her body to rays thai had na mycht.
Na lift her anys owt of that plas,
Quhar sho that tyme lyand was,
For all thare devotownys

That the persownys gaddryd there
Dyd in devot manere:
Quhell fyrst thai tuk upe the body
Of hyr lord that lay thereby
And bare it bene into the quere
Lysrly syne in fayre manere
Her cors thai tuk up and bare ben,
And thame enteryd togyddyr then.
Swa trowd thai all than gadryd thare
Quhat honour till hyr lord scho bare.”

Following the reinterment of the remains of St. Margaret and her husband, the abbey became the burial place of the royal family of Scotland. It succeeded in this respect the island of Iona, which for generations had been the ancient place of sepulture of the Scottish monarchs. Besides Malcolm, his queen, Margaret and his son Prince Edward, there were interred: King Edgar, King Alexander I., King David II., King Malcolm IV., King Alexander III. and his first queen, Margaret; King Robert Bruce and his queen, Elizabeth; Prince David and Prince Alexander, sons of Alexander III.; Mathildis, daughter of King Robert Bruce; Malcolm, earl of Atholl, and his countess; Annabella Drummond, queen of King Robert III. and mother of King James I.; the earls of Elgin, and others of the royal Bruce blood.

Of Queen Margaret, Sir Walter Scott wrote:

“She did all in her power, and influenced as far as possible the mind of her husband to relieve the distresses of her Saxon countrymen, of high or low degree, assuaged their afflictions, and was jealous in protecting those who had been involved in the ruin which the battle of Hastings brought on the royal house of Edward the Confessor. The gentleness and mildness of temper proper to this amiable woman, probably also the experience of her prudence and good sense, had great weight with Malcolm, who, though preserving a portion of the ire and ferocity belonging to the king of a wild people, was far from being insensible to the suggestions of his amiable consort. He stooped his mind to hers on religious matters, adorned her favorite books of devotion with rich bindings, and was often seen to kiss and pay respect to the volumes which he was unable to read.”

King Robert Bruce was buried in the choir of the church be-

fore the high altar. His body was embalmed and a rich tomb or cenotaph was erected above the spot. The tomb was made in Paris, of white marble in Gothic work and richly gilt. Barbour wrote:

“And quhen thai lang thus sorrowit had,
Thai haiff had him to Dunferlyne:
And hym solemply erdyt syne.
In a fayr tomb, intill the quer.”

Nearly five hundred years passed and the gilded marble tomb had disappeared, perhaps purposely destroyed, or overwhelmed in the ruins of the church. Workmen, digging for the foundations of the new church in 1878, discovered a large leaden coffin which, upon official inspection, was found to contain the skeleton of Scotland's great king. After examination the remains were reinterred in a sealed coffin, on the spot where they had been found, and there they now rest.

The abbey of Dumfermline was the meeting place of the Scottish nobles during the long warfare between the Baliols and the Bruces and in the revolts against the English. It thus fell under the marked disfavor of King Edward. When the English king journeyed to Scotland in 1303 he spent the winter, from December until the following May, in the abbey, where he was magnificently entertained. When he and his court departed in the spring his soldiers set fire to the building, either in recklessness or under instructions from the king, who has been accused of thus venting his spite against those whom he considered his rebellious subjects. Again during the same war the buildings were set on fire by the English troops, but the church was saved. In the Reformation the abbey was a special object of disfavor of the covenanters. Lindsay of Pittscottie, in chronicling the events of May, 1530, briefly and emphatically says:

Upoun the 28 day thair of, the wholl lordis and baronis that war on this syd of Forth, passed to Stirling, and be the way, hest down the Abbey of Dumferling.”

KILDRUMMIE

One of the finest and strongest fortresses belonging to the Bruces was Kildrummie castle, which came to the family in the

thirteenth century by the marriage of Isabel, daughter of David earl of Huntingdon, to Robert Bruce, the fourth baron of Annandale. It was a home much loved by the Bruces, but in a later generation it was the scene of disaster to Queen Elizabeth, consort of King Robert Bruce, and the Scotch patriots who surrounded her.

Ruins of this stronghold remain in the Curgarff mountains in the district of Garioch in Aberdeenshire, on the north bank of the river Don, about forty miles from the sea. The structure stood on an eminence, one side of which is washed by the Don, while two other sides are defended by deep ravines. Located in an obscure spot amid scenery wild and gloomy, it seems to have been a stronghold of the old royal domain of Garvyach, the appanage of David, earl of Huntingdon.

The castle was built by Gilbert de Moravia, of the Scottish Murray family, Bishop of Caithness, in the time of King Alexander II. According to tradition, originally it was merely one great circular tower or donjon, having five floors or stories. When the castle in its fulness was completed this formed the western corner and was called the Snow Tower. It is said to have been one hundred and fifty feet high, but only the merest vestige of it now remains. Subsequent to its establishment the fortress was enlarged into an irregular pentagon, surrounding a spacious court and defended by six other towers of unequal magnitude and dissimilar in form. Four of these protected the four angles of the pentagon, while two others were placed in the western face or curtain, for the security of the barbican which occupied the space between them.

The intervening buildings connecting the several towers seem to have been only two stories high, and the walls are not more than four feet thick, of small irregular stones. The western wall, in which was the barbican or entrance gate, was reared on the western face or curtain, for the security of the barbican which occupied the space between them.

The area of the castle was nearly four acres. In addition to the site of a pit-well, a subterranean vault or passage may be traced within the ruins. This passage opens to the bank on the northern side of the castle and probably served as a sally port.

By means thereof the wife, daughter, and sisters of Bruce the king, with their escort and attendants, are said to have made their escape when they fled to the sanctuary of Tain in Rosshire, from which they were delivered into the hands of the English by the earl of Ross.

In the middle of the western wall the remains of the chapel still may be distinguished by the lancet form of its altar windows, consisting of three long narrow slits. During the siege of the castle this chapel was used as a magazine of forage for the horses belonging to the garrison. The besiegers despaired of success until, throwing a piece of red-hot iron through the window, they set fire to the forage and literally smoked out the defenders.

LOCHMABEN

Lochmaben castle in Dumfriesshire, where Robert Bruce the Competitor, grandfather of King Robert Bruce, lived and where he died and was buried, was one of the hereditary castles of the Bruce family. In its time it was the most powerful fortress on the border. The original structure was on the hill near the town of Lochmaben, but the present castle was built in the thirteenth century by Bruce the Competitor. Commanding the entrance to the southwest of Scotland, it was the subject of many contests during the border warfare. It was captured by King Edward I. in 1298 and he strengthened its works. When Robert Bruce fled from England before taking the field for the crown of Scotland, he first sought refuge there. After his success he bestowed it on Randolph, earl of Moray. John Baliol handed it over to King Edward III., but it was besieged and retaken by King David II. in 1346. When Archibald Douglas, lord of Galloway, expelled the English in 1384, it fell into the Douglas hands and remained there until 1455, when it was sequestrated as a royal possession.

The castle stands on a spit of flat ground running into Lochmaben. By a wide ditch cut across the neck of the peninsula the site could be converted into an island about sixteen acres in extent. Three other ditches protected it. Access was most likely by boats that came into the great ditch or moat, which could be

amply defended from the battlements that overlooked. The walls were high and solid and well provided with parapets and defences, but they are now reduced to mere shapeless fragments, having been used in recent generations as a quarry for building materials.

TURNBERRY

Turnberry castle in Carrick, which Marjory, countess of Carrick, brought to the house of Bruce, was one of Scotland's most noted fortresses for several centuries. Turnberry Point on the coast of Ayrshire, between Ayr and Girvan, is a rock projecting into the sea, the top about eighteen feet above high-water mark. Upon this rock was built the castle. Only a few feet high of the wall next to the sea are now standing. The length of the structure was about sixty feet and its breadth fifty-five feet. It was surrounded by a ditch, but that was filled up many years ago. The top of the ruin, rising some forty or fifty feet above the water, has a magnificent appearance viewed from the sea. Around the castle was a level plain about two miles in extent, forming the park.

To Turnberry King Robert Bruce longingly looked several times during his troublous career. Once when he made a descent upon the coast of Ayr he was, according to tradition, able to gain possession of the stronghold. Lord Clifford and Lord Lennox held the castle for the English, and the Bruce, with his impetuous brother Edward, Lord Douglas, and other followers, were waiting an opportunity at the Isle of Arran, which had been won by Douglas from Sir John Hastings in 1306. There he made ready to cross to the mainland of Carrick. Cuthbert, a trusty retainer, was sent over into Carrick to sound the people and see if they were favorable to the cause of Bruce. If he found that they were willing to join the cause of the king, it was arranged that he should start a signal light on the shore where it could be seen from the Isle of Arran. At nightfall the light eagerly looked for gleamed over the water and the impatient watchers hastened to sail across the bay to lead the expected uprising. Upon landing they found Cuthbert, who said that he had given no signal be-

cause he had learned that the Bruce vassals of Carrick could not be depended upon to support their lord. In this emergency and threatened with discovery, it was almost impossible to retreat. Prudence gave way to the dictates of valor. Regardless of the support of the people of the district, Bruce and Douglas with their little band made an impetuous and desperate attack upon the castle and were successful in driving out its defenders.

The unexpected lights that appeared around Turnberry that night, as though beckoning the Bruce on to death or to repossess his ancestral home, have been explained by prosaic matter-of-fact folk as the work of the brush burners at their occupation. Sentiment and superstition have attached to the incident, however. Sir Walter Scott, in "The Lord of the Isles," refers to the belief of the common people of Ayrshire that the fires were really the work of supernatural power, unassisted by any mortal being; and it is said that for several centuries the flame rose yearly at the same hour of the same night of the year that the king first saw it from the turrets of Brodick castle. The place where the fire is said to have appeared has been called Bogie's Brae beyond the remembrance of man.

The description of Bruce's descent upon Carrick is one of the most beautiful parts of Scott's poem:

"They gain'd the Chase, a wide domain
Left for the castle's sylvan reign,
(Seek not the scene—the axe, the plough,
The boor's dull fence have marred it now,)
But then, soft swept in velvet green,
The plain with many a glade between,
Whose tangled alleys far invade
The depth of the brown forest shade.
Here the tall fern obscures the lawn,
Fair shelter for the sportive fawn;
There, tufted close with copsewood green,
Was many a swelling hillock seen;
*And all around was verdure meet
For pressure of the fairies' feet.
The glossy holly loved the park,
The yew-tree lent it shadow dark,
And many an old oak, worn and bare,
With all its shiver'd boughs was there.

Lovely, between, the moonbeams fell,
 On lawn and hillock, glade and dell.
 The gallant monarch sigh'd to see
 These glades so loved in childhood free,
 Bethinking that, as outlaw now,
 He ranged beneath the forest bough.

And from the donjon tower on high,
 The men of Carrick may descry
 Saint Andrew's cross in blazonry,
 Of silver waving wide!
 The Bruce hath won his father's hall!

'Great God! once more my sire's abode
 Is mine,—behold the floor I trod,
 In tottering infancy!
 And there the vaulted arch whose ground
 Echoed my joyous shout and bound,
 In boyhood, and that rung around
 To youth's unthinking glee.' ”⁵

STIRLING

Robert Chambers, in his “Pictures of Scotland,” wrote: “The time when there was no Stirling castle is not known in Scottish annals.” The fortification is of great antiquity and the date of its origin is so remote that it has been forgotten. The ancient inhabitants had a fortress on Stirling rock, and the old chronicles say that it was held by Agricola during the Roman invasion and made an easily defensible headquarters for the Roman legions. Early monkish writers called it Mons Dolorum, or Mountain of Grief, and it was also named Styreling, or Hill of Strife, both appellations clearly indicating its purpose and its character. After the Romans had withdrawn Stirling formed part of the Pictish province of Forterin or Forternn. When Egfrid, the Anglian king, overran the country in the seventh century, it is supposed that he occupied Stirling, which was still a frontier or fortress as late as the time when Kenneth the Hardy led his followers across the Scots Water or Forth and destroyed it.

After King Donald was taken prisoner by the Northumbrians,

5. “The Lord of the Isles,” by Sir Walter Scott, Canto VI.

he yielded the territory around Stirling as ransom, and the Northumbrians rebuilt the castle and strongly garrisoned it. For nearly a quarter of a century it was in possession of the North Saxons and then it was returned to the Scots. In the tenth century it was a rendezvous of the troops under King Kenneth III. when the country was invaded by the Danes; and thence he marched to the battle of Longarty. It was not however until Forteviot, Scone, and Abernethy ceased to be royal residences or capitals that Stirling possessed a castle worthy the name.

In the reign of King Alexander I., there was a fairly well-built fortress on the rock, and that king founded the first chapel within its walls. When the successor of Alexander ascended the throne, a feudal castle, probably a single square tower or keep with spacious courtyard or enciente, replaced the earlier buildings of wood and wattles, rudely fortified by earthworks. In the reign of King William the Lion, Stirling castle was one of the five principal fortresses of the kingdom. During the wars with England, it was more than once destroyed and rebuilt, and it was the prize for which the battle of Bannockburn was fought by King Robert Bruce against the forces of King Edward I. of England.

From the accession of King Alexander I. to the union of Scotland with England, Stirling was one of the chief centres of political activity and statecraft, and a relation of its annals would involve nearly the whole of Scottish history. By the early kings of Scotland it was regarded as one of the most important places in the kingdom, and it was a frequent and favorite residence of the royal family. In the words of the poet, it was "parent of monarchs, nurse of a kingly race." King Alexander I. died there, and when King William the Lion was ill he asked to be carried to Stirling, where he lingered for several months before death closed his career. The Stewarts recreated Stirling castle and it became a delightful and luxurious home for them. There in February, 1452, King James II. stabbed the Earl of Douglas:

"Ye towers! within whose circuit dread
A Douglas by his sovereign bled."⁶

6. "Lady of the Lake," by Sir Walter Scott, Canto V.

Stirling castle, well preserved, is one of the most revered structures of Scotland. For generations, alike in its picturesque beauty and noble grandeur and in its stirring historic associations, it has been the admiration of all who have looked upon it and has been an inspiration to patriotism and to letters. Said one enthusiastic writer describing it:

“Who does not know Stirling’s noble rock rising the monarch of the landscape, its majestic and picturesque towers, its amphitheatre of mountain and the winding of its marvelous river; and who that has once seen the sun descending here in all the blaze of its beauty beyond the purple hills of the west can ever forget the plains of Stirling, the endless charm of this wonderful scene, the wealth, the splendor, the variety, the majesty of all which lies between earth and heaven?”

In close proximity to Stirling are the villages of Bannockburn and St. Ninian’s, and the famous battleground where Bruce achieved the liberation of Scotland lies immediately between them. The bore-stone, in which the Scottish king planted his standard, is still preserved and occupies its original site near the village of Bannockburn.

On the esplanade of Stirling stands a monument of Robert Bruce, of colossal size. The figure is nearly eleven feet high, and stands looking in the direction of the field of Bannockburn, where King Robert achieved his greatest victory over the English forces. The king is represented as a knight of the highest rank, clad in the fighting armor of the period and in the act of sheathing his sword after the victory. On the front of the pedestal is the Scottish shield with the lion rampant in high relief. On the western face of the pedestal is the inscription “King Robert Bruce; June 24, 1314,” the date of the battle of Bannockburn. The statue was unveiled November 24, 1877.

MELROSE ABBEY

Melrose abbey had a precursor in a religious house of the Culdee brotherhood established in the seventh century, under the patronage of Oswald, king of Northumbria. That has long ago disappeared, and even the more modern building is in ruins. The

abbey that stood where ruins now are was founded for the Cistercian monks in 1136. The second abbot of the house was the famous St. Waltheof, Walthen, or Waldeve, who was related to the ancestors of the Bruces. His grandfather was Siward, the Saxon count of Northumberland, who strongly opposed William the Conqueror, by whom he was captured and beheaded. Siward's daughter, the mother of the abbot, married Simon, earl of Huntingdon, and after the death of that noble married Prince David, who later became the king.

In the wars between England and Scotland the abbey suffered much from the English invaders, who were at odds with the monks because the latter avowed the cause of Bruce and Scotland. When Edward II. invaded Scotland in 1322 he intended to rest at Melrose. Douglas was near by with a small company of retainers and the brotherhood admitted him and his men to the abbey, from which they could sally forth in an attack upon the English. According to Barbour⁷ they sent out to reconnoitre "a rich sturdy free, that wes all stout, derft and hardy."

"Upon a stalwart horse he rad
 And in his hand he had a sper,
 And abaid upon that manner
 Quhil that he saw them command near,
 And quhen the fermost passit wer
 The coynge—he cryit 'Douglas, Douglas.'
 Then till them all a course he mass,
 And bar ane down delyverly,
 And Douglas and his company,
 Ischyt upon them with a shout."

Douglas could do little damage to the big English army, and after he had fallen back to the forest King Edward occupied the place and took summary vengeance, wrecking the building, slaying the monks, and carrying away with him the silver pix for holding the sacramental wafer.

King Robert Bruce was a good and generous friend to the brotherhood. Among the muniments of the foundation is an interesting document in which Bruce commends the brotherhood with great affection and warmth of expression to the pious

7. "Metrical Life and Acts of Robert Bruce," by John Barbour.

charge of his son and successor, David, stating that he intends that the monastery shall be the depository of his heart.

The present buildings, ruined as they are, belong to a date much posterior to the time of the reigning Bruces. They are not older than the fifteenth century. Few among the ruined historic structures of Scotland are more picturesquely attractive or more generally admired.

“If thou would’st view fair Melrose aright,
Go visit it by the pale moonlight:
For the gay beams of lightsome day
Gild but to flout the ruins gray.
When the broken arches are black in night,
And each shafter oriel glimmers white:
When the cold light’s uncertain shower
Streams on the ruined central tower;
When buttress and buttress alternately,
Seemed framed of ebon and ivory;
When silver edges the imagery,
And the scrolls that teach thee to live and die;
When distant Tweed is heard to rave,
And owlet to hoot o’er the dead man’s grave,
Then go—but go alone the while—
Then view St. David’s ruined pile;
And home returning, soothly swear,
Was never scene so sad and fair.’”⁸

CLACKMANNAN

Clackmannan tower, home of the Clackmannan branch of the Bruces, is situated on the top of a hill on the eastern slope of which the town of Clackmannan stands. In 1359, King David II. granted a charter of this domain to Robert Bruce, his nephew, and the castle was held by his descendants in this branch of the Bruce family until the close of the eighteenth century. The old tower is remarkably well preserved, being a rectangular keep, twenty-four feet by eighteen feet inside, with walls six feet thick. In its prime it contained a fine entrance hall with adjacent rooms and several floors above. A second tower was added in the sixteenth century, and this is now in existence, with fireplace, stair-

8. “The Lay of the Last Minstrel,” by Sir Walter Scott, Canto II.

case, picturesque belfry, and other appurtenances. In the adjoining village there was long a relic of the Bruce, a large stone which, having been broken, was girded with bands of iron and preserved with devout reverence. On this stone, says the tradition, the king, while residing in the tower, accidentally left his glove, and, sending his squire to fetch it, used the two words *clack*, a stone, and, *mannan*, a glove: from this the tower, village, and county derived their name.

RAIT

Rait castle in Nairnshire, the home of Robert Bruce the second baron of Clackmannan, is of such ancient origin that there is no account of its beginning. It is an interesting and unique building about three miles south from the town of Nairn, and commands the coast between Nairn and Moray Firth. Tradition says that it belonged to the Raits of that ilk and afterwards to the Comyns. The ruins show that the castle was an oblong structure about sixty-four feet by thirty-three feet, with walls five feet thick. At the southwest angle was a round tower twenty-one feet in diameter. There were three stories, but the upper ones have disappeared. The entrance was one floor from the ground and opened upon a great hall with handsome mullioned windows.

ROSYTH

On the coast along the Firth of Forth, not far from Dunfermline, is the ruined castle of Rosyth which was the ancestral home of Sir David Stewart, whose daughter Elizabeth Stewart married John Bruce the fourth baron of Clackmannan. It stands high on a rock that slopes gently into the sea and that at full tide is an island wholly surrounded by water. It consists of a high tower, with a vaulted apartment underneath and an inner winding staircase leading to the upper room or floor. Portions of the north and west walls of an adjoining building on the west are still to be seen. In a high compartment over the gateway is a defaced armorial bearing surmounted by a crown and the date 1561, with the letters M. R. (Maria Regina). Mary Queen of

Scots, whose memory is thus perpetuated, is said to have slept in this castle, the first night after her flight from Lochleven on her way to Glasgow, near which in May, 1568, was fought the fatal battle of Langside. On the south side of the castle, near the door was an inscription on an old stone in Roman capital letters:

“In-Dev-Tym-Dra-Yes-Cord-Ye-Bel-to-Clink
Quahais-Mery-Voce-Warns-to-Mete-and-Drink”

The castle was anciently the seat of the Stewarts of Rosyth or Durisdeer, the lineal descendants of the brother-german of Walter, the high steward of Scotland, father of King Robert II.

BIRSAY PALACE

At the extreme northwest corner of Orkney, twenty miles from Kirkwall, is the large and imposing Birsay palace. It was built by Robert Stewart, half-brother of Queen Mary and descendant of Robert Bruce. He put upon the building this inscription: “Dominus Robertus Stewartus, filius Jacobi Quinti Rex Scottorum.” It is said that this bad Latin by which the title King of Scots was made to pertain to Robert, even if he did not intend it, had an influence in bringing Earl Patrick, son of Robert, to the block, when he was arraigned on a charge of treason.

Robert Stewart and his son, Earl Patrick, ruled like kings in this far-away part of Scotland, and Birsay was a palace befitting a sovereign. It is now very much ruined, but it gives abundant evidence of its former grandeur. It is situate close to the sea-shore and can be reached easily both from the land side and the waterside. It consists of a court yard surrounded with two-story buildings and having two vaulted towers at the angles to protect the approach.

Earl Patrick Stewart rivalled his father in the imposing palace that he built near the cathedral of St. Magnus and the Bishop's palace in Kirkwall. This building has been preserved almost entire except the roof. Sir Walter Scott thus described the remains of the fortified palace of the earls of Orkney:

“These remains, though much dilapidated, still exist in the

neighborhood of the venerable and massive pile, which Norwegian devotion dedicated to St. Magnus the Martyr, and, being contiguous to the Bishop's palace, which is also ruinous, the place is impressive as exhibiting vestiges of the mutations both in church and state which have affected Orkney, as well as countries more exposed to such convulsions. The earl's palace forms three sides of an oblong square, and has even in its ruins, the air of an elegant yet massive structure, uniting, as was usual in the residences of feudal princes, the character of a palace and of a castle. A great banqueting hall, communicating with several large rounds or projecting turret rooms, and having at either end an immense chimney, testifies the ancient Northern hospitality of the earls of Orkney, and communicates, almost in the most modern fashion, with a gallery or withdrawing room of considerable dimensions, and having, like the hall, its projecting turrets. The lordly hall itself is lighted by a fine Gothic window, of shafted stone at one end, and is entered by a spacious and elegant staircase, consisting of three flights of stone steps. The exterior ornaments and proportions of the ancient building are also very handsome, but, being totally unprotected, this remnant of the pomp and grandeur of earls who assumed the license, as well as the dignity, of petty sovereigns is now fast crumbling to decay."⁹

Since the time of Scott, this princely palace has gone further to ruin, but it still gives plentiful evidence of its former stately character. Architecturally, it belongs to the seventeenth century.

MUNESS

Muness castle has been called "the most northern specimen of our Scottish domestic architecture." Lawrence Bruce, its builder, might well have said in the words of Longfellow:

"So far I live to the Northward,
No man lives North of Me."

The castle stands on a rising moorland, about half a mile from the sea. It is oblong, seventy four feet by twenty-eight feet, with two large round towers. The building is three stories high and quite entire. The entrance doorway is on the south front

9. "The Pirate," by Sir Walter Scott.

and above this is a large panel with an inscription in German letters, which runs thus :

“List ye to know yis building quha began?
Laurance the Bruce, he was that worthy man,
Quha earnestlie his airis and offspring prayis,
To help and not to hurt this wark alwayis.
The zier of God 1598.”

Above the inscription is a panel with the Bruce arms.

CAMPBELL

Campbell castle in Clackmannanshire, the ancient home of the noble family of that name, was begun as a single keep and then expanded into a large castle with buildings grouped around a courtyard or quadrangle. Its situation was magnificent, on a large isolated point of high land commanding an opening in the Orchil Hills, with an extensive view over the valley of the Forth. Approached through dark wooded ravines surrounded with perpendicular rocks, it was practically unassailable with the engines of war in use in medieval times. Originally called the Castle of Gloume, its depressing name was changed by act of Parliament in 1489 at the instance of its owner at that time, the first duke of Argyle. In 1645, Montrose succeeded in capturing the stronghold and destroyed it.

(To be Continued.)

ORIGIN AND ANTIQUITY OF HERALDRY.

VIII

CONTINUATION OF THE CONSIDERATION OF ANIMALS USED IN HERALDRY, THEIR ORIGIN AND THE SENTIMENTS WHICH ARE REPRESENTED BY THEM

BY HENRY WHITEMORE

THE LILY—This flower is extensively used in armories, of which there are two kinds—the lilies of the garden, and the lilies of the flag, such as those of France; the first two are used in the emblem of the virgin Mary, for which account, Ferdinand, king of Arragon, in the year 1403, in honor of her, instituted the order of knighthood under the name of the Lily. The collar of the Order of the Lily was composed of bough-pots filled with white lilies interchanged with griffins. These are also used in that sense by the town of Dundee, whose patron saint was the virgin Mary, and which bore azure a bough-pot full of lilies of the garden.

The other lilies, or those of France, so well known, from being carried through Europe by most of the sovereign princes and other noble families, are called the flowers of the flag; and differ from the lilies of the garden in having but three leaves. This lily is called in Latin *flox irides*, and by the French *fleur-de-iris*, being always the flower of the rainbow or irides. The royal standard of France was called the *oriflam* or *oriflambo*, being a blue banner charged with golden *fleurs-de-lis*, a suitable figure say some for the Franks who came from the marches of Friezland. They say that the Franks of old had a custom at the choosing or proclaiming their kings of placing him aloft, above their heads, upon a shield or target, and putting in his right hand a flag with its flower in place of the sceptre. From

this the kings of the first and second race of France are represented with sceptres in their hands, like to the flag with its flowers and this became the armorial figures of France.

There are other stories about the *fleurs-de-lis* of France. One is, that a banner came down from heaven; but as to the time and manner of descent historians differ. The Germans say that St. Dennis gave it to the family of France. Nicol Gillies insist that the banner was brought by an angel to King Clovis after his baptism; and Nicolas Upton, an English writer, who lived about the year 1428, says that an angel from heaven gave a blue banner *seme* of *fleur-de-lis* to Charlemagne.

Menestrier says that these fables were founded upon the action of Pope Leo III., who at the reception of Charlemagne at Rome, declared him with all ceremony, defender of the Church of St. Peter, and gave him the keys and a blue banner *seme* of *fleur-de-lis* of gold. This banner, being of heavenly color, blue, was called *vexillum celeste*, and, having come from the pope, the vicar of Christ, it was commonly believed, *through the ignorance of those times*, to have come from heaven; and confirmed by the great success of Charlemagne in his wars where that banner was displayed. Yet, says the author, that was not the first time that the banner of France was seen adorned with *fleur-de-lis*, for all the regalia of the preceding kings of France are known to have been thus adorned.

The French have sought to magnify this flower and celebrate it with many eulogies. Guillim Nanges, in his "History of St. Lewis" says that it consists of three leaves which represent faith, wisdom, and valor—faith supported by the other two, the wisdom and the valor of France.

"Some theorists," says Nisbet, "have given the mystical application to the honor of this flower by heaping together all the places of Holy Writ, where the lily is mentioned, and applying them to it, as in Luke XII 'Consider the lilies how they grow; they toil not, they spin not; and yet I say unto you that Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these.' They draw them and apply the Salique law which excludes women from succeeding to the crown of France; and from the other phrase of Holy Writ they magnify their kings above Solomon."

Tristram, a Frenchman, undertakes to prove that the *fleur-de-lis* was the first and ancient bearing of France; that it has always been the device of France in adorning the sceptres and crowns, royal robes, shields, and stands, the regalia of France.

That the *fleur-de-lis* was more ancient than Ludovicus Florus, Menestrier asserts, that he has seen the armorial seal of King Philip, great grandfather of Louis de Jeune, (who, it is claimed, was the first king who carried the *fleur-de-lis*) charged with *fleur-de-lis* appended to a deed of mortification to the abbacy of St. Martin de Pourtois, which ever after occasioned that abbacy to carry one of them for its arms. He also says that the regalia of France were adorned with *fleur-de-lis*, which were the fixed sovereign figures of France many ages before Louis de Jeune; and that those figures for their royal antiquity were affected by many princes, and amongst other, by one King Achaius, who took them into his imperial ensign to adorn the double tressure, the badge of the league between him and Charlemagne. Several other writers state that Edward III., king of England, was not nearly so fond of his claims to the crown of France as he was of the sovereign figure of that kingdom, which he quartered in the first place before those of England, being then azure *seme* of *fleur-de-lis*.

King Charles I., of France, who began his reign in the year 1380, reduced the indefinite number of *fleur-de-lis* to three, disposed two and one. These *fleurs-de-lis* were placed, by that king's order, on a shield after the form of the three crescents *affronte* with the words *Lilia crescent* to signify that being of a smaller number than before, they would increase; and this form of a shield gave reason to some to allege that the arms of France were crescents, after that King's reducing the indefinite number of the French lilies to three. King Edward IV., of England, reduced also the number of the *fleur-de-lis*, in his bearing, to three.

The *fleur-de-lis* are very famous throughout Europe, being borne by many princes and persons of high dignity, as well as in advancing the imperial crowns of England and Scotland; by the first to show a right of pretension, and by the second, its unity with France. They are also used as armorial ensigns by sovereign princes, as the Medici and the family of Este in

Italy; and also in the arms of eminent churches and abbacies, and great cities to show their acknowledgment and subjection. Many noble families in Boulogne, and Genoa, carry *fleur-de-lis* to acknowledge the rise of their greatness to France. So many other families do in other countries, and some in Scotland, as the dukes of Lennox who quartered the arms of France with their own, on account of the noble Feise they were honored with in that kingdom.

The name of Montgomery carries arms, three *fleur-de-lis* or, as being originally from France. Roger Montgomery came to England with William the Conqueror, and founded the church of Shrewsbury; and his son Robert, for some discontent, went to Scotland, where he got a fair inheritance in the Renfrew.

The name of Brown, a very ancient one, carries for arms *fleur-de-lis*. One Walter de Brun is witness in an instrument of inquisition, made by David, prince of Cumberland, afterwards king of Scotland, of the possessions of the church of Glasgow. He may have been the predecessor of Philip de Brun, mentioned in a charter of Robert Moubray to Monterief in the reign of King Alexander II. Richard de Brun was forfeited by King Robert the Bruce in 1320.

Brown, of Coalston, had a charter from King David II., granted to David Brown of Coalston, who afterwards mortgaged a part of the barony. This Brown carried arms, gules, three *fleur-de-lis*, or; crest, a lion rampant, holding in his dexter paw a *fleur-de-lis*, with the motto, *Florcal majestas*. Thomas Brown, of Bonnington, in Midlothian, carried arms, or, on a chevron between three *fleur-de-lis*, a besant of the first; crest, a ship under sail proper.

Stephenson, of Herronshiels, had arms argent a chevron between three *fleur-de-lis* gules, a chief of the last, as many mullets or. Alexander Stevenson of Chester, whose father was a brother of Herronshiels, carried arms, argent, on a chevron between three *fleur-de-lis*, azure, a cross moline of the first; and on a chief gules, three mullets or; crest, a rose tree bearing roses proper. Sir Alexander Stevenson, doctor of medicine, had arms, argent, a chevron between three *fleur-de-lis* azure, on a chief of the last, three mullets of the first; crest, a dexter hand issuing out of a cloud holding a laurel garland, all proper.

OF CINQUEFOILS, QUARTERFOILS AND TREFOILS. THEIR FREQUENT
USES IN ARMOR AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

Cinquefoil derives from the French *cinque*, five, and *feuille*, a leaf. Other flowers that have but five leaves may be so called when their specific names are not known; yet, on the authority of General Leigh if the proper names of flowers of five leaves are not known, they should have different names in blazon from the nine armorial tinctures of which they are colored. For example, if the cinquefoil be of tincture *or*, it should be called *ranuncula*; if of argent, jessamine; if gules, the rose; if azure, *pirvinckle*; if sable, ducal; if vert, five leave grass; if purple, *bugloss*; if tenny, *puppie*; and if sanguine, the stock-jelly-flower. If they are of any other color besides these and the furs, they are then to be blazoned *cinquefoils*. The French call them *quintefeuilles*, and the English cinquefoils of whatever tincture they may be, and are represented pierced or voided in the centre, to distinguish them from those that have specific names.

Menestrier says in his "Rose of Arms" that cinquefoils were anciently used by those who went to war, as distinguishing badges, because it was latined *vinca pervinca*, which name seems to be likely, having some resemblance to victory.

Cinquefoils are frequent in England and Scotland in the arms of ancient and honorable families, as those borne by the name of Fransev, azure, three cinquefoils argent, which are ordinarily called in England *fraser*, or *fraisiers*—that is strawberry flowers, and so refer to the name of Fraser.

The progenitor of the name was Pierre, a Frenchman, who went to Scotland in the reign of King Achaius when the famous league was made with France. He and his posterity became thanes of the Isle of Man, and afterwards settled in Tweeddale, and when surnames came into use they took the name of Fraser.

The male representative of the Frasers of Oliver Castle in Tweeddale is said to have gotten great possessions in the north of Scotland, which he and his successors enjoyed under the title of Lord Fraser, whose armorial bearings were, azure, five frases or cinquefoils placed in saltier argent; for many years, though, these arms have been: azure, three cinquefoils, two and one, argent.

The noble family of Hamilton has for its arms: gules, three cinquefoils ermine; and it derives descent from the old earls of Leicester, in England, and Mellant, in Normandy, who carried gules, a cinquefoil ermine, the paternal arms of Millant.

James, the fourth Lord Hamilton, and second earl of Arran, after the death of King James V., was declared governor of Scotland and tutor to the infant Queen Mary. He was a long time governor after Queen Mary went into France. The collar of the Order of St. Michael was placed round his quartered arms, being those of Hamilton and Arran, which are to be seen in the monumental books of blazon and other paintings. Those bearing the surname of Livingston give for their armorial figures, argent three cinquefoils gules, pierced in the field, so carried by Livingston of that ilk in the shire of Lothian, and the same within a double tressure, flowered and counterflowered with fleur-de-lis vert, of old by Livingston of Wemyss, in Fife.

The first of the Livingstone name is said to have been one of the gentlemen who accompanied Queen Margaret, wife to King Malcom Canmore from Hungary to Scotland, and got some lands called, either from his own name, or that of his successors Livingius, who, by the records of the abbacy, of Holyroodshire, possessed lands in West Lothian in the reign of King David I. which he called Livingston from his own name.

One principal family of the name, are the Livingstons of Callendar, the first of which was Sir William Livingston, who got that barony by marrying the daughter of Patrick Callender, who was forfeited for being of the Baliol's interest; so that the family of Callendar has been since used to quarter the arms of Callendar with their own. Of this line is lineally descended James, earl of Linlithgow and Callendar, who carried, quarterly, first and fourth, Livingston, argent, three cinquefoils, gules, within a double tressure, flowered and counterflowered with a fleur-de-lis vert; second and third sable, a bend between six billets or, for Callendar; over all, in the centre, an escutcheon azure, a tree growing out of the base or; within a bordure argent, charged with eight cinquefoils gules, for the title of Linlithgow; and a demi savage proper, holding a baton or club, erected in his right hand, and about his left arm a surtout twisted vert;

supporters, two savages proper, wreathed about the head and middle, holding batons over their shoulders.

The first of the family of Earl Callendar was James, second son of the first Earl Linlithgow who purchased honor and riches in the wars abroad; and, after his return home he was, by King Charles I., created Lord Almond, in 1633; and after, in the year 1641, was honored with the dignity of earl of Callendar; he carried Callendar and Livingston, quarterly, with a crescent in the centre, for difference; crest, a dexter hand holding a sword proper; supporters, two lions gules.

The Viscount of Kilsyth was the first cadet of the family of Livingston of Callendar, being a son of John Livingston, of Callendar, and his second wife, Agnes, daughter of Sir James Douglass of Dalkeith, and a half brother to Sir Alexander Livingston the governor of Scotland in the minority of King James II. The family was honored in the person of Sir James Livingston with the title of Viscount Kilsyth and Lord Campsie, 17th Aug. 1662; they carry only the crest of Livingston and in place of cinquefoils, gillyflowers slipped for difference; as Sir George Mackenzie in his "Science of Heraldry," who says that the earl of Callendar used the gillyflowers eradicate. The exterior ornaments of the viscount of Kilsyth's arms are, for supporters, two lions rampant gules; crest, a demi savage wreathed about the head and middle with a laurel, all proper.

Livingston, of Kinnaird, who was the first of this family descended from Livingston of West Quarter, was a younger son of John Livingston, of Callendar, and his wife, a daughter of Monteith of Carse, father and mother of Sir Alexander Livingston, governor to King James II. The family carried arms, argent on a bend between three gillyflowers gules, an anchor of the first, all within a double tressure, flowered and counter-flowered vert; crest a Moor's head coupé proper, banded gules and argent, with pendles argent at his ears, supported on the dexter by a savage proper, wreathed about the head and middle vert, and on the sinister by a horse argent furnished gules.

The surname of Borthwick carries arms, argent three cinquefoils sable. The chief of this name was Lord Borthwick who carried the same, supported by angels proper, winged or; and for crest, a savage's head coupé proper. The first of this fam-

ily and name is said to be one of those gentlemen who attended Queen Margaret from Hungary to Scotland.

The family of Pierrepont had its rise from Robert Pierpont, who came to England with William the Conqueror, of which family was George Pierepont, who was knighted by King Edward VI., of England. His grandchild, Robert Pierrepont, was, by King Charles I., in the year 1627, for his unshaken loyalty, created Lord Pierepont and Viscount of Newark, but was killed fighting for the king. His eldest son, Henry Pierrepont, for his own and for his father's good services, was created Marquis of Dorchester. The proper arms of the family of Pierepont are argent seme of cinquefoils gules, a lion rampant sable; some make the number of cinquefoils eight.

D'Arcy, earl of Holdemer, for their paternal arms, carry azure seme of cross crosslets and three cinquefoils argent. This ancient and honorable family is originally descended from Norman d'Arcy, who came over to England with William the Conqueror, by whose immediate gift, the Norman enjoyed no less than thirty-three lordships in Lincolnshire.

QUATREFOILS, or caterfoils, are flowers of four leaves, but are not met with so frequently in arms as the cinquefoils. The name of White in Scotland, carries arms, argent, a martlet sable between three quatrefoils of the first. John Whylt, of Benochy, carried argent a martlet displayed between three quatrefoils sable, on a chief of the second as many quatrefoils of the first. There are many families in England who carry quatrefoils; of these, the name of Platt carries arms, vert, three quatrefoils argent, each charged with a lion's head erased sable.



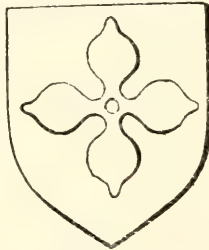
Mullet.



Esteille.



Trefoil.



Quatrefoil.

TREFOILS, flowers or herbs of three leaves, are more frequent in armor than the quatrefoil, and are often represented with stalks for which in blazon they are said to be slipped which rep-

resent the choir-grass, the emblem of fertility. With such the Romans adorned the arms and chaplets of the victorious called *corona graminia*.

Bothwell, Lord Holyroodhouse, carried arms, azure on a chevron between three trefoils slipped or, a crescent gules, supported on the dexter side by a spaniel dog, collared gules and or, the sinister by a goshawk proper fessed, beaked and bulled or; crest, a naked boy pulling down the top of a green pine tree.

Bothwell, of Ford, carried the same arms without the crescent and exterior ornaments, which may be seen illuminated in the House of Falehall. Sir Richard Bothwell, provost of Edinburgh in the reign of Queen Mary, and Adam Bothwell, bishop of Orkney and commendator of Holyroodhouse, granted a charter of the date of 17th July, 1572, to which was appended the bishop's seal, which had the aforesaid arms, without a crescent and exterior ornaments.

The name of Gilbert carried arms, argent on a chevron azure between three trefoils vert, as many fleur-de-lis or.

LEAVES OF TREES, PLANTS AND HERBS

These are used in arms not only on account of their natural and symbolic qualities but as relative to the names of their bearers.

Those of the name of Foulis bear argent three leaves vert. The name is from the French word *fouille*, which signifies leaves, whence those of the name are said to be of French extraction and to have been long in Scotland. The arms of the principal family of the name, are, argent three bay leaves, slipped, vert; crest, a dexter hand couped, holding a sword in pale, supporting a laurel all proper; motto, *Mente manumque presti*.

HOLLIN OR HOLLY LEAVES are a kind of laurel. so called for the reason that, with such evergreens, temples, altars and holy places were wont to be adorned.

Alexander Irvins, of Drum, had arms, argent, three small sheafs, or bundles of holly, three and one, vert, each consisting of as many leaves slipped of the last, banded gules; crest a sheaf of arrows; supporters, two savages wreathed about the head and middle with holly, each carrying in their hands a baton, all proper.

Sir George Mackenzie, in his "Science of Heraldry" says that King Robert Bruce, had for his badge and device three such leaves, with the motto, *Sub soli, sub umbra vericus*, which was afterward designed of Drum, his armor-bearer, one of the progenitors of the Irvins of Drum, an ancient and principal family.

BARONET LEAVES, so called, are carried by the name of Burnet, as relative to the name, which is ancient in England. Thomas Burnet, of Innerlath, descended from Leys, had arms argent, three holly leaves in chief, and a hunting horn in base, sable, garnished, gules, within a bordure indented of the second, and a crescent for difference; crest, a holly branch proper; motto, *Virtute cresco*.

ARTIFICIAL FIGURES IN ARMORIES

THE SWORD, the badge of authority and mark for a military man as such, is frequent in arms to perpetrate some military exploit done or to be done; its position, with the hilt and pommel, if of different tinctures, are to be noticed in blazon.

Halliday of Tillybole, had arms, argent, a sword paleways, the pommel within a crescent in base, gules, and a canton azure, charged with a St. Andrews cross of the first, and a boar's head couped argent armed or; motto, *Virtute parta*.

The ancient family of Paulet, in England, carried sable three swords, their points conjoined in base argent, hilted, or.

The name of Norton in England had arms, azure, three swords, one in pale, with the point upwards surmounted of the other two placed saltierways with the points downwards argent.

CROOKED SWORDS are frequently borne, such as shabbles and cutlasses, which the French call *badelaires*. The crumpet of a sword, called bouterall by the French, is to be found in the arms of the town of Sebach in the county of Touraine—arms, three bouteralls gules.

BATTLE AXES AND HALBERTS are carried in armorial figures by several families in England. David Soshach of Manovaird, or of that ilk, whose predecessor is said to have descended from the great Macduff, in the reign of Malcom Canmore, carried,

gules, two pole-axes in pale argent, over all a fesse cheque of the second, and azure; crest, a sinister hand issuing out of the wreath, and thereon a falcon rising, all proper.

The name of Dennis carries arms, argent three battle-axes sable, with a bordure gules.

Walter Rankin of Orchardhead, had arms, gules three boars' heads erased argent, two and one, between a lance issuing out of the dexter base, and a Lochaber-axe issuing out of the sinister, both erect in pale, of the second; crest, a lance issuing out of the torce.

A GAUNTLET, the armor of the hand, is frequent in heraldry. The name of Kein carries argent, a gauntlet glove azure, on a chief gules a mullet or.

Crawford says that Kein of Hithelory carried arms, gules a gauntlet in fesse or, and, on a chief argent three stars of the first. When the arms are wholly covered with armor then is said to be rambraced, as by those of the name of Armstrong, in England, viz., gules three dexter arms rambraced proper. When the legs are covered with armor they are said to be only armed, as in the armorial ensign of the Isle of Man.

SPURS, with the Romans indicated the badge of knighthood proper to their *equities aurati*, as the golden spurs to the German knights, and the same to the knights of the spur, in England, and it is stated that a family of the name of Knight, in Shrewsbury carried argent three pallets gules within a bordure engrailed azure, and a dexter canton of the second, charged with a spur and its leather, or; and that the same design is carried by other families of the name of Knight in England.

The rowels of spurs are more frequently borne than the whole spur, called mallets or mullets, from the French, *molettes d'sperm*, the rowel of a spur. They have ordinarily six points, and are pierced in the middle, by which they are distinguished from stars. The English do not sharply distinguish in their blazon mallets or mullets, whether they represent spur rowel or a star; and distinguish them not by the number of their points, but sometimes they add the word pierced to a mullet to represent a spur rowel; though since mullet signifies nothing else, the term pierced seems superfluous. Old blazons call the spur rials, or

revels, to distinguish them from the stars, but our moderns have followed the English, calling these stars both mallets or mullets, without distinction; so that it is hard to know when they represent the one or the other except they add the word pierced, which is often omitted in their blazons and paintings.

Sir John Jurdin, of Applegate, Baronet, carried argent a saltier and chief gules on the last, these spur rowels of six points of the first, which arms are supported on the right side by a horse at liberty argent; and in the left a man completely armed cap-a-pie proper; crest, a spur rowel of six points on the former, with the motto, *Cave adsum*.

The name of Burn carries arms, or, two spur rowels and a hunting horn in base.

The Episcopal See of Bangor, in England, carries arms, gules on a bend argent, gutte, sable, between two mullets pierced of the second. There are many other noble families of England who carry these devices on their arms.

BUCKLES OR CLASPS, in arms, are called by the English sometimes fermachs, from the French, *fermeons*, buckles. Buckles, clasps and rings are said by heralds to represent power and authority in the bearers, as also an acknowledgment of a dependence of sovereign powers, for such things were of old ordinary gifts of superiors, as badges of fidelity and firmness. Morgan says in his "Heraldry" that these arming buckles were added as a sign of power and authority to the bordures of the Stewarts, earls of Darnby and Lennox.

The name of Sterling has always carried in their arms, buckles, variously situate, three, two, one, at other times in chief or, on a chief, in ancient bearings, but more frequently on a bend, as now used. Sir James Balfour, in his "Blazons," says: "in the year 1292, Sir William Stirling carried arms, parted per fesse, sable and or, three buckles of the last on the first, which Sir George Mackenzie in his MSS., ascribes to Sterling of Glenesk, viz.: arms or, on a chief sable three buckles of the first. The family of Sterling of Glenesk failed in an heir female who was married to Sir Alexander Lindsay.

Sterling of Keir has always been reckoned the principal family of the name, and thought to be descended from the first Wal-

ter de Strivelin, witness in Prince Henry's charter. Of old, he carried arms, argent on a bend sable three buckles or. Some authorities have made the bend vert, and others azure, but the bend sable is the most frequently to be met with, as on the House of Falahall, where the arms of many of the barons of Scotland were illuminated in the year 1614. Amongst them are those of Sterling of Kier, who carried arms, argent on a bend ingrailed sable three buckles or.

Sir John Sterling, of Gloral, Baronet, carried arms, argent, a bend engrailed azure, charged with three buckles or, on a chief gules a naked arm issuing out of a cloud from the sinister side, grasping a sword in pale, and therewith guarding an imperial crown, placed in the dexter chief point proper, all within a double tressure counterflowered with thistles vert. Crest, a lion passant gules.

The ancient name of Bunkle carried buckles relative to the name. Sir James Balfour says, in the year 1222, Bunkle, carried arms, sable three buckles or. The principle family of the name was Bunkle, of that ilk; and the shire of Browne had arms, argent on a bend sable three buckles or.

These arms have been displayed and are perpetuated by many noble families, especially those of Stewart, on account of their maternal descent. Sir John Stewart, second son of Alexander, lord high steward of Scotland, and full brother to James, lord high Steward, married Margaret, daughter and heir of Sir Alexander Bunkle, of that ilk, about the year 1204, who, in his right became possessor of many lands, and especially those of Bunkle, in the Merse, after which he was designed Sir John Stewart of Bunkle; as also he composed the armorial bearings with them, viz.: arms, or, a fesse cheque, azure and argent, surmounted by a bend sable, charged with three buckles or; for which their issue carried buckles as the Stewarts, earls of Argus, and the Douglasses, as descendants of them, and others descended of Stewart of Bunkle, placed the buckles upon their borders.

Sir James Lumsden, of Innergilly, was Major General to Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, in whose wars he was famous for the taking of Frankfort on the Order. The family of Robert

Lumsden of Inergilly, carried arms, azure, a chevron or, between a wolf's head couped, and a buckle in chief, and an escallop in base argent; crest, an earn devouring a salmon proper.

THE HEADS OF SPEARS, arrows and darts, are frequent in arms and in blazons. The heads of darts are called pheons, and ordinarily, by the French *fer de dart*, and are sometimes said to be barbed, when hooked with teeth. The name of Stewart carries arms, argent, a chevron between three pheons sable. The name of Moodie carries a chevron ermine between three pheons argent. In England the pheon is frequently borne as by the noble family of Sydney, earl of Leicester, viz.: or, a pheon azure.

MILITARY INSTRUMENTS, ancient and modern, such as bows, arrows, darts, etc., have been, and are frequent arms, to show some singular event, or as relative to the name of the bearer. Bower, of Kennettle, had arms, vert, two bows, in full bend paleways proper, stringed argent, between three sheaves of arrows, two in chief and one in base of the second. The name of Littlejohn carries, argent, three arrows, gules, the middlement paleways, the other two saltierways, with three points downward, feathered or, accompanied with six trefoils slipped of the second, two in chief and two in fesse and two in base.

CALTRAPS, by some called chevaltraps, by the French, *chaussetraps*, are an instrument of iron, used in war to gall and wound horses' feet. It consisted of four pricks placed after such fashion, as which way it was to lie on the ground one point would always stick up; they are to be seen on the compartment of the achievements of the earls of Perth; the Latins call them, *murices*.

BATTERY RAMS, are to be found in the arms of the earl of Lindsay, as their paternal figures, viz: argent three battery rams proper, armed and garnished azure.

BANNERS, ensigns, standards, pennons, etc. These armorials or charges are contained within the shield. The name of Bannerman carried anciently, for all armorial figure a banner displayed as relative to the name; which was from their offices, they being hereditary banner-bearers of old, to the kings in the reign of Malcolm IV. or William, the Lion.

Balfour, in his "Manuscripts of Blazons," says that Bannerman of Elseke, in the shire of Kincardine, carried arms, or, on a

fesse, between three bears' heads coupéd, azure, as many mascles of the first. And Bart, in his "Manuscripts" says "Bannerman, of Watertown, anno 1590, carried arms, azure on a fesse or, between three bears' heads, coupéd of the last, a mascle gules, which arms alter somewhat from those of the Forbesses."

THE GONFANON, is carried as an armorial figure, or common charge, by many families for the reason that they had been gonfoliers, that is, standard bearers to the church, on the counts of Auvergne, in France, who carried arms, or, a gonfanon gules, fringed vert.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS used in war, such as trumpets, drums, etc., are to be found in arms, as explained by Guillim. There is a figure carried in the arms of Granville, earl of Bath, viz: gules, three clarions or. Some take this to represent musical instruments. In times of tournaments and joustings knights came with their clarions.

WATER BUDGET, or bucket, used in armroies by the English, is also to be seen in the bearings of some families of Scotland. The English disagree about the nature and use. Some take the water budget to represent aquafolia, a water plant, but others take it for a vessel made of leather filled with wind to help men to swim over rivers; they are used also to represent scrips of religious votaries. Another theory is that heralds, in England take water budgets for vessels of leather which soldiers used for carrying water or other liquors in long marches, where liquors were scarce.

The surname of Ross, in England carried arms, or, three water budgets sable. The first of that name, says Dugdale in his "Baronage," was one Peter, in the reign of Henry I., who took his name from the place of his residence called Ross, in the East Riding of Yorkshire; whose great grandfather was Robert Ross, Lord Hamlock of Scotland. Members of this family were prominent in the reigns of Alexander I. and II.

CASTLES AND TOWERS and their uses are defined by Guillim, who says that the architecture of a castle must extend itself over all the field, that is from one side of the shield to the other; but the building of a tower is not so extended; so that the field appears on every side. This distinction does not hold in the practice of

any nation, nor with that of the English. Sylvester Petra Sancta says that castles have triple towers above the embattlement and a tower has but one above the embattlement.

Many castles and towers are and may be carried in one shield, situated according to the position of the ordinaries, as in fesse, in bend, in pale, etc., from which situation on other figures they have their blazons.

Castles, towers and other buildings have one peculiar attribute in blazon, which is whatever tincture they be of, if the sediment of the building be of another color from the stones represented by lines or tracts, then the buildings being argent, are said to be masoned of such a tincture, as sable, which the Latins called *lapidum junctura*, or *lapidum commissura*. When the windows and ports of castles and other buildings are of different tincture from the field and building, the windows and ports are supposed to be shut, and must be so expressed in the blazon; if the windows and ports are of the tincture of the field, so that the field is seen through them, then they are supposed to be open, which is to be so expressed in the blazon, and for which the French say *ajoure*, as other figures that are voided of the field. When the port is after the form of a portcullis it is so named in the blazon, and by the French *coulisse*; and the Latins call the portcullis *pacta calaracta*.

The kingdom of Castile in Spain as relative to the name, carries gules, a castle triple towered or, masoned, sable, windows and ports shut, azure; in that kingdom there are many noble families that carry castles in imitation of the sovereign ensign.

(To be Continued.)

AMERICAN HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

LYMAN HORACE WEEKS, Editor

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James O'Hara.

A HISTORY OF SLAVERY

BY MRS. C. F. MC LEAN

I

SLAVERY IN ANCIENT EGYPT

WHEN, beyond the twilight of history, in the beginnings of the human race, in the stone age or in that time of which no record even in stone remains, two savage men were contending for existence and the conqueror spared the life of his vanquished enemy, then began the awakening of those instincts which prove that man differed from the wild beasts. It was an advance for the race that a man spared his enemy, although the conquered combatant became the slave of his foe, a slave so abject that his life was prolonged only so long as the savage instinct of slaughter in his captor was in subjection to an awakened sense of calculation. In sparing his enemy, instead of killing him and literally drinking his blood and mutilating his body, savage man first began to think, to calculate. The desire to have some one with him, in the chase of the more savage beast, on whose slaughter his food and covering depended, and to carry for him the burden of the successful chase to where he dwelt in cave or jungle, was only a step perhaps, but certainly a step toward the time when selfishness, enlightened a little by calculation, took the place of the primal passion of destruction.

Then if this cringing slave turned on his captor or attempted

to escape to desert or jungle, the man who had first thought to use his enemy, instead of slaying him, had rekindled in him the savage instincts of slaughter and killed his captive. If later on deprived of his services and his companionship, he began to regret the killing, to wish he had again spared the creature like unto himself, whom he had at last slain, still another step in the awakening of the man above the beast was taken, and the more of thought, of selfish calculation grew within him.

In the history of the most ancient races, especially of those who reached their civilization in the valley of the Euphrates, the records hewn on rock, pictured on buried and crumbled palace walls, or engraved on cylinder and brick something of this development of man in tribe or race is clearly indicated. Representations of executing prisoners taken in battle precede the more extended illustrations of the return of the conquering hosts to their camp or city, and the train of disarmed and bound captives proves that the prisoners then taken in battle were no longer slain but became slaves to their conquerors.

First definite history belongs to the Egyptians. Their monuments yet remaining, the interwoven relations of their great personages with those of the Old Testament, their connection with the ancient peoples of Asia, with the Greeks and Romans and therefore with the races that came to inhabit the countries of modern Europe, all contribute to make every fact proved by the Egyptologists of paramount importance and interest.

Not only in its general aspects, but also in its restricted divisions, history is an endless chain. Not only for the nations of the present day, but for those of the distant centuries can be proclaimed in insistent tones the solidarity of the human race. We find that those conditions which made slavery more or less revolting and modified the lot of the individual slave were essentially the same in Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, Media, Persia, Greece and Rome as they have been in modern times.

Exactly when slaves were first held in Egypt and distinctly designated as such cannot be definitely stated. In the beginnings of her recorded history, when the varied industries of a more civilized state had not been greatly developed, and the principal occupation was agriculture, there is remaining, of that time, a

piece of literature which bewails the hard lot of the agricultural laborer, who was obliged to work for others than the king who owned the soil, and also of the lot of the "fellahin," or peasants who cultivated holdings of the land which belonged to the king.

Of the peasant it is written that often his crops were nearly destroyed by the locusts, and then the tax gatherer, the agent of the king, would come to claim the remainder. His greatest hardship was to be summoned for forced labor on the public works, and often when he had there served out his time, he would return to find his poor abode in ashes and his family lost to him.

The lot of the one who labored for other owners of land than the king, is depicted as hardly less severe except that it is conceded that he was not forced to labor on the public works. Contemporary with these accounts of the misfortunes of these two classes who labored to enrich others, are given the representations of the life of ease and comfort of the owners of large estates. A little later in the history of these earliest centuries, it is recorded that these land-owners cultivated their extensive holdings by "large numbers of hired laborers or slaves." The greatest hardships pertaining to a condition of slavery even in those early ages, were endured by the poorest classes of the Egyptians themselves. The erection of the great pyramid required the labor of a hundred thousand men during thirty years. It is conceded that this colossal monument represents the work of the poorest classes of the Egyptian themselves, although contemporary with that reading is that of the presence of slaves on large estates.

Before there were great wars between the Egyptians and their neighbors there was a traffic with them in human beings who became slaves of the Egyptians. Whether these were sold by their parents or in what other ways acquired, is not stated by historians.

After giving the account of the sorrows of the very poor in the early centuries of Egyptian history referred to, other very different pictures of the condition of the people are drawn. Doubtless these more cheerful accounts refer particularly to a later era, when advancing civilization brought some better conditions for

even the poorest classes; or there may have existed then, as we can find even now, the greatest comforts and enjoyments for a portion of the population, and in connection with them, conditions of the direst poverty.

Rawlinson says:

“Up to the time of the building of the pyramids, (after the first) there was no great employment of slaves in Egypt: wars were of rare occurrence and when they took place not many prisoners would be made, for the tribes on the Egyptian borders were then none of them numerous, and the few slaves who were occasionally bought passed commonly into domestic service. The result was that both the cultivation of the soil and most of the other industrial pursuits were in the hands of the native Egyptians and furnished them with an ample variety of not disagreeable careers.”

In this earliest pictorial history of the Egyptians, the laborers are represented as doing their tasks with smiling faces, and there is no taskmaster with uplifted stick urging on unwilling workers. Under later dynasties, and after the advent of wars of conquest, this picture is greatly changed.

It must be recalled that the Egyptians were not an African, but an Asiatic people, emigrants from their own territory, which they entered from the East; and they were nearly allied to several important races of southwestern Asia, as the Canaanites, the Accadians, or primitive Babylonians and the Southern, or Himarytic Arabs. The near neighbors of the ancient Egyptians, the Libyians, came originally from northern Europe, and crossed into Africa by way of Spain and Italy. Later they mingled with the people of the country they overcame, and became darker in complexion; originally they were very fair. Toward the south, Egypt had as neighbors Nahse or Nahdsu, real negroes, now known as Nubians. Doubtless from these turbulent but ill-organized tribes, incapable of coalescing, came a great number of slaves in the most ancient centuries of the Egyptian monarchies. Then farther to the south were those known to the Egyptians as the Kise or Kush, and to the Greeks and Romans as Ethiopians, often referred to as their slaves. These were not of negro blood, but must be regarded as Caucasian, ethnically con-

nected with the Canaanites, Southern Arabians, primitive Babylonians, and with the Egyptians themselves. These Ethiopians were war-like, of great strength and unusual height. In the days of their power and luxury, the Greeks and Romans greatly preferred these Ethiopians for runners and outriders.

It is therefore conceded that not until there were wars of conquest with the surrounding tribes or peoples, were there slaves in Egypt in great numbers. During those periods in spite of wars, or better stated, in the intervening periods of peace, Egypt advanced to that knowledge of agriculture, to all the arts of representation, and to the art of living, which yet dazzle the mind in contemplation. Not only those stupendous monuments which defy the destroying power of time itself, but the remains of their manufactures, and the other authentic records of their achievements in the arts and sciences, make us seriously question if, in great degree, modern civilization is in advance of that of the ancient inhabitants of the great valley of the Nile.

Not only through wars of conquest, but also by peaceful advances the Egyptians extended their civilization and influence into neighboring territory. Very early in their history it is recorded that commercial intercourse was established with the Nubians, "who furnished cattle, gold, and slaves." Under the later dynasties of the Pharaohs and verging on the era of decline in their power, if not of their civilization, it is written of at least one reigning monarch, that he was not satisfied with the number of slaves he acquired by war, but even in times of peace there were regular manhunts after slaves from the negro tribes on the extended Egyptian borders.

However, although the negro tribes furnished many of the slaves of ancient Egypt, the color of the skin, the thickness of the lips, the formation of the skull, had nothing whatever to do with the enslavement of the individual, nor did the barbarous or civilized condition of the tribes or peoples modify their servitude. In the centuries when Egypt engaged in war with those ancient nations whose beginnings and recorded history belong to the valley of the Euphrates, those other early civilized people of Assyria, Media, Babylonia and Persia, there were in Egypt many slaves with more Caucasian features and complexion than the

Egyptians themselves. Then again, when during several centuries, Egypt was governed by the Hyxsos or Shepherd kings, the monuments, the statuary recording their reigns prove that the monarchs of that dynasty were of a darker race, with thicker lips than the Egyptians; they were from that country where the first invading races from northern Europe mingled with the tribes they found in Ethiopia, and then became a people darker than the Egyptians themselves.

Nor does it appear that anywhere in the ancient world the question of superiority or of inferiority, any of the essential differing characteristics of the individual or of the race, in any way entered into the consideration of the freedom or enslavement of individuals or of people. The fortune of war made the conquered slaves, the character of the ruling sovereign, the religious belief and the more or less civilized character of the conquerors modified their treatment, and the economic conditions of the country decided the scale of their labors and their relative misery or comfort.

In no country of ancient times could a prisoner of war be ransomed, much less exchanged. Some historians of Egypt claim that, in the case of important prisoners, especially if they had been in rebellion, the king ordered their execution, but Rawlinson claims that the Egyptians were too just to be guilty of such inhumanity; that the sculptured walls telling of the events after a battle, and whereon are represented the captives kneeling one at a time before the king, while an Egyptian warrior holds above each head a sword or mace as though ready to strike a deadly blow, are allegorical. They form part of the eulogy of the conquering king and represented his power, but also his generosity in sparing the lives of those whom the fortune of war had made his abject slaves. It is, however conceded, that the Egyptian warriors carried to the king the head or the hand of the enemy they had slain in battle, not only in order that the slaughtered foe be counted, but also that the conqueror claim the reward of his valor. Sometimes also the king rewarded individual captors with the gift of their prisoners, who then passed into private ownership. The following picture of a victorious Egyptian king returning from battle is given by Rawlinson:

“In his triumphal procession an Egyptian Pharaoh held the cord that united the manacled captives, or this cord was attached to his car. When the king repaired to the temple to give thanks for his victory, to offer up the choicest parts of the spoil, vases, incense, bags of money, jars of ointment and the like, at the same time he made a presentation of a large number of his captives, who were added to the sacred slaves previously possessed by the temple.”

From all the inferences that can be made as to the duties that would be performed by slaves at the temple or in the employ of priests outside the temple itself, it is pretty certain that the lot of these captives, henceforth slaves of the priests of the temple, was the least to be dreaded of all the possibilities that defeat in battle placed in store for them.

After the first wars had greatly extended the boundaries of Egypt, it is claimed that the slaves formed a large part of the population; a few historians give the number as great as a third.

The most warlike kings were also the great builders. If not directly said in these records of the monarchs of Egypt, it is at least inferred by the Egyptologists that one of the impelling reasons of the prosecution of the wars of conquest was the desire of these rulers to secure more slaves, in order that they might thus be able to realize their ambitions to surpass their predecessors in erecting pyramids, temples, palaces and other monuments and in completing other great public works. Not only did these kings extend the irrigation system of the Nile by basins and canals, but for that extension they also erected great retaining walls on the banks, whereon have been placed the imperishable records of their achievements. Of them it is written that they sometimes took thousands of prisoners of war at one time.

The periods which best illustrate the work of the slaves, their treatment and their connection with the industries of the country are those centuries when Egypt was either approaching, or had achieved her highest civilization. Through the records of the myriad dynasties and the involved chronology of its kings, their personal character, their achievements in war and in peace, the erection of those monuments and the completion of those other public works which yet excite the wonder of the world, their

achievements in manufactures and other arts than architecture, there is to be gathered more by analysis and constructive imagination, than by recorded facts, a conception of the daily life of the people.

It has been proved that the tenure of land in ancient Egypt developed along the same lines as in other ancient nations, as well as in those countries which now comprise modern Europe. From a recognition of the ownership of the land of the country by the tribe itself, grew gradually the vesting of that right in the chief, and later in the king. After a time the king abrogated to himself the giving outright of a portion of the heritage of the entire people to those who had rendered conspicuous service to him. The obligations to the country represented by the king to make return for this gift in further contribution in wealth or fighting men, was in time minimized until the descendents of those to whom had been given a portion of the national domain, possessed it with little or no recognition of any claim of the state.

In later centuries, when the history of succeeding dynasties became more definite and complete, we distinctly learn that the owners of the soil in Egypt were the kings, the priestly communities and the aristocracy. Of the third class of owners it is recorded that their lands were cultivated principally by slave labor. At the same time the kings let the lands they reserved for personal ownership in small holdings to the fellahin or peasants; and as it is recorded that the kings, after their return from wars brought to the temples with other gifts, a train of slaves, the lands belonging to the priestly communities were also cultivated by slave labor. It is not stated that the fellahin held slaves to aid in the cultivation of their holdings, but from what can be learned of the exactions of the royal tax-gatherers, it is more reasonable to infer that their condition was less desirable than that of the slaves on the estates of the territorial aristocracy.

It is certain that at least one class of Egyptians themselves was held in less esteem than the slaves, and that was the despised swineherds. During centuries these were not permitted to mar-

ry outside of their class, and were looked down upon by even the slaves themselves.

The position of any one class in a community depends on that of every other. In ancient as well as in modern times the degree of the degradation of the slave class, the existence of the absence of the most revolting features of that institution depend greatly on the religious beliefs of the dominating classes, and, included in those religious beliefs the position of honor or of dishonor held by the women of the country.

The religion of Egypt inculcated far higher morality and insisted on greater rectitude of personal conduct than any other religion of the most ancient world, of those centuries and of those peoples antedating the knowledge of the religion of the Hebrews, and of the contact of that race with other ancient races. Of course with the Egyptians, as with other peoples, they did not always live up to the religious beliefs they professed. We do know however, that the higher the standard of morality, the nearer is there an approach to it in practice. Also that in ancient times, the power of the priestly class was decidedly greater over all other classes than has been the case in more modern times. We may therefore be assured, that if the religion of the Egyptians taught more justice and leniency to those in their power, the slaves of ancient Egypt were less oppressed, especially when in domestic servitude, than they were in any of the ancient kingdoms of Asia, or in Greece or Rome.

One prevailing difference between the Egyptians and the other ancient races, and one bearing on the condition of slaves, was the higher position accorded to women. That juster consideration for woman, therefore, eliminated in Egypt some of the revolting features of slavery as it existed in Asia and in Greece and Rome. All Egyptologists agree that one of the most authentic facts about the Egyptian people, one fully established through the many dynasties that governed that ancient kingdom, is that the position of woman was one of absolute equality with man before the law, and one of the largest personal liberty in all conditions of life.

In every case where the king is represented in audience,

save on the battle field, in all the occupations of daily life except in the hunt of wild beasts, the queen is represented at his side, and with a train of attending women as large as that of the men who wait upon the king. In all the scenes of daily life, women have an equal part with the men. They receive in their homes and they extend a welcome to both men and women; they are seen wending their way in the market place, they are seated with the men even at the royal banquets, they take part in all the domestic ceremonies of the people; they hold a semi-religious office in the temples erected to the Egyptian gods; they appear at the burial of the dead of kings and also at those more sacred memorial services periodically held at the tombs of the kings, and even of the common people. This position of woman thus so graphically told on sculptured wall and hieroglyphic inscription gives us moderns one particular surprise. The single place where she does not appear, and where we would certainly expect to find her, is the kitchen. In all the scenes depicting the preparations for a feast either in the palace of the king, or in one of his landholding aristocrats, the cook—cap on head and holding cooking utensils in his hands—and the scullions, busy preparing the fish and the game and the vegetables, are all men. On the other hand, those bearing the branches and flowers to decorate the banquet hall, and garlands for the guests are invariably women.

If the position of the slaves attached to the temples was probably the least to be dreaded, there is no doubt that the greatest cruelties, the most exhausting and dangerous service, became the portion of those captives who were retained as the slaves of the king, and who thenceforth engaged on his public works. It is nowhere indicated that the Egyptians knew the use of the lever, the crane or those other mechanical devices which more than aught else differentiate modern from ancient civilization. The absence of those mechanical contrivances made the labors incident to the erection of their monuments a stupendous undertaking, and a marvelous achievement. The pillars of the temples, the statuary illustrating and decorating them, the huge blocks of stone which formed the pyramids, were all taken from their quarries, and after their completion, were conveyed to distant points and put up in place by human strength alone. The roads

over which they were transported were oiled, and those colossal pieces were drawn on sledges by human beings; sometimes river transportation on huge barges, but rowed by human beings, lessened a little that vast labor; by human strength alone were they erected to form their intended portion of temple, monument, palace, or pyramid, or, as one single piece of greatness to become the obelisk.

The heaviest part of the labor connected with all these public works in those centuries when successful wars supplied the Egyptian kings with their myriads of captives, was performed by the slaves of the king. The death toll exacted by such labors must have been large, especially when the great obelisks were put up, and the carved columns of the temples and palaces were set in place. The pictures telling of these labors of the slaves always represent the overseer with whip in hand urging the workers on to renewed exertion in their already almost superhuman efforts. Sometimes the illustrations are even more indicative of hardships, when the toilers are chained in gangs.

Another division of public works which caused enormous loss of life among the slaves was the construction of public roads, especially those which reached across the surrounding deserts. These roads were not only to enable the king to extend his dominions, but also they were new avenues of increasing trade, a trade so extensive, so all embracing, that it brought to Egypt besides the domestic animals of other countries, wild animals from distant regions, to be placed on the hunting preserves of the monarch and his favorite subjects. Up the Nile and over these roads came also the agricultural products and the manufactured articles of the other civilized and semi-civilized countries of Asia and Africa, and even from those ancient nations of Europe bordering the Mediterranean.

The lot of slaves on the estates and in the city homes of the very rich could not have been of so great hardship as in the countries of Asia or even in Greece and Rome. The most revolting features of domestic slavery as practiced in those countries, in great degree were absent in Egypt. As the Egyptians were monogamists, and the wife always held her place as the equal of her husband in the home, and as even the kings did not arrogate

to themselves the right of concubinage, there was not that degradation of the female slave, which was established in other ancient nations.

The number of attendants for a wealthy land owner was about equally divided between male and female slaves; a fact that taken with others well established, indicates the better condition of sexes. That these slaves of the wealthy living on large estates, were more or less engaged in various handicrafts is proved. Many of the objects required were there manufactured and the large life of the owners gave to his slaves varied duties and occupations. The personal attendants of both the man and his wife are clearly indicated, and as the clothing was then nearly the same for man and woman, and each indulged in the same luxuries of the toilet,—luxuries scarcely equalled anywhere in these modern times—the husband and the wife had a train of personal attendants about equal in number. With the difference in the names of luxuries and habits, in reading an account of the manner of life of the wealthy land-owners of Egypt in the days of the Pharoahs, one might easily believe that he was reading an account of the doings of an English lord or an American multimillionaire, or more correctly, perhaps, of the son of an American multimillionaire. We are told that this wealthy landholder, although not dependant on any position, often did hold important office, that he had both a home in the city—generally the capital—and an extensive villa in the country. On his large estate he had a game preserve, and, in order that he might also have the wild animals of other and distant lands, slaves constructed roads leading thither, and thence slaves led them and added them to the wild game native to the country. If no natural lake were on his estate, an artificial one furnished him with the excitement of fishing when the charms of the chase palled upon him.

Chariots, drawn in the earliest centuries by the tamed wild asses of Egypt, and later by the beautiful horses originally imported from Arabia, awaited his fancy and that of his wife when they desired an outing. When the motion of the chariot was no longer agreeable to tired body and jaded nerves, a litter carried by slaves was ready to transport him whither he wished. The kings possessed hundreds of chariots and litters and slaves to

attend the animals and to bear the litters. The home of this Egyptian lord, whether in the capital, or set amid lawns and flower gardens and surrounded by streams and fruit arbors, was always large and completely furnished. The representations of Egyptian furniture, as the French say, leave nothing to be desired in the way of comfort and elegance.

For the care of these homes and the direction of the work of the slaves, this over-lord had a major-domo, who relieved him of the care of all the details. How often, or if ever, a slave became this major-domo cannot be ascertained, but as such a position was held by slaves at the time of the ascendancy of Greece and Rome, we may feel sure that such was often the case in Egypt at an earlier period. When this landlord of Egypt went on the chase, the slaves bore his arms, carried his provisions, set the nets, beat the forest or the desert for the wild game, and returned laden with the spoils of the master's skill. When this lord went fishing slaves bore the rods and the spears, rowed the boats and returned with the baskets laden with the master's luck in fishing. All these events in the life of this lord are not told in so many words; they are even better depicted, for they are sculptured on solid rock and wall.

Not much definite information is given concerning the work of the slaves in manufacturing pursuits, as is abundantly told of the slaves of Greece and Rome. The manufactures of Egypt were the most varied and highly valued of all the ancient world. To the Egyptians belong the discovery of the making of glass, not to the Phoenicians. The products of Egyptian looms were famed through many centuries; the fabrics that yet envelope the mummies are proof of their excellence. Doubtless in the making of the coarse, woven fabrics, and in any other work of manufacturing that demanded small skill, the slaves had a part. It is distinctly stated that the sculptors used their labor, and in the manufacture of the coarser kinds of pottery, it is recorded that the slaves were the only actual workers, while others directed their labor.

Were the Egyptians themselves, who were certainly advanced in civilization, never touched by the sight of the hard tasks and evident misery of the slaves of the king? Perhaps, when, in rid-

ing from place to place in their chariot, the rich lord and his lady came upon those gangs of slaves enduring the hardships and exhausting labors while the monuments to the reigning Pharaohs were taking shape, they felt pity and sympathy stirring within them; yet doubtless their sentiment went no further than a wish that the king possessed taskmasters who were less severe, and would less seldom rain blows on the backs of the bondmen. However they knew that the fortune of war had made those human creatures slaves to the king, and that his great works must be completed by their labor. Perhaps, again, when this overlord and his lady wended their way back to their villa, or returned to their gorgeous city home, they thought again of those struggling masses of human beings, and as they gave some order to their own slaves, they favorably contrasted their condition with that of the slaves of the king, and thought that those who had entered domestic servitude ought to rejoice at their good fortune!

All Egyptologists concede that it was during the reign of a king of the Hyksos dynasty, or those darker visaged Shepherd kings that Joseph was sold by his brethern and went down into slavery in Egypt. Here we come to the records of the Old Testament and the account of the sojourn of the people of Israel, the chosen people of God, when they dwelt in "the land of Egypt, in the house of bondage." No other pen could add to that account one jot or tittle that would render more complete, more graphic the history of those latest slaves of the Egyptians.

The most attractive of the pictures presented is that of the Egyptian princess, that daughter of the reigning Pharaoh, who with her attendant maids, repaired to the banks of the Nile to bathe in its waters, and who, among the rushes, discovered the basket wherein rested the future deliverer of his people. The fact that the princess was guarded alone by her women offers a proof of the correct reading of the Egyptologists that through all the centuries of the existence of the ancient kingdom of Egypt, the position of women was one of equality and freedom.

(To be Continued.)



THE WICK HOUSE, MORRIS COUNTY, NEW JERSEY

THE WICK HOUSE AND ITS HISTORICAL ENVIRONMENT

BY ANDREW M. SHERMAN

FOUR miles southwest of Morristown, Morris County, New Jersey, "as the crow flies," there now, in 1909, stands a large, unpainted (or perhaps, more strictly speaking, scantily painted), one-story and a-half frame building of the colonial New England style of architecture, known far and wide as the Wick house; in Revolutionary annals it is sometimes spoken of as "Wick Hall."

It is the only house now in the vicinity; and although it is usually occupied, it seems to the sympathetic visitor at all acquainted with its history and its historical environment a lone sentinel in the midst of scenes almost vocal with the story of the privations, sacrifices and sufferings of the patriot fathers, the unmistakable and numerous marks of whose camps during the awful winter of 1779-1780, lie all about it, north, south, east and west. Indeed, some of the Revolutionary camp-sites are within a few hundred rods of this old, historic house.

The Wick house was built and owned, and in pre-Revolutionary and Revolutionary days was occupied by Henry Wick; hence its name. From "A Branch of the Woodruff Stock, Part III," by the Honorable Francis E. Woodruff, it is gleaned that Henry Wick was born on the twenty-third day of October, 1707, on Long Island, N. Y.; that in 1725 he married Mary Cooper, and that in 1737 he was living "near Bridge Hampton on the way to Sagg In 1746 Nathan Cooper of Roxbury (Chester) township, and Henry Wick of 'Suffolk Co., L. I.,' jointly bought 1114 acres on the Passaic, and in 1748 Cooper released his half to Henry Wick of 'Morristown, N. J.;" so he doubtless came here between the two dates. With later purchases the 'Wick tract' came to measure over 1400 acres

and has become widely known through the wintering (1780-81) on it and nearby of our Revolutionary army."

The Wick house seems to have been built between the years 1746 and 1748, and is, therefore, about one hundred and sixty-two years old. The material for the house is said to have been brought into the county from the outside; "imported," as may very properly have been remarked in those early days of rough gravel roads and far distances. It must have been constructed of a superior quality of material, so far, at least, as the frame-work is concerned, for it is apparently in as good condition now as when erected more than a century and a half ago.

That this house is sometimes referred to as "Wick Hall,"¹ is sufficiently explained by the facts that while most of the dwelling houses in Morris County, at the period under review, were constructed of logs, this was a frame structure, and of unusual dimensions for those primitive days. Then, again, the large number and unusual dimensions of its rooms, in comparison with the cramped quarters of the average log house, fairly entitled it to the name. And if anything else had been needed to warrant the application of the aristocratic, old-country name, its fine situation, the extensive and charming southerly view from the front, including hill and dale and forests, and the sunsets, often superb, would have fully supplied the need.

As will be observed in the picture of the Wick house accompanying this article, the front entrance is by way of a door in the middle of the building, which is now protected by a plain portico. This door was originally hung on what were known as "strap hinges;" and on the outside of the door was a knocker in the form of a lion's head. Hinges and knocker have both given place to more modern appliances. The front door, now in one piece, originally was composed of two pieces, after the Dutch style.

1. Major Joseph Bloomfield, of Colonel Elias Dayton's Regiment, Third Battalion, Second Establishment, of the New Jersey troops of the Continental Line, was quartered, during the winter of 1776-1777, in the family of Captain Henry Wick; and in a letter written by Major Bloomfield from "Camp Valley Forge, April 16th, 1778," he twice refers to the Wick house as "Wick Hall." The letter was addressed to: "Mr. Henry Wick, at Wick Hall, Morris County. Favored by Lieut. Kinney." A letter written by Dr. Moses Bloomfield, father of Major Bloomfield, from Princeton, N. J., "May ye 7th, 1778," was addressed to "Mr. Henry Wick, at Wick Hall, Morris Town."

A huge stone chimney, or "chimney stack," as it is sometimes called, about 8 feet by 12 feet, occupies the middle of the interior of the house. The portion of the chimney now appearing above the ridge-pole is of brick, and of modern dimensions, but the original chimney on the interior remains unchanged as to materials and dimensions.

The front door opens into a hallway about 4 feet by 8 feet square. In front of the visitor as he enters the hallway is a closet, whose back is the front of the huge stone chimney described. On the right of the hallway is a door leading into what in Revolutionary days was the living, or sitting room; and back of the living room is a small bedroom, which occupies the north-east corner of the old house. On the left of the hallway is a door leading into what was the parlor; and back of the parlor, on the northwest corner of the house is another bedroom, which seems to have been the spare room, and it is now so called. This latter bedroom is about 10 feet by 12 feet square; and a single window on the northwest side furnishes light and air for its occupants. This spare bedroom is one of the most interesting portions of the house, as will be seen later.

On the back of the house, and occupying all the space between the two small bedrooms is a long, but somewhat narrow kitchen, access to which from the inside is through a door leading both from the living room and from the parlor; and on the rear of the house is a single door leading from the outside into the spacious kitchen. On the second floor of the house are two finished rooms, with two windows opening out of each end room.

In front of the Wick house once stood a black locust tree, said by those who saw it while it was yet standing, as late as the year 1852, to have been about two and a half feet in diameter. The immense stump of this tree, almost level with the ground, and fully three feet in diameter, is still to be seen. At the east end of the house was a large red cedar tree; and near by were several black cherry trees, the decayed stumps of which, as visitors testify, were still to be seen as late as the middle of the nineteenth century. A large tree, either maple or elm, now furnishes shade in the summer time for the front of the house; and a picket fence, of not strictly modern pattern, only a few

feet removed from the house-front, adds to the present picturesque appearance of the place. The barns and other out-buildings were and are well in the rear of the house; so far, indeed, as not to be seen in the picture shown in connection with this article.

Before relating the circumstances which particularly make the Wick house famous, let us pass on down the hill to the north-westward, toward Mendham, about a mile. On the right hand, standing on a gracefully rounded knoll, somewhat back from the road, is a two-story and a half stone house, with portico over the front door at the right hand corner, and a veranda occupying a portion, at least, of the house-front. To the left of the picturesque background is a pond, or "lake," as some call it; Leddell's pond is the name popularly applied to this pretty body of water, which, by the way, furnishes "power" for "Leddell's mills," situated to the left of the house.

On the exact site of this modern stone house, known as the Leddell house, there stood, in Revolutionary days, a frame building,² of practically the same dimensions and general appearance as the present structure. This frame house was owned and occupied by Dr. William Leddell, second, whose strong personality and the far from unimportant part he played in the Revolution and in subsequent wars, chiefly give fame to the Leddell place. Not only was he a physician, but he was the son of a physician, also. His father, William Leddell, was a French naval surgeon "of the high seas," (by tradition from Alsace), stationed in Cuba, who resigned from the service and settled in New Jersey. . . . His name is given as William Leddell, Gent." . . . It is worthy of mention that the good doctor was something of a botanist; and in the rear of his house, as I have been informed by a living descendant, he had extensive flower gardens, which are said to have been the finest for miles around.

In the latter part of November, 1779, a body of American

2. The frame house occupied by Dr. Leddell in Revolutionary days was burned sometime previous to the year 1818; the fire having been caused by flames from the oven-flue. The Dutch oven in the kitchen was being heated, preparatory to baking. The soot in the flue taking fire, blazed above the chimney top, and sparks falling on the dry roof set fire to it.

troops, unheralded, made their appearance in the vicinity of Dr. Leddell's place. It was in the afternoon, as reliable tradition informs us, that the troops arrived. Dr. Leddell was absent from home at the time of the arrival of the soldiers. They marched down the road leading from the Wick house, and took possession of the wooded hill a little to the northeastward of the Leddell place; and only a short distance from the house, they built their camp-fires, and began the construction of the log huts which were to shelter them. For fuel and material the soldiers cut down the doctor's trees right and left.

The blazing campfires were so close to the house that the women folks at home became alarmed lest the house take fire. Immediately on the return of Dr. Leddell he sent his black slave servant, "Sam," to the officer in command of the American troops, requesting his presence at the house. On the prompt arrival of the officer, Mr. Leddell gave expression to his fears for the safety of the house, and asked that the campfires be built further away; and this was done.

During the winter of 1779-1780, there were eleven brigades of the American army under Washington encamped in Morris County; ten of infantry and one of artillery. Some of the infantry brigades camped near the Wick house. On the opposite side of the road from the house, and down in the meadows, and over on the side of Blachly's hill, only a short distance, the New Jersey brigade was encamped in rude log huts, with stone fire-places.

A few hundred rods to the eastward of the house, and on the easterly corner of the Jockey Hollow road leading toward Morristown, General Hand's brigade of about seven hundred men was camped during the winter of 1779-1780, the camp fronting on the "Fort road" and siding on the Jockey Hollow road. Numerous heaps of stones used in the chimnies of the soldier's huts may still be seen; a long pile running parallel to the "Fort road" being conspicuous. In the winter of 1780-1781, this camp was occupied by Pennsylvania troops, in command of "Mad Anthony Wayne." It was here, on January 1, 1781, that Wayne's troops revolted. The camp was so near the Wick house that the noises of the revolted were heard by Mrs. Wick,

who was ill at the time. Down the "Fort road" a short distance, and off a little to the left, there were two brigades of Connecticut troops.

Five minutes brisk walking will suffice to take one from the Wick house to the camp-site of the Connecticut brigades. It is only a few years since, that, with Emory McClintock, LL. D., as a competent guide, I visited this camp-site; and among the interesting things pointed out to me by Mr. McClintock, were the ruins of a stone oven, used by the soldiers for baking bread. The stones once composing the oven, now lie in a circular heap, as if they had fallen in of their own weight. Numerous heaps of stones once composing the hut-chimnies of the Connecticut soldiers may be seen, some of them apparently undisturbed since they fell. The Traces of the camp alignment are vivid reminders of the actual presence here, during the Revolution, of the two brigades.

If the tourist proceeds up the Jocky Hollow road a short distance, in the direction of Morristown he will see the camp-sites of two Maryland brigades, one on either side of the road. Let us suppose the tourist is standing between the two Maryland brigade camp-sites, and has turned his face backward toward the corner of the Jocky Hollow and Mendham roads. On his right hand, just below the reservoir of the Morris aqueduct, and on the side hill, he will see the site of one of the brigades. On his left, as he still faces toward the intersection of the same two roads, he will see the camp-site of another brigade; this camp seems to have run parallel to the road for quite a distance. Off to the left, opposite to the reservoir, and somewhat back from the highway, lying just behind a worm fence, are the ruins of a stone oven, used by the Maryland troops for baking bread. The ruins are circular in shape, and perceptibly concave on the upper side; and the oven has the appearance of having but recently collapsed. Not a few of the stones still bear the marks of fire and smoke.

If now the tourist walks down the Jocky Hollow road in the direction of the Mendham road, he will see on the left, just before reaching the terminus of the former road, a large black oak tree, standing a little up from the highway. In front of this

tree is a small square granite stone, bearing the following inscription:

“In Memory of Captain Adam Bettin Shot in the Mutiny Jan. 1, 1781. Erected by the Morristown Chapter D. A. R.”

Up the hill slope almost to the eastward from the Bettin monument, and only a short distance away, is a level piece of ground which was cleared by General Wayne's troops to afford free movements of the light artillery planted there for use in case of attack by the enemy; for, from the summit of this hill, now known at “Fort Hill,” cannon could sweep the entire surrounding locality. Two or three lines of fortifications, partly of stones and partly of logs and brushwood, were also thrown up on the summit of “Fort Hill;” traces of the former may still be seen.

It is a matter of history that during the encampment of the brigades of Washington's army in the vicinity of the Wick house the sufferings of the soldiers were indescribable. During the winter of 1779-1780, Captain Henry Wick, the owner of the Wick house, was absent from home, serving with a company of Morris County cavalry; and again quoting the Honorable Mr. Woodruff, it (the cavalry) “did good service in the war and engaged in at least one sharp fight, though frequently detailed as guard for Gov. Livingston and the Privy Council. . . .” As an illustration of the extreme sufferings of the American soldiers in the winter mentioned, it may be said, that some of the Jersey troops in going barefooted, or partially so, to and from the Wick house, presumably for camp supplies of some sort, not infrequently left blood marks in the paths over which they traveled.

In one of the Jersey regiments was a William Tuttle, who subsequently became a captain. He was a frequent visitor at the Wick house during the winter of 1779-1780; and as, after the close of the Revolution, Captain Tuttle married a daughter of Captain Henry Wick, it is a justifiable inference that something beside the need of camp supplies attracted him to the house on the hill. Tuttle unquestionably visited the Wick house during the winter above mentioned, for it is he who has in-

formed us of the blood tracks between the Jersey camp and the house.

About a mile and a quarter almost due north from the Wick house is a copse of locust trees, under which lie buried at least one hundred Revolutionary soldiers, most of whom died in the hospital of the two Pennsylvania brigades encamped in the vicinity in the winter of 1779-1780.³ These patriot graves may now be reached from the Wick house by taking a private road at the rear of the house, and following it for a mile or more through the woods and fields. No doubt this same road was used by the Pennsylvania troops as a means of getting to the Wick house and vicinity.

Captain Henry Wick, the owner of the Wick house, died on the twenty-first of December, 1780, only ten days previous to the revolt of Wayne's troops. Mrs. Wick, at the time was in poor health; the recent decease of her husband doubtless contributing in no small measure to her illness. The noises consequent upon the unbridled carousals of the intoxicated soldiers, greatly annoyed her. Sometime during the day, she had an ill turn; and the immediate presence of a physician became imperative. Upon her only daughter then at home, Tempe (an abbreviation of Temperence), devolved the duty of "going for the doctor." The family physician was Dr. William Leddell, who lived about a mile to the northwestward, toward Mendham.

After carrying her mother down into the cellar, the more completely to insure her safety during her solitary sojourn in the house, Tempe proceeded to the barn, where she saddled and bridled and mounted her favorite young riding horse, and sped away down the hill toward Dr. Leddell's. Her errand was soon accomplished; and she lost no time in remounting her horse.

As she turned her head homeward, preparatory for a start, two or three intoxicated soldiers, some of the revolvers, or perhaps stragglers, made their appearance. One of them seized the horse's bridle, and ordered Tempe Wick to dismount, as

3. The mounds of many of these graves, as I have been informed by a long-time resident of Morristown, who himself saw them, could be distinctly seen less than forty years ago. The mounds are now so completely obliterated that not even a trace of them is to be seen.

they had use for the animal. This occurred in front of Dr. Leddell's house. Tempe Wick was strongly attached to her young horse, and was, therefore, disinclined to give him into the hands of drunken soldiers; so she resorted to a very clever ruse to retain him. Assuming the air of submission to the soldier's demand, she entreated him to treat her horse kindly, and, if possible, to return him to her. The soldier was entirely thrown off his guard by the seeming acquiescence of the fair horsewoman, in consequence of which he released his grip of the bridle. Immediately Tempe touched the whip to the side of her horse, and he shot away from the soldiers like an arrow from a bow drawn by a strong arm. As the young woman rode away from them toward home, one or more of the soldiers fired after her; the object probably being to intimidate the bold rider into slackening her speed, that they might make another and more successful attempt to secure the horse.

But Miss Wick, with a fresh application of the whip to her pet horse, sped up the long hill leading to her home, on reaching which, the horse was driven round to the kitchen door, on the north side of the house. Dismounting hastily, Tempe led the horse into the big kitchen, thence into the parlor, and through the parlor into the spare bed chamber on the north-west corner of the house. Immediately closing and fastening the wooden shutter of the one window in the room, she drew from the bedstead the generous feather bed of those days, and placed it on the floor.⁴ She then tied her horse to a ring-bolt in some way attached to a timber in the room, adjusting the feather bed so that the horse should stand upon it; by so doing the stamping of the animal would be less likely to be heard on the outside of the house. But notwithstanding this clever act, the horse stamped through the feather bed, and left the marks of his iron shoes on the floor. With a fond caress Tempe left her pet, and going into the cellar, brought her mother upstairs.

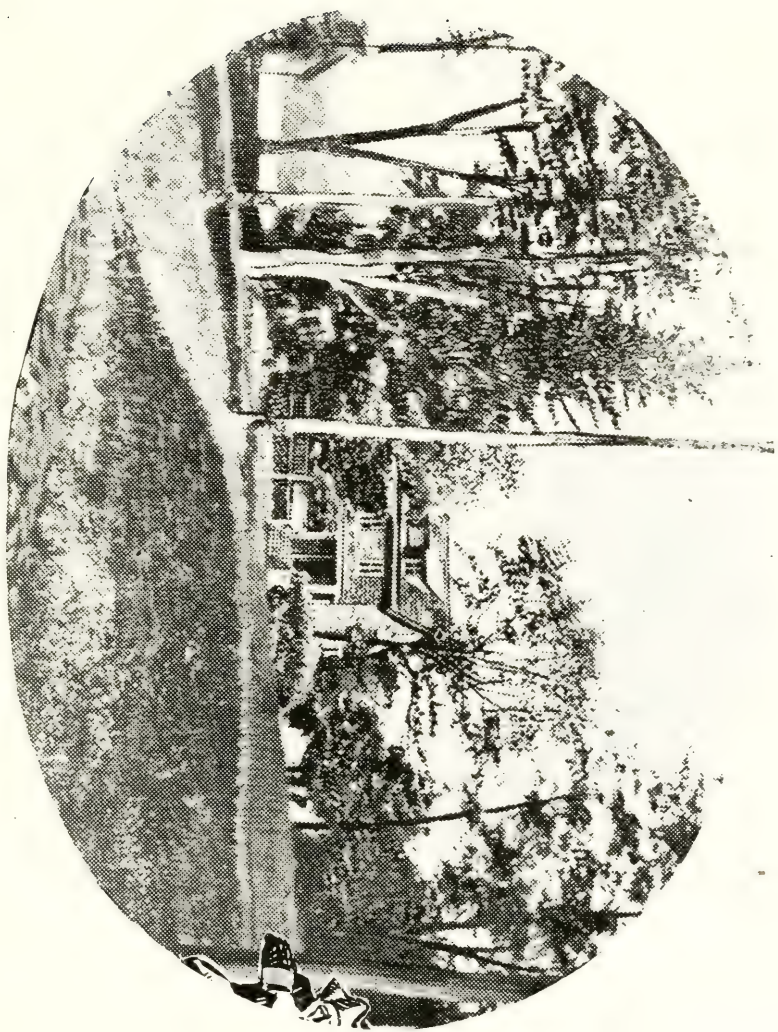
Hastening on foot up the long hill to the Wick house, the

4. Mrs. McClough, who lived in the vicinity of the Wick house, in Revolutionary days, and was acquainted with all the circumstances of the horse episode, is authority for the statement that a featherbed was placed for the horse to stand on. From Mrs. McClough the statement has come down to the present writer through a relative who is now alive, and residing not far from the Wick house.

baffled soldiers searched the barn and woods for the horse they so devoutly coveted, but in vain. Crestfallen they departed from the premises. In the spare bed chamber the horse was kept, with shutters securely closed, some say three weeks and others say several days.

Until within a few years, the marks of the horse's iron shoes on the floor of the spare bed chamber of the Wick house have been visible; and several persons have informed the writer that they have seen these marks. They could be seen today, but that a new floor has been laid over that on which the horse stood. It is, however, one of the pleasant memories of my life that I have two or three times traversed the rooms of the famous Wick house, including the room where, by an ingenious ruse, a horse was hidden from intoxicated soldiers several days.

Perhaps it should be said in conclusion that the window of the room in the Wick house where the horse was hidden, may be seen in the picture accompanying this article; it is on the first floor and farthest from the front of the house.



THE LEDDELL HOUSE, MORRIS COUNTY, NEW JERSEY

THE MANORS OF WESTCHESTER COUNTY, N. Y.

BY WALTER W. SPOONER

THE subject of manorial grants, with the exact privileges (as well as limitations), involved, is one of the most interesting but least understood aspects of American colonial history. The following article by Mr. Spooner (a former editor of this Magazine) presents the distinctive phases of the subject in a very lucid and able manner. It is reprinted by the courtesy of the publishers from Mr. Spooner's book, "History of Westchester County," pp. 184-192.
—EDITOR.

With the beginning of the eighteenth century the whole of Westchester County had come under definite tenure—a period of some seventy-five years after the first organized settlement on Manhattan Island having been required for that eventuality. With the exception of a few localities of quite restricted area—namely, on the Sound the Rye, Harrison, Mamaroneck, New Rochelle, Eastchester, and Westchester tracts and settlements; on the upper Hudson the Ryke and Kranckhyte patents, upon which the village (now city) of Peekskill was built; and in the interior the disputed White Plains lands, the Bedford tract, and some minor strips bought or occupied by men from the older settlements on the Sound,—all of Westchester County, as originally conveyed by the Indians under deeds of sale to the whites, was parceled out into a small number of great estates or patents representing imposing single proprietorships, as distinguished from ordinary homestead lots or moderate tracts taken up incidentally to the progress of bona fide settlement.

These great original proprietorships were, indeed, only nine in number, as follows: (1) Cortlandt Manor, the property of Stephanus Van Cortlandt, which went after his death to his children jointly and was by them preserved intact for many years; (2) Philipseburgh Manor, founded by Frederick Philipse, and

retained as a whole by the Philipse Family until confiscated in Revolutionary times; (3) Fordham Manor, established by John Archer, subsequently forfeited for mortgage indebtedness to Cornelius Steenwyck, and by him and his wife willed to the Nether Dutch Congregation in New York, which continued in sole ownership of it until the middle of the eighteenth century; (4) Morrisania Manor, the old "Bronxland," built up into a single estate by Colonel Lewis Morris, by him devised to his nephew, Lewis Morris the younger, who had the property erected into a manor, and whose descendants continued to own it entire for generations; (5) Pelham Manor, originally, as established under Thomas Pell, its first lord, an estate of 9,166 acres, but by his nephew John, the second lord, divided into two sections, whereof one (the larger division) was sold to the Huguenots, and the other was preserved as a manor until after the death of the third lord; (6) Scarsdale Manor, the estate of Colonel Caleb Heathcote, which for the most part remained the property of his heirs until sold by partition in 1775; and (7, 8, 9) the Three Great Patents of Central Westchester, granted to Heathcote and associates on the basis of purchases from the Indians, and by the patentees gradually subsold, mainly to settlers, who in the course of time occupied the lands. In the nine estates and patents thus enumerated were contained, at a rough estimate, about 225,000 of the 300,000 acres belonging to the old county of Westchester.

It will be observed that with the single exception of Pelham the six manors of the county long retained their territorial integrity. A small portion of the Manor of Philipseburgh, it is true, was transferred by the Philipses to the younger branch of the Van Cortlandts, but this was a strictly friendly conveyance, the two families being closely allied by marriage. Even in the three manors where no second lord succeeded to exclusive proprietorship—Cortlandt, Fordham, and Scarsdale—sales of the manorial lands in fee to strangers were extremely rare, and it was an almost invariable rule that persons settling upon them, as upon Philipseburgh, Morrisania, and Pelham Manors (where the ownership devolved upon successive single heirs), did not acquire possession of the soil which they occupied, but merely

held it as tenants. The disintegration of the manors, and the substitution of small landed proprietorship for tenantry, was therefore a very slow process. Throughout the colonial period tenant farming continued to be the prevailing system of rural economy outside of the few settlements and tracts which from the start were independent of the manor grants—a system which, however, did not operate to the disadvantage of population in the manor lands. Upon this point de Lancey, the historian of the manors, says: “It will give a correct idea of the great extent and thoroughness of the manorial settlement of Westchester County, as well as the satisfactory nature of that method of settlement to its inhabitants, although a surprise, probably, to many readers, when it is stated that in the year 1769 one-third of the population of the county lived on the two manors of Cortlandt and Philipseburgh alone. The manors of Fordham, Morrisania, Pelham, and Scarsdale, lying nearer to the City of New York than these two, and more accessible than either, save only the lower end of Philipseburgh, were, if anything, much more settled. It is safe to say that upward of five-eighths of the people of Westchester County in 1769 were inhabitants of the six manors.”

The distinguishing characteristics of the manors are of much interest, though little remembered at this distance of time.¹ First, it should be understood that the manors, one and all, were only ordinary landed estates, granted to certain English subjects in America who, while popularly styled “lords” of the manors, enjoyed no distinguished rank whatever, and were in no way elevated titularly, by virtue of their manorial proprietorships, above the common people. In no case was a manorial grant in Westchester County conferred upon a member of the British nobility, or even upon an individual boasting the minor rank of baronet; and in no case, moreover, was such a grant bestowed in recognition of services to the crown or as a mark of special honor by the sovereign. Without exception, the proprietors of the manors were perfectly plain, untitled gentlemen. Yet, says de Lancey, “we often, at this day, see them written of and hear them spoken

1. Readers desiring a more detailed account are referred to Edward Floyd de Lancey's “Origin and History of the Manors,” in Scharf's “History of Westchester County.”

of as nobles. 'Lord Philipse' and 'Lord Pell' are familiar examples of this ridiculous blunder in Westchester County. No grant of a feudal manor in England at any time from their first introduction ever carried with it a title, and much less did any grant of a New York freehold manor ever do so. Both related to land only. The term Lord of a Manor is a technical one, and means simply the owner, the possessor of a manor—nothing more. Its use as a title is simply a mark of intense or ignorant republican provincialism. 'Lord' as a prefix to a manor owner's name was never used in England nor in the province of New York."

The manor was a very ancient institution in England, but by the statute of *quia emptores*, enacted in 1290, the erection of new manors in that kingdom was forever put to an end. The old English manors, founded in the Middle Ages, were of course based upon the feudal system, involving military service by the fief at the will of his lord, and, in general, the complete subjection of the fief. The whole feudal system of land tenure having been abolished by a statute of Charles II. in 1660, and the system of "free and common socage" (meaning the right to hold land unvexed by the obligation of feudal service) having been substituted in its stead, New York, both as a proprietary province under the Duke of York and subsequently as a royal province, never exhibited any traces of feudality in the matter of land tenures, but always had an absolutely free yeomanry. But it was never contemplated that New York or any of the other provinces in America should develop a characteristically democratic organization of government or basis of society. Titled persons were sent to rule over them, and, particularly in New York, there was a manifest tendency to render the general aspect of administration and social life as congenial as possible to people of high birth and elegant breeding. Moreover, there being no provision for the creation of an American titled aristocracy, it was deemed expedient to offer some encouragement to men of aristocratic desires, and the institution of the manor was selected as the most practicable concession to the aristocratic instinct—a concession which, while carrying with it no title of nobility, did carry a certain weighty dignity, based upon the one universally

recognized foundation for all true original aristocracy—large landed proprietorship, coupled with formally constituted authority.

The establishment of new manors in England was discontinued by the statute of 1290 for the sole reason that at that period no crown lands remained out of which such additional manors could be formed, the essential preliminary to a manor being a land grant by the sovereign to a subject. But in the American provinces, where extensive unacquired lands were still awaiting tenure, the manor system was capable of wide application at discretion; and in New York and some of the other provinces it was the policy of the English government from the beginning to encourage the organization of manors. "The charter of Pennsylvania," said the learned Chief Judge Denio of the New York Court of Appeals, in his opinion in the Rensselaerswyck case," empowered Penn, the patentee, to erect manors and to alien and grant parts of the lands to such purchasers as might wish to purchase, 'their heirs and assigns, to be held of the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, by such services, customs, and rents as should seem fit to said William Penn, etc., and not immediately of the said King Charles, his heirs or successors,' notwithstanding the statute of *quia emptores*.'" Similarly in New York, the manor grants issued during the time that it remained a proprietary province (namely, those to Thomas Pell in 1666, and to John Archer in 1671) were made by the authority and in the name of the Duke of York as proprietor, and not of the king. After New York was changed into a royal province, the manor grants were continued by the authority and in the name of the king.

The privileges attaching to the manor grants in Westchester County varied. All of them, however, had one fundamental characteristic. Each manor was, in very precise language, appointed to be a separate and independent organization of jurisdiction, entirely detached from other established political divisions. To give the reader an idea of the formality with which such separation was made, we reproduce the wording of one of the manor grants upon this point, which is a fair specimen. In his letters patent to John Archer for the Manor of Fordham, Governor Lovelace says: "I doe grant unto ye said John

Archer, his heirs and assigns, that the house which he shall erect, together with ye said parcel of land and premises, shall be forever hereafter held, claimed, reputed and be an entire and enfranchised township, manor, and place of itself, and shall always, from time to time and at all times hereafter, have, hold, and enjoy like and equal privileges and immunities with any town enfranchised or manor within this government, and shall in no manner or way be subordinate or belonging unto, have any dependence upon, or in any wise be under the rule, order, or direction of any riding, township, place, or jurisdiction, either upon the main or Long Island."

Thus, first of all, and as its great essential characteristic, the manorial estate was always made a political entity. As such it was under the government of its propreitor and his subordinates, who, however, in all their acts were subject to the general laws of the land, simply applying those laws as circumstances and conditions required. According to the theory of the old English manors, a so-called "Court Baron" was an indispensable attachment of every manor—that is, a court for the trial of civil cases, over which the lord or his steward presided, the jurors being chosen from among the freehold tenants. There was also usually a so-called "Court Leet," which has been described as "a court of record having a similar jurisdiction to the old sheriff's 'Tourns' or migratory courts held by the sheriff in the different districts or 'hundreds' of his county, for the punishment of minor offenses and the preservation of the peace," which was provided for in order that the lords of manors "might administer justice to their tenants at home." In all the Westchester County manor grants, except Fordham, authority is given to the grantee to hold "one Court Leet and one Court Baron." This privilege was not always availed of; for example, in the Manor of Scarsdale the manorial courts were never organized. It is worthy of note in this connection that among the manor lords of Westchester County were several of the early judges of the province, including John Pell (second lord of Pelham Manor), who was the first judge of Westchester County; Caleb Heathcote, of Scarsdale Manor, who served as county judge for twenty-seven years, and was also an admiralty judge; Lewis

Morris, of Morrisania, one of the most famous of the royal chief justices; and the second Frederick Philipse, who was a puisne judge of the Supreme Court. To this list should be added the name of the celebrated chief justice and royal governor, James de Lancey, who married the eldest daughter of Caleb Heathcote.

In addition to their civil functions, the proprietors of four of the manors (Cortlandt, Philipseburgh, Pelham, and Morrisania) enjoyed the right of advowson and church patronage, under which they had the power to exercise controlling influence in church matters within their domains. The prevailing sectarian tendencies of different localities in Westchester County during the colonial era and for many years subsequently were owing mainly to the particular religious preferences and activities of the respective manor lords of those localities. In Westchester, Eastchester, and Rye the Church of England early secured a firm foundation through the zeal of Colonel Caleb Heathcote, of Scarsdale, who was its earnest supporter. A similar influence, with a similar result, was exercised in the Yonkers land by the second Frederick Philipse, who had been educated in England, where he became attached to the Established Church, and who as proprietor of the lower part of Philipseburgh Manor founded Saint John's Church at Yonkers, which to this day maintains the leading position in the community. On the other hand, at Tarrytown, on the upper part of Philipseburgh Manor, the Dutch Reformed Church enjoyed supremacy from the beginning, on account of the patronage accorded it by the first lord and by his son and successor in that division of the manor, Adolph.

Upon one of the Westchester manors, Cortlandt, was bestowed an extraordinary privilege, that of being represented in the general assembly of the province by a special member. This privilege was granted to no other manor of New York, except Rensselaerswyck and Livingston, although it was enjoyed also by the two borough towns, Westchester and Schenectady. But it was provided that the exercise of the privilege, so far as Cortlandt Manor was concerned, was not to begin until twenty years after the grant (*i. e.*, in 1717). At the expiration of that time, Stephanus Van Cortlandt, his heirs or assigns, had full authority

to return and send a discreet inhabitant in and of the said manor to be a representative of the said house, to have and enjoy such privilege as the other representatives returned and sent from any other county and manors." Cortlandt Manor did not, however, choose a representative in the assembly until 1734, when Philip Verplanck was elected to sit for it. He continued to serve in that capacity for thirty-four years, being succeeded by Pierre Van Cortlandt, who remained a member of the assembly until 1775. Notwithstanding the exceptional privilege of representation given to Cortlandt Manor as a manor, the other manors of Westchester County were equally able to make their influence felt in that body. In addition to the special members from Cortlandt Manor and Westchester town, the county as a whole was entitled to representation by two general delegates. Heathcote, John Pell, the Philipses, and the Morrisises all sat at various times for the county.

The original purpose of the manor grants being to encourage the development of the semi-aristocratic system for which they provided, no onerous charges in the way of special taxation were assessed upon the manor proprietors. In each grant was incorporated a provision for the payment of annual "quit-rent" to the provincial government, but the amount fixed was in every case merely nominal. The various quit-rents exacted were, for the Manor of Pelham, as originally patented to Thomas Pell, "one lamb on the first day of May (if the lamb shall be demanded)"; for Pelham, as repatented to John Pell, "twenty shillings, good lawful money of this province, at the City of New York, on the five and twentieth day of March"; for Fordham, "twenty bushels of good peas, upon the first day of March, when it shall be demanded"; for Philipseburgh, "on the feast day of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, . . . the annual rent of four pounds twelve shillings current money of our said province"; for Morrisania, "on the feast day of the Annunciation of our Blessed Virgin, . . . the annual rent of six shillings"; for Cortlandt, "on the feast day of our Blessed Virgin, the yearly rent of forty shillings, current money of our said province"; and for Scarsdale, "five pounds current money of New York, upon the nativity of our Lord." Appended to most of the

quit-rent leases was the significant statement that the prescribed payment was to be "in lieu of all rents, services, and demands whatever," apparently inserted to emphasize the well-understood fact that the manor grants were strictly in the line of public policy, and were in no way intended to become a source of revenue to the government.

The importance of the manorial proprietorships in Westchester County, in their relations to its political and social character, and to its eventful history for a hundred years, cannot be overestimated. All the founders of the six manors were men of forceful traits, native ability, and wide influence. With a single exception,² they left their estates, entirely undiminished and unimpaired, either to children or to immediate kinsmen, who, in turn, by their personal characters and qualities, as well as by their marital alliance, solidified the already substantial foundations which had been laid, and greatly strengthened the social position and enlarged the spheres of their families. To enumerate the marriages contracted during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in the male and female lines, by the Van Cortlandts, the Philipsses, the Morrisises, the Pells, and the descendants of Caleb Heathcote, would involve almost a complete recapitulation of the more conspicuous and wealthy New York families of the entire colonial period, besides many prominent families of other provinces.

To the Westchester manorial families belonged some of the most noted and influential Americans of their times—men of shining talents, fascinating manners, masterful energy, and splendid achievement; statesmen, orators, judges, and soldiers—who were among the principal popular leaders and civic officials of the province, and who won renown both in the public service and in the field during the Revolution. Alike to the patriot cause and the Tory faction these families contributed powerful and illustrious supporters. As the issues between the colonies and Great Britain became more closely drawn, and the inevitable struggle approached, the influences of the representative members of the

2. John Archer, of Fordham. In consequence of financial complications, his manor did not remain in his family. Yet the Archer Family continued to be a respectable and useful one in the county.

Westchester families were thrown partly on one side and partly on the other. The tenants in each case were controlled largely by the proprietor, and thus an acute division of sentiment and sympathies was occasioned which, in connection with the unique geographical position of Westchester County in its relations to the contending forces of the Revolution, caused it to be torn by constant broils and to be devastated by innumerable conflicts and depredations. Remembering that the old manorial families of Westchester County rested upon an original foundation of very recognizable aristocratic dignity, which was made possible only by monarchial institutions; that the pride of lineage had, at the time of the Revolution, been nourished for the larger part of a century; and that the disposition of attachment to the king naturally arising from these conditions had been much strengthened by continuous intermarriage with other families of high social pretension and political conservatism, it seems at this day remarkable, or at least a source of peculiar satisfaction, that their preferences and efforts were, on the whole, rather for the popular cause than against it.

Even in the formative period of the Revolution, before passions had been stirred by experience and example, and before actual emergency impelled men to put aside caution, it was distinctly apparent that the Tory party was the weaker, both numerically and in point of leadership; and at a very early period of the war, notwithstanding the loss of New York City to the American army and the retreat of Washington into New Jersey, Toryism became an unwholesome thing throughout much the larger part of Westchester County. The influence of the Tory landlords, even upon their own tenantry, was, indeed, a constantly diminishing factor, while that of the patriotic leaders steadily grew. This could not have been the case if the weight of sentiment among the principal families of the county had not been genuinely on the side of American freedom.

GEORGE WASHINGTON AS A REAL ESTATE AGENT

BY GRIFFITH MORRIS

IN the Baltimore *Journal* of one hundred and thirty-six years ago (1773) George Washington advertised for sale 20,000 acres of land on the Kanawha and Ohio rivers. The old paper containing this notice was found more than a century later between the lids of an old Welsh Bible, belonging to a citizen of Covington, Ky. How it got there and was preserved is hard to tell. In this advertisement Washington approaches the standard of any of his Western less illustrious successors, but it is doubtful if he comes up to the standard of veracity laid down in the "hatchet and cherry tree" affair.

In the light and experience of the one hundred and thirty-six years of development of the Kanawha and Meigs county hills, the facts do not seem to justify the father of his country in his flaming description of the fertility and beauty of his domain. Washington was early impressed with a great future for the West; whether the events of the coming revolution were already casting their shadows before them, may be inferred from the following lines of his advertisement:

"If the scheme for establishing a new government on the Ohio, in the manner talked of, should ever be effected, these lands would prove to be the most valuable, because of their contiguity to the seat of government which, more than probable, would be at the mouth of the Kanawha."

It is from the life of Colonel Crawford, the life-long friend and agent of Washington in his western land ventures, that we gather our information in this matter. Crawford, who afterward lost his life in the campaign against the Indians at Sandusky, was with Washington at Braddock's defeat; had left the Shenandoah, and settled on the Youghioghaney as agent for Washington. He had selected lands for himself, his brothers, Samuel and John Augustine, and Lund Washington, a relative. Washington and Crawford were surveyors, and it is not improbable that the large

slices of land he got from the erratic old Lord Fairfax for surveying, first developed a spirit of land speculation. Crawford was his agent in the West. September 21st, 1769, he writes from Mt. Vernon:

“If you will be to the trouble of seeking out the land, I will take upon me the trouble of securing them, as there is a possibility of doing it. I will, moreover, be at all the cost, and charges of surveying and patenting the same. You shall have such a reasonable proportion of the whole as we may fix upon at our first meeting.”

It is needless to say, the matter was promptly attended to. These lands were on the Youghioghany. The fees for surveying in those days were ample, and Crawford and Washington often got one-fourth of the land for their services, while the latter, doubtless, got many valuable slices from his old patron, Fairfax. It is not strange, therefore, that he became a large Virginia land owner.

About three years previous to this advertisement in the *Baltimore Journal*, Washington left Mt. Vernon on horseback to cross the Alleghany mountains and visit Crawford on the Youghioghany to look after his landed interest there, and to descend the Ohio on a prospecting tour. He and Crawford left the Youghioghany and came to Pittsburgh, a trading post of twenty log cabins. Here, in company with Mr. Harrison and others, they secured a large canoe and floated slowly down the Ohio, examining the land. At Mingo Bottom, now Steubenville, they found an Indian town of twenty-five log huts; this was afterwards the starting point of Crawford's fatal campaign against Sandusky.

They floated down as far as the mouth of the Great Kanawha. On their return, Washington wishing to examine the land in the great bend of the Ohio, in what is now Meigs county, he and Crawford walked across the neck, which they estimated at eight miles. Whether this land on the Ohio was secured or not is not told, and as there were then no United States, and the colonial claims of Virginia were rather indeterminate, the metes and bounds of his 20,000 acres are not very close.

The party pursued their way home still more slowly than they

came, for pushing this big canoe against the current was quite different from floating with it. At Mingo Bottom they were met by horses sent from Crawford's home to meet them. On their way home they met a canoe loaded with sheep going to Illinois. This was nearly fifty years before the waters of the Ohio were disturbed by a paddle wheel, and doubtless it was the first shipment of live stock from Pittsburgh to the vicinity of St. Louis.

Arriving at Crawford's home on the Youghioghany, they found the river very high and the canoe gone. Finally, finding a boat, they paddled over, swimming their horses. Resting a few days here, Washington returned over the mountains on horseback, and reaching Mount Vernon in nine weeks and one day from the time he left. The fact that Washington does not include his Youghioghany land in his Kanawha advertisement, may be accounted for by the conflicting colonial claims of Pennsylvania and Virginia. As many lost their homes in this cause, it is possible that Washington suffered in this way to some extent.

About two years later Washington, in company with Lord Dunmore had arranged to visit the west on a land-inspecting tour. He had written to Lord Dunmore asking when he would be ready to start, so that Crawford could be notified to be ready to accompany them, but the death of Miss Custis, June 19th, frustrated this plan. He still instructed Crawford to inspect the land about the mouth of the Sciota and secure it to him, but the mutterings of the Revolution were heard, and soon both these men were in the biggest real estate transaction the world ever saw. It was not 20,000 acres on the Kenawaha, but it was half a continent, and they got it.

This was about the end of the real estate matters with these men. They had been together at Braddock's defeat; they were at the heroic crossing of the Delaware on Christmas day, and at the victory of Trenton the next day, and Princeton the 3rd of January, 1777. Not much more is known of Washington's land scheme, and his agent and life-long friend, Colonel Crawford, lost his life in the Sandusky campaign against Indians.

RISE OF THE UNITED EMPIRE LOYALISTS

BY THE VISCOUNT DE FRONSAC

[Revised—with additions—from the original edition, especially for the American Historical Magazine.]

III

THE NEW ENGLAND COLONY AND GOVERNMENT—FOUNDING OF PLYMOUTH AND MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONIES

IT was the distinctive purpose of establishing an independent state that prompted the Massachusetts colonization. It was to set up a “commonweath without a king and a church without a bishop” as wrote the old chronicalists. But the development of nature will have course, in spite of men’s minds to the contrary and their adverse enactments. As Momsen discovered of this law among the ancients, that even in democracy, “It has at its core a monarchical principle in which the idea of a periclean commonwealth floats ever before the minds of its best citizens.”

Now the reason for the attempt to set up a community “without a king and without a bishop” is traced to the preceding religious controversy in England. The king was included with the bishop, solely because the king for the time became a religious partizan and countenanced the bigotry of church ordinances. The ruler of a state must be superior to creeds and churches.

It was in 1604 when England began to turn bigot. The bishop of London in that year procured the ratification of a “Book of Canons” of 141 articles, non-conformation to which was punishable with outlawry, excommunication and imprisonment.

At this time, Holland was more liberal than England; so a congregation of people from Gainsborough in Lincolnshire, and Serooby in Nottinghamshire, under the leadership of the

Reverend Richard Clifton, John Robinson and William Brewster, after many risks and persecutions, succeeded in escaping to Leyden, in Holland, in the year 1608. Here it may be added that the rigors of the doctrine of these "puritan" people were if anything severer than the papal and semi-papal from which they fled; for those who did not believe were no less heretics than they themselves were to the Church of Rome.

The Puritans who escaped from the persecution of the Church of England differed only in the elective principle of the office of the church which they adopted. They proscribed the grand music of the masters and reprobated the aesthetic ornamentation and development of life as superfluous. They rejected symbolism as a specie of idolatry. They proscribed in witchcraft and burned witches with the same fury and abhorrence as the Catholics burned heretics. They gave the individual the privilege of self-representation before God and repudiated the demands of the confessional. During their residence in Holland, they enjoyed the esteem of the Dutch magistrates by their orderly conduct and attention to industry, many among them laboring as spinners and craftsmen. Yet although enjoying "complete freedom of conscience" in Holland, they reverted often to their original plan of "founding a state without a king, and a church without a bishop." Thus urged by the stimulus of this ambition, they resolved to go to America. Learning of their intent, the Dutch government offered them lands in their American possessions, but they preferred independence.

Now as all the land in America was holden by European powers, they were obliged to obtain a charter for colonization from some one of them. They chose England, because England was their home, the provisions of an English charter would be as liberal as any and they were better acquainted with English institutions and law than with those of other states. By the provisions of this charter, which they obtained, they were obliged to take oath of allegiance to the sovereign, making the king, at least in name, the chief authority of their proposed state.

In the cabin of their little ship *Mayflower*, they outlined the measure of their own government, thus:—

"November 11th, 1620, this day before we come to harbor

. . . it was thought good that there should be an association and agreement, that we should combine together in one body and submit to such government and governors as we shall by common consent agree to choose."¹

In 1627, Isaac de Rasiere, a prominent officer and merchant of New Netherland (New York) wrote a description of the condition in New England:—

“The governor has his council, which is chosen every year by election by the entire community, or by prolongation of term. In the inheritance they place all the children in one degree, only the eldest son has an acknowledgement for his seniority.”

Soon after the news of their establishment was arrived in England, there came out a great multitude to keep company with their primitive state, among whom were some liberal and others more conventional. This new company obtained an extensive grant of land from the Crown, which grant was denominated “Massachusetts Bay.” This was obtained by Sir John Rowell, kt., Sir John Young, kt., Thomas Southcote, John Humphrey, John Endicott, and Simon Whitcomb, gentlemen; but there were with them a great many preachers, and the religious, or church, idea was dominant. May 18th, 1631, the General Court of Boston declared:—

“To the end the body of the commons be preserved of honest and good men, ordered and agreed, that, for the time to come no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic but such as be members of some of the churches within the same.”²

That is, no member of the Church of England, no Catholic, no Quaker, no free-thinker could be a citizen of the new commonwealth. Moreover, a little later, such people when found coming to the colony, were banished with penalties against their returning. This induced a struggle of the non-bigoted.

The beginning of the fling of defiance against this theological tyranny was made by men of rank, birth and education. These demanded the magistracy. There was a provision that “the

(1) History of New England, by J. G. Palfrey, Vol. I. p. 227.

(2) History of New England, by J. G. Palfrey, Vol.

magistrates should be men of quality." After this there were three classes, mutually opposed:—1, the magistrates; 2, the clergy; 3, the citizen-electors. The magistrates, originally appointed in England, were confined thenceforward to men of rank in the colony.

In 1637, by desire of this genealogical element of rank, since property was evenly divided among the children and was not a factor in the reckoning, it was decided:—

"That the General Court be holden in May next (1637) for the election of magistrates, and so from time to time as occasion shall require, shall elect a certain number of magistrates for the term of their lives, as a standing council, not to be removed but on due conviction of crime," etc.

The governor was president of this council. Winthrop, Endicott and Dudley were the first life-counsellors. About this time others were admitted to vote for the choice of military officers who were not of the congregational church, provided they were in some of the colonial military organizations. Thus early a distinction began to grow up among military men, proclaiming them to be of a different mind from those of the civil community. Before this, in 1634, under the governorship of John Endicott, who was thus false to his oath of allegiance, the red cross was cut out of the white flag of England in the colony and the pine tree was substituted as the ensign of New England. A short time after this, a ship of the king sailed into port. There was no royal ensign at the fort to salute. A sailor having declared the inhabitants to be rebels and traitors was imprisoned by order of the governor. The captain of the ship demanded an English flag to salute. Not one could be found in the colony. The captain agreed to loan one for temporary use at the fort. The governor's council permitted it, without taking formal action to restore the colors, after the loan had been returned—so far had they embarked with their idea of an independent state.

No sooner was the colony in a prosperous condition than colonists, some Presbyterian, some Huguenot, the former from the British Isles, the latter from France and Holland, came, attracted by this condition. With them came gradually the infiltration of loftier standards and nobler thoughts, borne from the

aristocratic principality of La Rochelle that had withstood the assaults of the Catholic power in France and had made a treaty with the Protestant monarchy of England under Queen Elizabeth; that had already plotted with the great Coligny to erect the structure of a Roman commonwealth on the Carolinian shore, after the pattern of the palatine burghs of the south of Europe.

Now this idea of a Roman commonwealth, or empire, in America, borne across the sea from the south of France, legitimated in continuing the empire in America first instituted by Charles V. in the 16th century, although blotted out by Catholic intrigue, had much to do in shaping after-politics in America.

The palatine burghs of the Roman Empire in France had been Marseilles, Narbonne, Toulouse and Bessieres. Those regions of France in which they were most dominant were Aquitaine and Provence. It was in the palatine burghs of these provinces that freedom of thought ventured first in Europe, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, to stand erect in the glorious magnificence of its genius. In the crucible of its liberality it united the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle, which the Arabian doctors brought across the Pyrenees from the Moorish kingdoms of Granada and Cordova, then in effulgent growth in the Spanish Peninsula. With them was carried the precepts of Mahomet to be united with those of Christ, producing a species of deism whose liberality was above all creeds.

This renaissance in the South of France was the brightest and most splendid of Europe. From the warm glow of its light and life, came a flash that fell as a menace on the dark and gloomy church of the popes. The sound of its joys of earth's blessing awakened the wrath of the Catholic hierarchy that was striving to repress the same to its own behests. The sight of the prosperity of the teeming cities of Narbonne, Bessieres and Toulouse, rich with the products of the most intelligent and best trained industry of Europe, aroused the cupidity and envy of the Catholic Christians and gave a stimulus to the pope to pronounce an anathema against this and to preach that Albigensian crusade which brought the savage allies of the papacy from every country in Europe in a flood of hatred, lust and exter-

mination. That civilization was swept away. The king of Aragon, who was of this proscription, was slain in battle, helping bravely his friends of France. The scattered remnants fled into the Pyrennian mountains.

This was the origin and the end for a time, of freedom of thought in Europe—modeled after that which had existed in the old empire of the Romans, when the diligence of philosophers conspired to confound superstition by bringing the various gods of the world together in one temple. With a liberty like this, there can be no equality. As Lord Rosebery, of the time of Beaconsfield, said before the Conservative Club: “Liberty and equality are mutually exclusive.” There must be room for genius, for those who are great, else there is no liberty for them who are the gems of the human race. The rest of the world profits by it, for by the few are made all the advancements which benefit the race and to the few is due something beyond the mockery of thanks—that is, the reins of power and the honor of Dominion.

This recognized truth, brought to the cities of the Roman empire the conference of rank for merit, which should not be confounded with the feudal tenure of the middle ages, when the holding of a lordship was reserved for nobility of race alone. Nobility, with the Romans, went genealogically within the “*gnome*, name, “*gens*”, race, “*pater*,” and “*patricius*,” father. In the degenerate application in some countries of Europe, nobility went often, but not always, with the possession of the fief, “No land, no noble.” The qualities originally of race then inherred in the tenure. In the organization of each city of the Roman empire, the senate contained the patricians, or chiefs of the nobility; the second chamber, the representatives of the trades. The duties of the senate pertained to diplomacy and military affairs; of the second chamber, to decide disputes between trades-associations; of both, to regulate taxation and expenditure. Thus all classes were represented in each city, or state, of the Roman empire.

It was the coming of people with memories of these things into the American colonies that worked a ferment and reaction against the puritan bigotry of the primitive Yankees. There-

from, in the North, the clergy, finding a growing difference of opinion, religious and political, proceeded to stir up the most ignorant, the more numerous and intolerant of their congregations to the sending of deputies to the general court to make stringent religious laws. Thus originated the celebrated "blue laws" of New England. "Forbidden to kiss wife and child on the Sabbath" was not the least of their ridiculous and contemptible ordinances. While in power, they pressed heavily on the necks of the people and imposed a tyranny of greater bigotry and oppression than even that of the Inquisition of Rome. This body, the clergy, in every state, in every clime and of every creed, has been the greatest hindrance to the friendly intercourse of peoples of different faiths.

They formulated against the armorials and ranks of the gentry, against the science and art of the professions, against the estates of the proprietors—unless goodly portions were devoted to their own maintenance. They are the direct cause for the sterility of artistic and chivalrous impulses in New England life, by their influence in the body politic; for the dearth of romantic elements in the communities over which they were the presiding ogres. At that time, just previous to 1639, one of them named Wheelwright received a reprimand from the magistrates and was adjudged guilty of sedition by the excessive violence of his preaching.

Nov. 5th, 1639, "Divers gentlemen and others, out of their care for the public weal and safety, and for the advancement of the military art and exercise of arms, desired license of the court to join themselves in one company and to have liberty to exercise themselves at such times and places as their occasions would permit."³

It was only in such military formations that safety could be had against the wrath of the clergy. Thus was founded the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Massachusetts. But at the time of its formation in 1638, the civil council, under influence of the clergy, prophesied its "ungodly" influence—that is the protection of individuals joining it against their wrath—

(3) History of New England, by J. G. Palfrey, Vol. I. p. 550.

“considering from the example of the Pretorian Band among the Romans, and the Templars in Europe, how dangerous it might be to erect a standing authority of military men, which might easily, in time, overthrow the civil power.”

Thus the military idea began to show itself as a means of liberating people of the better classes from the theological and leveling democracy. During this time, the spirit of an independent state was developing. In 1642, the four New England colonies assumed some of the prerogatives of sovereignty, with the king as the knot of their union, in a “firm and perpetual league of friendship and amity for offence and defence.” Massachusetts went further yet and established a mint in 1652 and proceeded to coin her own money. However, this was during the protectorate of Cromwell over England and her dependencies. Cromwell favored Massachusetts and promoted the military spirit in the colony. He had relied on the same weapon in England to relieve himself from the narrowness and bigotry of the theological democracy in England. With the hypocrisy usual to members of that body, they had installed themselves as the supreme power of the English parliament and were proceeding to use the government for their own purposes and to shape its destinies to conform to their belief, when Cromwell appeared before them suddenly on the day of their most iniquitous proceedings. He accused them of corruption, hypocrisy and double-dealing and caused his soldiers to drive them from the seat of authority. “There is nothing in their minds but overturn, overturn,” said he.

Now the people in power in New England were mostly of the stamp of Praise God Bairbones parliament in England, and the religious persecution went on unrestricted. Later, after Cromwell's government has passed away and Charles II. in 1660 had ascended the throne, the budget of complaints against the theological democracy of Massachusetts for persecution, bloodshed, torture, banishment and loss of property and life was very large. The king sent commissioners to the colony in 1666 to report on these abuses of power. Commissioner Randolph declared that the better portion of the people had been driven away and that the public offices had fallen in the hands of the

most virulent. Among others reported to the king as an abuse was the exercise of the sovereign prerogative of coining money; for although the king had been proclaimed in the colony in 1661, the pine-tree shilling was coined the very next year without any other legend than that of the sovereignty of the colony. But the king was mollified considerably when Governor John Leverett, who had been summoned to England to answer for the colony, remarked that the figure on the coin was that of the Royal oak, which had sheltered his majesty after the Battle of Worcester—a witty reply which gained for the Massachusetts governor the honor of knighthood.

While making the greatest professions of loyalty and agreeing that all the requirements of their charter had been fulfilled, the investigation showed that Puritan loyalty was a lie and that they had not fulfilled one of the requirements which they had promised to fulfil. The king found it necessary therefore that a new charter be given so as to bring the officers in direct contact with his majesty's government, and that the governors be sent from England, so that they should not belong to any cabal in the colony. The Puritans had not proved themselves to be a trustworthy people. Their word could not be relied on.

As an example of the prosecution of the leveling Puritan democracy of New England whose unethical and republican ideas were being put constantly in force against all comers who were different from them, the history of the early king's chapel of Boston is an enlightenment to those who are capable of profiting by a lesson. Besides, King's Chapel, although having passed into the hands of the enemy, is the cradle of the United Empire Loyalists from Boston and vicinity.

William Vassell had come over in 1630. He was so disgusted with Winthrop and others in authority who were ignoring their pledges to the crown, that he returned to England, but came back again to the colony determined to make a stand for freedom of conscience and liberty of the individual. He commenced by sending in the following "Remonstrance and Humble Petition" to the general court. This was signed by five others, among them being Samuel Maverick and Robert Child.

"That they could not discern in this colony a settled form of

government according to the laws of England, that many thousands in these plantations of the English nation were debarred all civil employments . . . and that numerous members of the Church of England . . . were detained from the seats of the covenant of free grace.”

They demanded relief from these disabilities and threatened if not relieved to appeal to the high court of England. The general court of Massachusetts, after a great delay, rejected their petition with coarse jocoseness. “And these are the champions,” said the court, “who must represent the body of non-freemen. If this be their head sure they have an unsavory head, not to be seasoned by much salt.” The petitioners were fined and their papers seized.

When King Charles II. had come to the throne, the absolute rulership of this Puritan hypocrisy and chicanery was brought to an end. Bradstreet and Norton, June 28, 1662, received a letter from the king. It declared, that:

“Since the principal end of that charter was, and is, the freedom and liberty of conscience, we do hereby charge and require you that freedom and liberty be duly admitted and allowed.”

The general court demurred, pursed up its lips and attempted to play hide and seek with the meaning of words, to hood-wink, in fact, to come a “Yankee trick” over the commissioners sent from England. But Commissioner Randolph, an old cavalier and royalist, did not fail to see through this chicanery. He wrote back to the king, that by the means employed by the leaders of the puritan democracy, the best people had been driven out of the colony or into retirement and that menials and servants with pretentious mannerisms were in the high places. So the king thought he would abridge it all.

The English king is head of the Anglican Church, and his own church could not exist in the colony under a government elected by the Puritans, although they had promised to respect the kings’ authority, the Church of England and the laws of the realm. In order that the king’s chapel could be built, then, it was necessary to give Massachusetts a royal charter, in which

the power of appointing the chief officers should reside in the crown. On Feb. 22, this charter was made. May 15, 1686, there entered Boston harbor the *Rose*, frigate, bearing a commission from the king to Joseph Dudley to act in the royal name as president of Massachusetts, Maine, Nova Scotia and the lands between. And with her came the Reverend Robert Radcliffe, first minister of the king's chapel.

In October, 1688, the foundation of King's Chapel was laid on Tremont Street, in Boston, on the corner of what is now School Street. About that church gathered those far-seeing and high-minded royalists in the colony who beheld in the king's authority the only barrier against the narrow Puritan democracy, that, when in power with brute force, and, when not in power, with cunning and chicanery, sought to accomplish its purpose. As Voltaire says, it is "better to be under the paw of the lion than be knawed by a million rats."

The building of his majesty's chapel brought the royal charter to supercede the original permit of government, which had left the power in the hands of the majority to persecute those who did not believe as they. Even the land on which the chapel stands the king's governor was obliged to appropriate as the local authorities refused to sell, and the records show that he paid the original owners four-fold the value of the land.

But, the time of the Puritan triumph was coming, again, and in it they were to show "what manner of men they were." When the House of Stuart that had created the church and charter ceased to reign in England in the person of King James II., who was succeeded by William of Orange, whom the treachery and Revolution of 1688 put on the throne, the Puritan mob in Boston, according to a pamphlet printed in London in 1690, entitled "New England's Faction Discovered," proceeded to their work. They seized the governor and principal members of the king's chapel and put them in prison.

"The church, itself, had great difficulty to withstand their fury, receiving the marks of their indignation and scorn by having the windows broken and the doors and walls daubed and defiled with dung and other filth in the rudest and basest manner imaginable, and the minister for his safety was forced to leave the country and go to England."

But the revolution in England, of 1688, did not go so far as the Puritan democracy of Massachusetts had hoped. Sullenly but cringingly they retraced their steps when King William of Orange showed that liberality which intelligent men hope ever to find in a king. He continued the royal favor to King's Chapel and presented the service with new silver.

“It was the only building in New England where the forms of the court church might be witnessed. The prayers and anthems which sounded forth in the cathedrals of the mother-country were here no longer dumb. The equipages and uniforms which made gay the little court of Boston brightened its portals. Within, the escutcheons of the royal governors hung against the pillars. At Christmas time it was the only church that was wreathed in green, or celebrated the nativity of Christ with gladness and song of rejoicing,—for Christmas had been forbidden to be celebrated among the Puritans, because they said it was popish and idolatrous,”⁴

Here on the walls of the chapel were emblazoned in all the pomp of heraldry the royal arms, the arms of the royal governors, Dudley, Shute, Burnet, Belcher, Shirley and Andros, and those of Colonel Nicholson and Captain Hamilton. And what rays of chivalry had penetrated the thick and somber atmosphere of Puritan bigotry and intolerance were focused into a brighter light in the immediate circle of those royalists who gathered within its walls.

Sir William Shirley had done most to prop the royal cause in the colony, and, as a means to that end, had favored the king's chapel with all his influence. In 1741, just before he was appointed governor, Lieutenant-Governor Dunbar wrote, from New Hampshire to the Board of Trade:

“New England might be made a very useful colony . . . were the Church of England encouraged, it would bring them (the people) to better principles than they are now of, being generally republicans.”

Another cause of trouble to the Puritan republicans was the culture of art and music, which the liberties of the new char-

(4) History of King's Chapel, Vol. I.

ter allowed to be encouraged with the building of King's Chapel. One very beautiful picture was Benjamin West's Last Supper, which was one of the adornments of the chapel's interior. At the time of the American Revolution, when the hand of lawless violence was unrestrained against everything that had provoked republican bigotry and hate, Mr. Davis, who had the guardianship of the picture, committed it to the protection of the republican leader, John Hancock, which protectorate seems to have terminated in proprietorship, without compensation to the original owners.

Now it must not be thought that all the royalists in New England were Church of England men, or, that all in Boston were members of King's Chapel. Many of the Presbyterians who came to New Hampshire, New York and Virginia, especially those from Ireland, among whose members were descendants of the Huguenots, who had followed the banner of the Marquis de Rouvigni into England and Ireland in 1688-90, were distinctly royalists, although not ardent for the domination of England. Guizot notices the royalism of the Presbyterians in his "Vie de Charles I." In Britain, after the Church of England and the monarchy had been overthrown by Cromwell and the Puritans, it was the Presbyterians who pronounced against republicanism and took up arms for the king, and finally, with General Monck at their head, proclaimed Charles II. as king and entered London with their armed hosts to restore the monarchy. But among the royalists of King's Chapel alone at this time, immediately preceding the republican revolution of 1776, were Peter Faneuil, who gave Faneuil Hall to the city, Dr. Gardiner, who supplied the colonial troops with medicine free of charge, and Isaac Royall who founded the first law professorship at Harvard University. Whatever was great and excellent and unselfish belonged to them. They were, in truth, as Leckey, the historian, says, "The gentry of the colonies." The entire membership of King's Chapel were royalists to the core, loyal to the head of the colony, which head was the king, the emperor of all the provinces.

A month after the royal authority had left Boston, in 1776, with the British troops and the members of King's Chapel, the

chapel was reopened by the enemy, by the Puritan congregational republicans, whose sires had opposed the erection of the church, and had "besmeared its walls with dung" during the disturbance of 1688. They came from the Old South meeting-house, and occupied the king's property without warrant; for the king's property passed to the commonwealth by act of the treaty of 1783, as the property of absentee royalists had passed before by the confiscation acts of 1778-9. In consequence of persecutions like the above, the democracy of Massachusetts Bay was deprived of its usurpation by order of King Charles II.

The colony of Plymouth was united to that of Massachusetts Bay, under a royal charter from King Charles II., Feb. 22, 1669, with the following provisions:

I. "That all householders, inhabiting in the colony, take the oath of allegiance, etc."

II. "That all men of competent estate; that is men who own property enough to enable them to have a right to vote, and civil conversation, though of different judgments, may be admitted to be freemen, and have liberty to choose and be chosen as officers both civil and military."

III. "That all men and women of orthodox opinion, competent knowledge and civil lives (not scandalous) be admitted to the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and their children to baptism, if they desire it."

IV. "That all laws and expressions of law derogatory to His Majesty, if any such have been made in these troublous times, be repealed, altered, and taken off from the file."

The Plymouth colony had fulfilled all these provisions. The Massachusetts colony had violated every one. Yet the governor and chief men of the colony testified that all had been carried out. In the first instance the oath of allegiance was not administered in Massachusetts at this time or before. In the second instance only those were allowed to vote who belonged to the Congregational church of the colony, and all others were persecuted. In the third instance no one but of the Congregational church was permitted to receive the sacraments or baptism. Laws were made forbidding any other form of worship. It was an act of treason to appeal from the laws of the colony to the crown that had given the colony its charter. This was

also a violation of the fourth requirement, because such laws were contrary to the charter from the crown on which the government of the colony existed. Thus from the very beginning, the religious democracy of Massachusetts manifested a desire to be as far away from royal government as possible.

Roger Williams, desirous of religious and political liberty, fled away from the tyranny of the Massachusetts democracy and founded the Providence Plantation in 1636, now known as Rhode Island. The Connecticut colony was established about the same time at Hartford and New Haven.

Captain John Mason obtained a grant of land between the colony of Massachusetts and the Province of Maine, which latter was conferred on Sir Ferdinand Gorges. Mason's land was known as New Hampshire and was a royal colony. Maine was under the proprietorship of Gorges, until 1690, when it was ceded to Massachusetts.

Massachusetts then may be seen to have been not only the leading colony of the north, but the parent of three others. Indeed, her population flowed over into them all. Plymouth and the Province of Maine were incorporated with Massachusetts in 1690. Before this the governors had been elected by the people, after 1690 they were appointed by the crown, together with the Lieutenant-Governor and Secretary of the Province and the councillors. The governor, under the last charter, appointed also, the judges, sheriffs, marshals, provosts and military officers. The people of the colony elected their deputies to the general court as formerly, and any man was qualified to vote and serve in any office, if elected or appointed, if he possessed land in the province to the value of 40 shillings per annum or to the worth of £50 sterling. It was impossible after 1690 for the Puritan malignants to burn witches, persecute Quakers, drive off Episcopalians and disfranchise those who differed from them in opinions political and religious, because the chief magistrate was now appointed by the crown.

(To be Continued.)

INDIAN LEGENDS OF BELLE ISLE AND BOIS BLANC

BY ELIZABETH L. STOCKING

IN the Detroit river, opposite the eastern part of the city of Detroit, and connected with it by a bridge, lies the beautiful island park of Belle Isle. It is the people's play-ground, free to their use for picnics, boating and bathing. All the year round they flock there; in winter for skating and sleighing, and as the weather grows pleasant, from early morning until late evening, family parties bearing huge picnic-baskets, or youths and maidens with cameras and boat-cushions form a constant procession across the bridge, or pour over the gang-planks of the ferry-boats. There is room for all, and each may find a suitable haunt.

A system of canals through the island, miles long, and spanned by charming little bridges, forms an ideal waterway for canoeists. There are smooth roads for the automobiles and pleasant groves for the picknickers, while on the upper part of the island, still stand the primeval forests almost untouched, dense with undergrowth, and in the spring, carpeted with innumerable wild-flowers.

As, on a summer-day, we watch the hundreds of brightly bedecked canoes which are paddled through the canals and along the shore of Belle Isle by laughing, happy, modern young people, our fancy, perhaps, goes back two hundred years to another vision of canoes bearing a duskier burden,—Indians with bright feathers and stern painted faces, seeking the shore of Belle Isle to avenge their outraged Manitou.

So runs the legend: Many, many years ago, two French priests accompanied by seven other men and guided by a chart of the Great Lakes drawn on a sheet of bark with a piece of charcoal by an Indian, landed on the shore of the Detroit river where the great city now stands. They found there only beautiful virgin forest, bright with gorgeous birds and flowers and teeming with



THE OLD BLOCK HOUSE



THE LIGHT HOUSE

herds of deer and bison. As they wandered through the dense woods, suddenly they came upon an open clearing in the center of which rose a grassy mound bearing on its summit a rude, vermillion-painted idol before which had been placed, in profusion, offerings of tobacco, food, and skins of animals.

Many tales had reached the missionaries of the Indians' Great Manitou who governed the winds and whose mighty voice was heard when storms raged over the Great Lakes, and they knew that no Indian would venture on the bosom of these waters for a journey of any length, without an offering to appease this deity. Now, they felt, had been given to them the chance to make their first attack on such idolatry. Uniting all the strength of their party, they hurled the idol from its eminence, breaking it into a thousand pieces. In its place on the mound, they triumphantly erected a cross, placing beneath it the arms of France, and an inscription stating that they had taken possession of the land in the name of the King.

Seizing the largest fragment of the idol which remained, and hauling it to the shore, they lashed two canoes together and fastening to them the great piece of stone, towed it to the deepest part of the river, where they sunk it beneath the waters, so that the Manitou could never more be reconstructed and worshipped by the Indians.

After the priests were far away on their journey, a band of Indians coming with gifts for their Manitou, found to their astonishment and grief, only its shattered remains. Who would protect them now from the winds and the waves? Calling upon the name of their God, they sorrowfully gathered up the fragments of stone and placing them in their canoes, were guided by them to the spirit of the offended Manitou which had taken refuge under the dark, overhanging trees on the shore of Belle Isle. "Take all the fragments of stone," commanded the Manitou, "and scatter them along the shores of this island."

The Indians obeyed, when behold! each stone became a rattlesnake to guard the abode of the god from the intrusion of the hated white man. Even now, gay parties of pleasure-seekers floating on the waters of the river near Belle Isle on moonlight nights, sometimes arouse the angry spirits of the Manitou which

slumbers there, and he vindictively throws back a mocking echo of their voices.

All Detroiters know that our island park was once called "Rattlesnake Island," on account of the number of these reptiles which infested it. Now, as there is one creature which is not afraid of a rattlesnake and can destroy it, and that is a hog, a drove of these animals was let loose on the island, and the rattlesnakes being exterminated by them, the island naturally took the name of the victors,—Hog Island.

After having ascended from the Reptilian Age to the Age of Four-footed Beasts, the island finally reached the culmination of its upward development when it was stamped with the name of a beautiful woman, Miss Belle Cass, daughter of Gen. Lewis Cass. Since then it has been known and loved by the people of Detroit as "Belle Isle."

The island of Bois Blanc lies at the mouth of the Detroit river. Being only an hour's steam-boat ride from Detroit, it is a favorite resort for excursions from the city. "Bois Blanc" means "white wood," the island being so called from a superb forest of white-wood trees which crowned it long ago. The variety of ways in which the name of this island is pronounced, has become a standing joke among Detroit people. Some folks call it, frankly and phonetically, "Boys Blank." To others, with some pretense of a knowledge of the French language, it is "Boy Blong," but to the majority of happy excursionists who gather there, it is simply "Bob'-Low."

On the southern end of the island is a light-house, whose bright, blinking eye nightly directs the big freighters on Lake Erie to the entrance of the Detroit river. Not far from the light-house stands an old block-house telling of the times when Indians and whites struggled together for supremacy. On this island, Tecumseh and his braves, in 1813, awaited the issue of the Battle of Lake Erie; here, in 1722, a Huron mission flourished, and in 1747 the Indians gathered on Bois Blanc to plan a massacre of the French at Fort Ponchartrain in Detroit.

Many years ago, at a time when the Hurons were wont to erect their wigwams on the island of Bois Blanc, there lived a beautiful maiden,—White Fawn, daughter of a great Huron chief, but

whose mother had belonged to the "pale-face." Her father and mother both being dead, she lived with her father's tribe, which regarded her with much pride, and her admirers were "as numerous as the leaves of the forest." They wooed her according to the peculiar mode of Indian courtship, by whittling tiny sticks and throwing them at her. If she picked them up, favor was shown to the suit, but if she passed them unheeding, the Indian lover sadly gathered and buried them in token that his unrequited affection must be buried too. Among them all, there was only one, Kenen, a noted young Indian warrior whose love-tokens caused the maiden shyly to hesitate, showing that she needed more time to decide.

One day, Kenen brought from the forest a white hunter whom he had accidentally wounded and left him with White Fawn, that she might nurse him back to health. The girl, anxious to please her lover, devoted her time to the injured white man, but alas, as she cared for him, the traditions of her mother's race spoke to her heart, the voice of her warrior lost its power, and she loved the white man. "The words of the pale-face became stars and the heart of the maiden the lake whereon they rested, and as he looked down he saw no other light reflected there."

Kenen, noticing the change in his sweetheart, bitterly reproached, and charged her with loving the pale-face, but she only bowed her head in silence. Then, for a moment, in the Indian's uplifted hand, gleamed a knife above the maiden's breast; in another second, however, it was hurled far out into the waters.

"The arm of Kenen is stronger than his voice, and his anger like the mighty tempest that sweeps over the forest, but he is not strong enough to strike the heart of the White Fawn," he declared.

Shortly afterward the Hurons left Bois Blanc for their winter hunting-grounds, and later, in a fight with the Iroquois, the white hunter was captured and carried a prisoner to the island, where he had passed so many happy hours with White Fawn. He was bound to a tree, and the Indians had gathered in a remorseless circle about him to torture and kill him, when, into their midst, strode a tall young warrior.

“Have the Iroquois heard the name of Kenen?” he demanded. A murmur of astonishment ran through the band of Indians.

“There is no greater in the Huron nation,” replied their chief.

The warrior stood before them, his eyes flashing, his head raised haughtily.

“Let the pale-face go,” he commanded. “Kenen will die in his place.”

The Indians, hiding their surprise and exultation under their usual mask of stolidity, cut the cords which bound the white man, and Kenen whispered in his ear.

“There is sorrow in the heart of the White Fawn and the eyes of Kenen cannot look upon it. Go to her.”

All had taken place so quickly that before the white man scarcely realized what was done, or had a chance to make remonstrance, he had been led to the shore, placed in a canoe, and strong Indian arms were paddling him towards the shore. That night the soul of Kenen on its journey to the “Happy Hunting Grounds,” lingered for a time above the wigwam of the White Fawn in the camp of the Hurons ere it was wafted upward to the reward of the true and the brave.

THE FOUNDER OF A FAMOUS PENNSYLVANIA FAMILY

THE O'Hara Family, of Ireland, from which the O'Haras of western Pennsylvania are descended, is of old and distinguished lineage, tracing to the ancient Celtic kings of Ulster. Teige Buihde O'Hara, the last Lord of Leyney, was killed by an O'Connor. His son was Teige Oge O'Hara, who left two sons, John and Cormac; the elder son forfeited his estate under the Cromwellian settlement of Ireland. Charles O'Hara, son of Cormac O'Hara, was the father of Sir Charles O'Hara, Baron Tyrawley, whose son, James O'Hara, was the second Lord Tyrawley. Felix O'Hara, a nephew of Sir Charles O'Hara, was a major in Dillon's Regiment of the Irish Brigade, in the service of France and his son, John O'Hara, born in France, was also a major in the same regiment. General James O'Hara, the revolutionary patriot of Pennsylvania, was a son of Major John D. O'Hara.

General James O'Hara was the first Napoleon of industry in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. There he was the pioneer of the glass industry, a shipbuilder and merchant, founder of the Schenley and Denny estates and the first quartermaster-general of the United States army.

General O'Hara was born in Ireland about 1751, received a good education in France, and was commissioned in the celebrated Cold Stream Guards. Coming to America in 1772, and landing in Philadelphia, he entered the service of a firm in that city as Indian trader, an occupation which took him to western Virginia. Afterwards, from December, 1773, until March, 1774, he was employed by Devereux Smith and Ephraim Douglas, of Pittsburgh, in the same capacity. In 1774 he was appointed government agent among the Indians, and so continued until the outbreak of the War of the Revolution. While thus employed, he made many friends among the Indians, acquired a knowledge of the wily Indian character and learned many of

their dialects, all which, added to his fluency in French, was of great value to him in after years. His many hair-breadth escapes from Indians and other dangers are more thrilling, in their telling. Upon one occasion, having been sent to the upper Moravian town on the Muskingum river, he was apprised by a friendly Indian runner that a party of hostiles were on their way to capture or kill him. Heckvelder, the celebrated Moravian missionary, immediately procured for him a conductor, and with this Indian for a guide he set out for Fort Pitt. They were successful in throwing the hostile Indians off the trail and reached Fort Pitt in safety. This Indian, with his father, mother, and entire family, was massacred by the whites at Gnadenhutton a few years afterwards.

At the breaking out of the Revolution, James O'Hara enlisted in the Virginia regiment as a private, but was almost immediately promoted to a captaincy, and raised and equipped his own company. He was stationed at Fort Kanawha, to hold the Indians in check and prevent them from aiding the British forces and was with the famous expedition of General George Rogers Clarke against Vincennes and other border towns, in pursuit of the Indians. The hardships of the march were severe, but the success of the expedition insured the safety of the western frontier from the savage incursions of the Indians. After the completion of that campaign, O'Hara's company was so reduced (numbering only twenty-nine men) that it was annexed to the Ninth Virginia regiment, and Captain O'Hara, being relieved, was sent to Pittsburgh with dispatches.

In 1780, Captain O'Hara was appointed commissary of the general hospital in Carlisle, Pa. In 1781 he was made assistant quartermaster-general and attached to General Greene's command during the campaign against Cornwallis in the Carolinas. From a brief diary kept by him at that time, it appears that he was present at Cowpens, Guilford Court House, and Eutaw Springs. Little is known of his participation in Greene's campaign in the south, except that he was with "Mad Anthony" Wayne's army and, as quartermaster, provided for the troops.

At the close of the war, Captain O'Hara returned with General Wayne to Philadelphia, where he married Miss Mary Car-

son, daughter of William Carson of that city. From there he took his newly wedded wife to Pittsburgh, over the mountains in a wagon, the only means of transportation except on foot or horseback. His residence then consisted of a log house, but in it were all the comforts and many luxuries of the age, including carpets, then almost unknown in the western country.

After the close of the War of the Revolution, Captain O'Hara took the contract to furnish supplies to General Harmar's army during the campaign against the western Indians, and was appointed to act as Quartermaster and Paymaster. The successive defeats of Harmar and St. Clair had filled the frontier colonists with alarm.

In 1789, Captain O'Hara, as presidential elector, cast his vote for General George Washington to be the first president of the United States. In 1792 he was commissioned quartermaster-general of the United States Army and served as such until 1796. In that capacity he accompanied General Wayne, in 1794, in the campaign which brought the Indians to terms.

All the duties pertaining to these offices were performed with ability and fidelity. His tours of inspection and supervision led him not only through western Pennsylvania, Virginia and Ohio, but to New York and Michigan, and through Illinois to Kentucky and Tennessee. These journeys were mainly made on horseback by a trail or bridle path through an otherwise trackless wilderness, or, if by water, in a skiff or canoe, or, at best, a barge; but, whether by land or water, encountering dangers from savage Indians and savage beasts.

After his services in the Revolution and in the wars with the Indians which followed, General O'Hara returned to Pittsburgh and devoted his energies to mercantile and industrial pursuits. He was the pioneer in all the industries which have made Pittsburgh great. He established a glass works in 1795. The difficulties he surmounted can scarcely be realized in this day; the pots were made in Pittsburgh, but the clay for making them was brought from Germany and Philadelphia, being transported from the latter place across the mountains on the backs of pack horses or mules. The expense was enormous, but at last heroic endeavor was rewarded and the first bottle of green

glass was turned out at a cost of thirty thousand dollars—quite a little fortune in those days.

A project of more imposing and daring proportions, so far as transportation was concerned, was General O'Hara's original scheme to bring salt from New York State to Fort Pitt. During the period when he was supplying the northwestern army he found that salt from the Onondaga works could be furnished more cheaply than salt brought from Baltimore. But the great difficulty lay in transporting it, as there were no good roads, no vessels on the lakes, and no efficient means of water carriage down the Allegheny River. All these had to be provided. General O'Hara, however, quailed at nothing. He created the entire line of transportation, building vessels on Lake Erie, buying wagons and securing boats for the river carriage. The road to French Creek from Erie was improved also. Flour and provisions, packed in barrels suitable for salt, were sent from Pittsburgh, General O'Hara reserving the barrels in his contract. The undertaking was a complete success. The salt was set down in Pittsburgh at four dollars per bushel, and the salt-carrying trade over the Allegheny Mountains was brought to an end. Later the price was reduced to two dollars and forty cents per bushel.

General O'Hara also built ships at Pittsburgh. They cleared from this inland port and made voyages to Liverpool, South America, and the West Indies, taking a cargo of fur and peltries for the English port, and flour for South America and the West Indies. In 1805 he built the *General Butler*, which sailed for Liverpool, taking a cargo of glass for river ports and taking on a shipment of cotton at New Orleans. A return cargo was also taken on. Captain Samuel Lake was the captain, and W. C. O'Hara, the General's eldest son, was supercargo. In May, 1807, the new ship again sailed down the Ohio, but was captured by a Spanish schooner in the Caribbean Sea and taken to Vera Cruz. The *Betsey*, another vessel built by him, plied between Baltimore and the West Indies.

General O'Hara's hospitality was famous. His house was always open to rich and poor alike. When Louis Philippe, heir to the throne of France, came to Pittsburgh, with General

Moreau and other French officers, the General entertained them. Louis was then in exile on account of the French Revolution.

When the Branch Bank of Pennsylvania was established in Pittsburgh in 1804, General O'Hara was chosen one of the directors and succeeded General John Wilkins, who was the first president. This was the first bank established west of the Allegheny Mountains.

General O'Hara died, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, on the twenty-first of December, 1819, at his home in Water Street, and the entire town mourned. It is said that at his coffin the tears of the rich and poor were commingled, for he had been the firm friend of both, treating all with justice. His wife, Mary Carson O'Hara, survived him several years. She died April 8, 1834, aged seventy-three. The children of General O'Hara were:

William Carson O'Hara, who married his cousin, Mary Carson and died without issue; James O'Hara, who married Elizabeth Neville and died without issue; Charles O'Hara, who died young; Richard Butley O'Hara, who married Mary Fitzsimmons and had issue; Elizabeth Febiger O'Hara, who married Harmer Denny and had issue; Mary Carson O'Hara, who married William Croghan of Louisville, and had issue.

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Containing the freshest Advices, Foreign, and Domestick.

MUNDAY January 27th, 1734.

*Iustum et tenacem propositi Virum,
Non civium Ardor prava iubentium,
Non Vultus instantis Tyranni,
Mente quatit solida.*

Hor.



THE first essential Ingredient Necessary to form a Patriot, is Impartiality; for if a Person shall think himself bound by any other Rules but those of his own Reason and Judgment, or obliged to follow the Dictates of others, who shall appear the Heads of the Party he is engaged in, he sinks below the Dignity of a Humane Creature, and voluntarily resigns those Guides which Nature has given him, to direct him in all Spheres of Life.

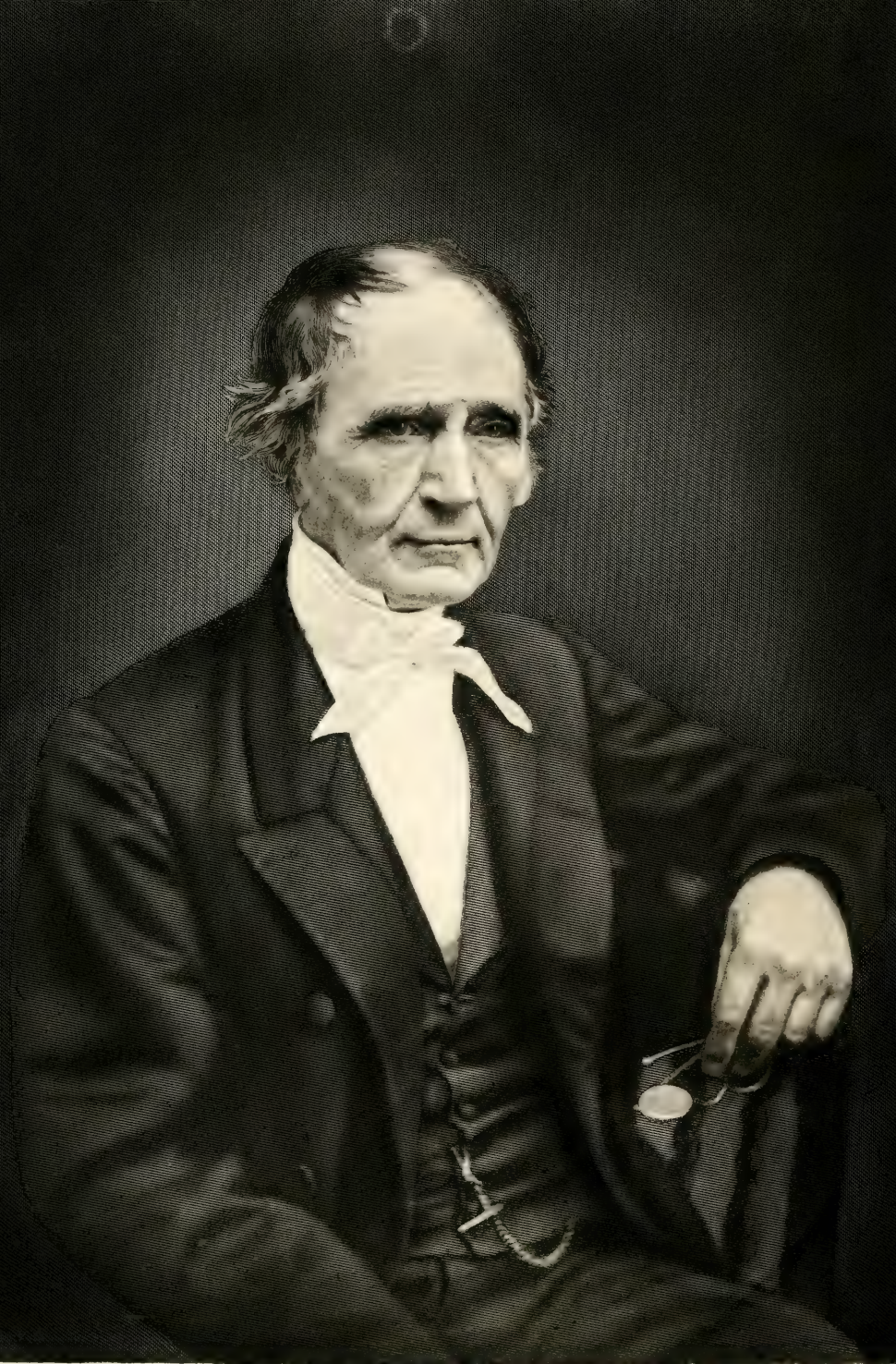
The Coldness, and sometimes Disdain, which a Man governed thus by the Principles of Honour generally meets with on such Occasions from the Friends he has ever acted in Concert with, for the former Part of his Life, are Considerations which but too often subdue the best inclined Spirits, and prevail with them to be passive and obedient, rather than active and resolute: But if such Persons could but once feel the Comfort and Pleasure of having done their Duty, they would meet with a sufficient Reward within themselves, to over ballance the Loss of their Friends, or the Malice of their Enemies.

Ambition and Avarice are two Vices, which are directly opposite to the Character of a Patriot, for tho' an Increase of Power, or of Riches, may be the proper Reward of Honour and Merit, and the most honest Statesman may, with Justice accept of either; yet when the Mind is infected with a Thirst after them, all Notions of Truth, Principle and Independency are Lost in such Minds, and, by growing Slaves to their own Passions, they become Naturally subservient to those who can indulge and gratify them.

In public Affairs it is the Duty of every Man to be free from personal Prejudices; neither ought we to oppose any Step that is taking for the Good of our Country, purely because those that are the Contrivers and Advisers of it, are Obnoxious to us. There are but too many Precedents of this Nature, when Men have cast the most black Colours on the Wisest of Administrations, because those that had the Direction of Affairs were their Enemies in private Life; and this ill Way of Judging may be attended with dangerous Consequences to the common Weal.

Intrepidity and Firmness are two Virtues which every Patriot must be Master of, or else all the other Talents he is possess'd of are useless and barren.

Whoever, therefore, when he has formed a Judgment on any Subject relating



BOOK OF BRUCE

BY LYMAN HORACE WEEKS

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

ARMS OF THE BRUCES AND COLLATERAL FAMILIES

AS to armorial bearings, in the early centuries of the Christian era, either none were worn, or they were continually changed, says Henry Drummond, the antiquarian. In some instances they were even taken irrespective of relationship, and in other cases members of the same family varied them as suited their respective inclinations. Arms of the Bruces in the different branches, and of the leading Scottish families that became allied to the Bruces, are given herewith.

BRUCE—The bearings of the original stock of the Scottish Bruces were: a lion rampant azure on a field argent. Alan de Brusee had: a lion rampant gules on a field or. The Skelton line adopted a lion rampant azure on a field argent, and the Brember line a lion or on a field azure. Jacques de Breze, Baron de Brieuze, marshal of Normandy, had: a lion rampant azure on a field or. After the Bruces became fully established in Scotland many changes were made in their arms. Robert Brusee, Robert Le Meschin, the fourth of the name, had: or, a saltire and chief gules. Robert Bruce, sixth of the name, had: or, a saltire gules, chief argent, a lion passant. The same Robert Bruce used as a seal the arms of the earls of Huntingdon. The arms of King Robert Bruce were: or, a saltire gules, on a chief gules, a lion passant. Edward Bruce of Blairhall had: or, a saltire gules, chief gules charged with a crescent. George Bruce of Carnock had: quarterly, first and second argent, a lion rampant azure; second and third or, a saltire and chief gules. The Bruces of Carriek adopted the arms of the Bruces barons of Annandale: or, a saltire and chief gules; in a later generation one of the

Ailesbury branches of the family used the same arms with a lion rampant azure on a canton argent.

HUNTINGDON—Nisbet the antiquarian observed:

“David, Earl of Huntingdon, brother of King William of Scotland, did not use the entire arms of his grandfather, King David I., but only a small part of them; argent, an escutcheon within a double tressure flowered and counter-flowered gules. He had the field of his arms argent and not of the metal or, that of Scotland, because it was the field of arms of his grandmother, daughter of Waltheof, Earl of Northumberland and Huntingdon.”

Robert Bruce of Annandale sometimes bore the arms of Huntingdon.

WALTHEOF—The last Saxon earl of Northumberland, Waltheof, ancestors of the earls of Huntingdon, had: argent, a lion rampant azure, chief gules.

ORKNEY—The arms of the earldom of Orkney were: azure, a ship at anchor, oars in saltire and sails furled within a double tressure, flory and counterflory or.

CAITHNESS—The arms of the ancient earldom of Caithness were: azure, a ship under sail or, the sails or.

NORMANDY—William the Conqueror used the arms of his great ancestor, Rollo, the first duke of Normandy: gules, two lions passant, guardant or.

GLOUCESTER—The earls of Gloucester—de Clare—who were the ancestors of Isabel de Clare, who married the seventh Robert Bruce, had: three chevrons or, gules. This line became extinct in 1313.

WARREN—The earls of Warren and Surrey had: chequy, or and azure.

DE BURGH—The first earl of Ulster, Richard de Burgh of Ireland, whose great-granddaughter, Elizabeth Aylmer de Burgh, was the second wife of King Robert Bruce, had: or, a cross, gules.

ELGIN AND KINCARDINE—The lords of Kinloss and the earls of Elgin and Kincardine with their near connections have had almost exclusive distinction as the remaining direct line of male descendants from King Robert Bruce. As has been genealogic-

ally shown on other pages, they are derived from the Clackmannan branch of the Bruce stock, which has been the one line most conspicuously preserved in its identity. The arms of the earls of Elgin and Kincardine are: or, a saltire and chief gules, on a canton argent, a lion rampant azure; crest, a lion statant azure; supporters, two savages proper wreathed about the head and middle with laurel vert; motto: *Fuimus*.

AILESBURY—The Ailesbury branch, Barons Bruce of Whorlton, Yorkshire, now extinct, had these arms: or, a saltire and chief gules, on a canton argent a lion rampant azure,—the same as the earls of Elgin and Kincardine, to whom they were allied. The arms of the modern Ailesbury family are: quarterly, first and fourth or, a saltire and chief gules, on a canton argent, a lion rampant azure, for Bruce; second and third argent, a chevron gules between three morions or steel caps azure, for Brudenell; crests, first, a seahorse argent, and second, a lion passant azure; supporters, two savages proper wreathed around the loins and temples vert, each supporting in the exterior hand a flag, thereon the first quarter of the arms for Bruce; motto: *Fuimus*.

CLACKMANNAN—The arms of Bruce of Clackmannan in the sixteenth century were: or a saltire and chief gules, the latter charged with a mullet argent in dexter chief. Later arms of this branch are: or, a saltire and chief gules; crest, a hand in armor proper (including the upper part of the elbow) issuing out of a cloud, grasping a sceptre, and signed on the point with a closed crown or; supporters, dexter, the lion of England, and sinister, the royal unicorn of Scotland; motto, *Fuimus*. These were the heraldic ensigns of Henry Bruce, the last of the Clackmannans. They were also carried by David Bruce in 1686, who added the motto: *No deest generoso pectori virtus*.

CULTMALINDIE—Robert Bruce of Cultmanlindie had: quarterly, first and fourth, or a saltire and chief gules, charged with a mullet or; second and third gules, a lion rampant argent.

DEVONSHIRE—The arms of the Cavendish family, dukes of Devonshire, to which the marriage of Christiana Bruce to William Cavendish gave added distinction, are: sable, three bucks' heads, caboshed argent; crest, a serpent, nowed, proper; sup-

porters, two bucks proper, each wreathed around the neck with a chaplet of roses alternately argent and azure; motto, *Cavendo tutus*.

STEWART—The arms of the Stewarts were: or, a fesse chequy argent and azure. These arms were quartered by the several branches of the family.

MORAY—The Randolphs who were Earls of Moray were Bruces through Isabel Bruce,—sister of King Robert Bruce I.,—who married Thomas Randolph. The earldom became extinct in 1465. The arms were: or, three cushions, two and one of a lozenge form, with a double tressure, flory and counterflory gules.

DUNBAR—The arms of the ancient house of Dunbar were: gules, a lion rampant argent, within a bordure of the last, charged with eight roses of the field. The earlier seals exhibit simply the lion rampant, the bordure of roses being, according to Nisbet, the badge of the comital office of the Patrick Dunbar who was first designated earl of March.

ELPHINSTON—The arms of the Elphinston family are: argent, a chevron sable between three boars' heads, erased gules, armed of the first; crest, a lady, from the middle, richly attired proper, holding in her dexter hand a castle argent, and in her sinister hand a branch of laurel proper; supporters, two savages proper with laurel garlands around their heads and loins and carrying clubs on their shoulders proper; motto, *Cause causit*.

OLIPHANT—The arms of the Oliphants are: gules, three crescents argent; crest, a unicorn's head, couped, argent, maned and horned, or; supporters, two elephants proper; motto: *A tout pourvoir*.

VIPONT—The Viponts of Scotland have for arms: gules, six mascles, three, two and one or.

CAMPBELL—The oldest arms of the Campbells of Lochow were: gyronny of eight or and sable. The arms of the later Campbells of Glenlyon, with whom the Bruces married, are in part like those of the earls of Breadalbane, also a Bruce family. They are: quarterly, first and fourth, gyronny of eight or and sable, for Campbell; second, or, a fesse chequy argent and azure, for Stewart; third, argent, a lymphad, her sails furled and oars in action, all sable, for Lorn; in the centre of the quarters a

man's heart gules, crowned or; crest, a demi-lion proper with a collar gyronny of eight or and sable and holding in his dexter paw a heart crowned as in the arms; motto, *Quae recta sequer*. Campbell of Barbreck, descended from Sir Colin Campbell of Lochow, nephew of Sir Robert Bruce, had: quarterly, first and fourth, gyronny of eight or and sable; second, argent a broadsword in bend gules, hilted sable; third, argent, a castle triple-towered sable; on an escutcheon of pretence sable, a boar's head erased or, a crescent argent in chief; crest, a lion's head affrontee proper; motto, I bear in mind.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

BRUCES IN AMERICA

GEORGE BRUCE OF NEW YORK AND HIS DESCENDANTS

THE ancient Scottish family of Bruce has been transplanted to America at different periods of our country's history by various emigrants. These representatives settled in several states and their descendants have been numerous and influential in many communities. Pre-eminent among these American branches are those established by the brothers David Bruce and George Bruce, the celebrated type-founders, both whom were conspicuous citizens of New York in their generation. This memoir is concerned with the younger of these brothers, George Bruce, his wife, Catherine (Wolfe) Bruce,—daughter of David Wolfe,—and their children.

I

GEORGE BRUCE, son of John and Janet (Gilbertson) Bruce, was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, June 26, 1781. His eldest brother, David Bruce, came to America about 1790, establishing himself in the printing business in Philadelphia. During the Napoleonic wars, John Bruce, a younger son of this family, lost his life in the army in Egypt, and, the family fearing to lose another of its members in the same way, George Bruce followed his brother to America.

Upon arriving in Philadelphia, the Scotch laddie, then only fourteen years old, obtained employment with a firm of book printers and binders. In 1797, he entered the office of the Phil-

adelphia Gazette, an afternoon paper rejoicing in a circulation of some two thousand. There he remained about a year, when, to escape the yellow fever epidemic then raging, he and his brother left the Quaker City. He was attacked by fever on his way north and, being unable to obtain a place to stop, remained in a shed, being taken care of by his brother; he always believed that he owed his life to this enforced fresh-air treatment. The two brothers proceeded to New York and from there went to Albany, where they were employed in the office of the Sentinel, which did the official printing for the state legislature.

In the spring of 1799, the brothers went to New York city, a removal which was destined to be permanent and to lead them to both fortune and fame. George Bruce, now in his eighteenth year, secured a position in the printing establishment of the Mercantile Advertiser, owing to his youth being able to obtain only three-fourths journeyman's wages. Subsequently he was employed on books in the offices of Isaac Collins, James Crane, and T. & J. Woods. During this time the Franklin Typographical Association was organized by the journeyman printers of the city, about fifty signing the constitution, and he was elected its secretary—an evidence of the substantial standing which already he had attained in his craft. In 1802, he became connected with the office of the Daily Advertiser, of which he was made foreman in the course of a year; later, he assumed entire responsibility for the publication of the paper, his name appearing as its printer in the volumes for 1803, 1804, and 1805.

About the end of 1805 Mr. Bruce embarked in the printing business on his own account, and among other works issued from his press were reprints of various standard books from England. Joining in partnership with his brother, the firm of D. & G. Bruce, which afterwards attained a wide celebrity, was organized. With a new press and types from Philadelphia, "they established themselves in the upper part of a house at the southwest corner of Wall and Pearl streets. The apartment, which they hired of Miss Rivington, was the same which had been occupied by her father, as the king's printer, during the Revolutionary War." Marked prosperity attended this venture, and within a brief time the firm had nine presses in operation. As an instance of their vigorous enterprise, it is noteworthy that they regularly brought

out reproductions of the Edinburgh, London, and Quarterly Reviews, the first American reprints of those British periodicals.

In 1812 was taken the first step which resulted in the introduction by them of the art of stereotyping in America, and, incidentally, in establishing of their great type-founding business. During that year David Bruce made a visit to England to look into the merits of the stereotyping process, then newly invented and known only to a Mr. Walker of London and to the printers to the universities of Cambridge and Oxford. He obtained by purchase the rights to the process, and in 1814 the Bruce firm issued the first edition of the New Testament from plates stereotyped in America, while in 1815 the first edition of the Bible was thus produced. As a measure of economy, to provide the requisite qualities of type for stereotyping, a type-foundry was begun, at first as a mere incident of the printing business. Owing to betrayal of trust by one of the workmen of the establishment, the stereotyping business did not continue profitable. On the other hand the type-founding department speedily grew in importance, and after the retirement of David Bruce in 1822, George Bruce, who succeeded to the direction of the concern, turned his energies exclusively to type manufacture.

The Bruce foundry under his management promptly took rank among the leading establishments of its kind in the world. The personal contributions of George Bruce towards the perfecting of type manufacture, in both its mechanical and its artistic aspects, were in the highest degree noteworthy, leaving a lasting impress upon the progress of that industry.

“Aiming to attain to the best process of ‘punch-cutting,’ he was enabled to produce many fonts of type for ordinary use of the most perfect symmetry, while his fancy types and borders were of such variety and excellence as to enable the letter-press printer to rival the productions of the copper-plate presses in superior execution and effect. He himself cut two fonts of beautiful ‘script’ probably yet unexcelled. He formed a new scale for the bodies of printing type, by means of which each body bears a certain relative proportion to the next, thus leading to the present perfect ‘point’ system adopted by printers generally. His nephew, David Bruce, Jr., invented the only type-casting machine that has stood the test of practical work and is now in general use. To this he added some improvements and bought the patent from his nephew.”

For many years George Bruce was president of the Mechanics' Institute of New York city and the Type Founders' Association. He was a member, among other organizations, of the New York Historical Society, Saint Andrew's Society, and the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen. Says one of his biographers:

"He was a man of great thought, quiet benevolence, of thorough business integrity and loyalty to principle, and of unusual force of character. The success he achieved was due to his own intelligent foresight and patient attention to business. He never received financial aid in his business or otherwise, but, always living within his income, was able to permit himself the luxury of assisting others."¹

He died in New York, July 5, 1866.

He married, in 1811, Catherine Wolfe, daughter of David Wolfe of New York.

Issue:

1. Janet (Jenet) Bruce. She married Dr. G. Brown of Newburgh, N. Y., and left one son, *G. Bruce Brown*, of whom below.
2. *Catherine Wolfe Bruce*, of whom below.
3. David Wolfe Bruce. He died March 13, 1895, in his seventy-first year. He was named from his maternal grandfather. Succeeding to the conduct of the Bruce type-foundry, he managed it successfully until his retirement from active business. Like his father, he was a man of high business and personal standing in the community.
4. Matilda Wolfe Bruce, who is now the only survivor of this family. Her home is in New York city.
5. George Wolfe Bruce. He was born in 1828 and died November 14, 1887. He attended Columbia College, but before graduation left to engage in business, becoming one of the most reputable merchants in New York.

II

CATHERINE WOLFE BRUCE was born in New York and died March 13, 1900. She left an enduring name in connection with the encouragement and advancement of educational and scientific interests, especially in the department of astronomical science. From the early age of five years she loved the science of astronomy. Her services for the promotion of astronomical work are known throughout the world, and were the more valuable for being judiciously directed. During her lifetime she gave in excess of \$200,000 to that end. To the Harvard Observatory she

1. "Memorial History of New York," Biog. Vol., p. 23.

presented the splendid Bruce photographic telescope, with which much of the most notable scientific work of our times has been achieved, including the discovery of Phœbe, the satellite of Saturn, by Professor W. H. Pickering, in August, 1898. This instrument is in constant use for photographing, and for spectroscopic plates showing the composition of stars too faint to be studied in this way elsewhere. In 1897 she established a fund under the auspices of the Astronomical Society of the Pacific, to provide for the award of a gold medal annually for distinguished achievements in astronomy. Her benefactions in other directions, and her contributions to charity, were large.

At the time of her death the following tribute, signed W. L. K. was published in the New York Tribune of March 25, 1900:

"Miss Catherine Wolfe Bruce, who died after a long illness at her home, No. 810 Fifth Avenue, on the night of March 13, deserves more than the ordinary obituary record, for she was a woman of the highest character, and contributed nobly of her means to the cause of charity, of education, and of science. The George Bruce Free Library she built, established, and endowed, and it is to-day one of the most flourishing branches of the free-library system. Her benefactions in the cause of astronomy are known all over the world, and her name is identified with many important advances in that science. She corresponded with eminent professors here and in Europe, and was the recipient of distinguished honors for her interest and service. A gold medal was presented to her by the Grand Duke of Baden, and she enjoyed the signal distinction of having her name given to a newly discovered asteroid. Upward of \$200,000 has been her contribution to the science she loved. Her charitable gifts and those of private benevolence need not be mentioned here.

"Miss Bruce was the daughter of George Bruce, the famous typesetter, whose work has stood the test of time and change, and is still in use at the present day. Naturally she was interested in the art of printing—that art 'preservative of all arts,' as she was fond of quoting. It has been said that she was an accomplished woman. She had made a study of painting and was a painter herself. She knew Latin, German, French, and Italian, and was familiar with the literature of those languages. She wrote and published in 1890 a translation of the *Dies Iræ*. For many years she was an invalid, and deprived of that society which her talents and character well fitted her to adorn. She was always patient and uncomplaining, and entirely resigned to the will of the Almighty Disposer of Events. She has left a gracious memory of good and generous deeds and an impressive example of noble womanhood."

III

GEORGE BRUCE BROWN, son of Dr. George Brown and his wife, Janet (Janet) Bruce, married, first, Virginia McKesson; second, Ruth Arabella Loney—Mrs. Bruce-Brown.

Issue (by first wife):

1. George McKesson Brown.
2. Catherine Wolfe Brown, who married Allen Donellan Loney and had Virginia Bruce Loney.

(By second wife):

3. William Bruce-Brown.
4. David Loney Bruce-Brown.

In America four generations of the old Lutheran family Wolfe have been resident in New York city in the line of Catherine Lorillard Wolfe, of beloved memory, and her honored father, John David Wolfe (second of that name), each reflecting credit upon the name and being remembered for its usefulness in the community. The family became allied to the Bruces by the marriage of Catherine Wolfe, daughter of David and Catherine (Forbes) Wolfe, to George Bruce.

JOHN DAVID WOLFE, who established the family in America, was born of Lutheran parents in Saxony, Germany, October 13, 1693. He came to the province of New York in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, at the time of the notable German movement to the American shores. Entering upon business, he soon attained a substantial position in the commercial world and from the outset of his career enjoyed excellent social standing. He died in 1795. He married, in the Dutch Church, November 21, 1747, the widow Catherine Busch, who survived him: Issue: 1. *David Wolfe*, of whom below. 2. Christopher Wolfe. 3. Maria Wolfe. 4. John Albert Wolfe.

DAVID WOLFE, son of the preceding, was born in New York, August 21, 1748. Inheriting the paternal home, he lived there during nearly the whole of his life of eighty-three years. He was one of the first to volunteer in the cause of American independence, and became captain of a company of militia. He continued in the service until the end of the Revolution, being for a portion of the time quartermaster in Washington's army under Quartermaster-General Timothy Pickering. After receiving his honorable discharge he engaged in the hardware trade in New York. He died August 13, 1836. He married Catharine Forbes. Issue: 1. *John David Wolfe*, of whom below. 2. Catharine Wolfe, who married George Bruce. 3. Harriet Matilda Wolfe, who married Japhet Bishop.

JOHN DAVID WOLFE, son of the preceding, was born in New York, July 24, 1792. Succeeding his father in business, he was a man of consummate business abilities, and enjoyed a high degree of prosperity. The last thirty years of his life were spent in retirement from active pursuits and in works of benefaction and philanthropy.

He was for many years a vestryman of Trinity Church, and later was senior warden of Grace Church. He was deeply interested in the work of the American Museum of Natural History, of which he served some time as president. He died May 17, 1872. He married Dorothea Ann Lorillard, daughter of Peter A. Lorillard, of the second American Lorillard generation, and his wife, Maria Dorothea Schultze. Issue: 1. A daughter who died young. 2. *Catherine Lorillard Wolfe*, of whom below.

CATHERINE LORILLARD WOLFE was born in New York, March 8, 1828. She was by far the most notable American woman of her time in works of philanthropy.

“At first her benefactions amounted to \$100,000 per year, but as her resources increased they rose to an average of more than double that sum. It is estimated that in the last fifteen years of her life, she gave away more than \$4,000,000. She fostered all the charities established by her father, and carried out his design by purchasing thirteen acres at Fordham, N. Y., which she gave as a site for the Home for Incurables. She built schools and churches in many places, West and South; added to the funds of the Seminary at Alexandria, Egypt, and to the American School in Athens, and contributed largely to the building of the American chapels in Rome and Paris. She distributed large amounts annually to indigent clergymen or their families left destitute, as also to the deserving poor in general through the ministers and charitable institutions of the Protestant Episcopal church and aided many religious and educational institutions. In 1884, she supplied funds for the expedition of exploration to Asia under charge of Dr. William H. Ward, which opened the way for important archæological discoveries.”²

She died in New York City, April 4, 1887.

2. “Memorial History of the City of New York,” Biog. Vol., pp. 26-27.

IN THE LAND OF THE DEERSLAYER

DELLA THOMPSON LUTES

SUMMER guests in the village of Cooperstown who religiously visit the little old burying ground in Christ Church yard and stand before the age blackened marble slab under which lies all that is mortal of James Fenimore Cooper, seldom pause to remember that less than two hundred years ago these hills reverberated to the red man's war whoop, or that the waters of the placid stream which finds its source in the lake upon which Cooperstown is situated, once ran red with mingled blood of Indian brave and white man, pioneer.

So rapidly had our country advanced, so swift has been its history that we find it difficult to realize how few are the years between conflict and peace. And yet on these village streets still stand houses whose first occupants were pioneer settlers.

Cooperstown was founded by Judge William Cooper who came West from Burlington, N. J., in 1785, when he came into possession of a large tract of land lying along the shores of Otsego lake and the Susquehanna below. The forests about the lake were then so dense that Judge Cooper was obliged to climb a tree in order to get a view of the lake.

Two years previous to this George Washington, on a tour of inspection of the inland waters of New York State, with a view to their navigable possibilities, had visited the lake and spoke of the charm of the scenery in a letter written home; and still previous to this, in 1779, General James Clinton in the Revolutionary Conflict had built a dam near the source of the Susquehanna in order that he might float his boats to Tioga Point to join forces with General Sullivan. This is the only Revolutionary or historic event which happened in this immediate vicinity, although Cherry Valley twelve miles away was the scene of one of the bloodiest massacres in the war, and Springfield but eight miles away was completely burned to the ground, and all its inhabitants driven away as were those of Milford, Unadilla, Otego and Oneonta.

A stone marker fittingly inscribed marks the spot at the mouth of the Susquehanna where this dam was erected and near it in the edge of the lake, is a rock around which, tradition says, the Indians gathered in canoes and on shore to hold friendly council, and which is still known as Council Rock. Just where the main street of the village turns to wind up hill to Mt. Vision, within an inclosure known as the Indian Battle Ground, is a mound in the side of which is fitted a stone slab bearing this inscription:

“White Man, Greeting!

WE, NEAR WHOSE BONES YOU STAND,
WERE IROQUOIS. THE WIDE LAND
WHICH NOW IS YOURS, WAS OURS.
FRIENDLY HANDS HAVE GIVEN BACK
TO US ENOUGH FOR A TOMB.”

A feeling of melancholy possesses one as he reads this inscription, almost that of a usurper, and into his mind comes the stories of “*Ramona*,”—and “*The Last of The Mohicans*.” This was the country to which Judge William Cooper brought his family in 1789, James Fenimore Cooper then being one year old. In this country “with the vast forest around him, stretching up the mountains that overlook the lake, and far beyond, is a region where the Indians yet roamed, and the white hunter, half Indian in his dress and mode of life, sought his game. A region in which the bear and the wolf were yet hunted, and the panther, more formidable than either, lurked in the thickets and tales of wandering in the wilderness and encounters with these fierce animals, beguiled the length of the winter nights.” James Fenimore Cooper lived for sixty-eight years. Here, also he wrote the famous “*Leatherstocking Tales*,” the scenes for which he found in these hills and along the shores of this lake.

All about the village and surrounding country are reminders of these tales, and no one forgets as he goes from mountain to glen that he is in a land haunted by the memory of the Deerslayer. On Mt. Vision, just above the village at the lower end of the lake, stands a little observatory out upon a rocky promontory which was the opening scene of the *Pioneers*. Farther along the crest of the hill is *Leatherstocking Cave* in which small boys

love to hide and conjure up the vision of Indian war-paint and tomahawk, and from which they send out upon the lake a sort of civilized version of the war whoop.

Streets, hotels, steamers, all bear the names of these famous novels and their characters, and one wanders about in summer days from Mohican Glen to Leatherstocking Falls; takes the steamer "Deerslayer" for Hutter's Point or the scene of the sunken Islands where stood the hunting shanty of old Hutter the trapper and his beautiful daughters, Judith and Hetty, and almost fancies himself in an enchanted land.

James Fenimore Cooper is ranked amongst the foremost of American novelists and it is but just that the home of his childhood, the scene of his famous novels should receive all the homage that is being so gladly given it by not only American lovers of his work, but by literary devotees of the world. At the centennial of his birth which was celebrated in Cooperstown in 1907, men and women of world wide fame came many miles to give of their talent in tribute to Cooper's memory, and many who could not come sent letters of regret and loving messages. Edward Everett Hale, H. M. Alden, Donald G. Mitchell (Ik Marvel), John Burroughs, Admiral George Dewey and many other noted people sent letters of congratulation upon this occasion, and many of them recalled visits they had paid to this delightful spot, one and all praising with lavish terms the magnificent scenery. Queen Elisabeth of Roumania, better known as "Carmen Sylva" who is an ardent admirer of the Cooper tales sent a letter of congratulation and a large photograph of herself. The Honorable John Northington told of an interview with the Khedive of Egypt in which the latter expressed an "admiration for Cooper that could not be excelled in earnestness and ardor by any utterance of his most enthusiastic American appreciator." He said that when a student in Paris he had come upon Cooper's "Spy," and had followed this with the "Leatherstocking Tales," which had "opened up a new world to him and he was charmed. The sublime and shadowy forests, the silent lakes high up in the evergreen hills, the cool rivers—how they captivated his soul! He would, he exclaimed, give a year of his life if he might view the Glimmerglass—if he could tread a forest trail."

"In his fine library," said Mr. Northington, "the Khedive showed me with very evident satisfaction, his three magnificent sets of Cooper's works, in French, German and English."

Thanks to generous and tradition loving land owners to whom large tracts of the lands surrounding Otsego lake belong, the forests remain the same, the Indian trails still lead to cave and observatory; no signs or advertising placards are allowed to mar the exquisite scenery; no bill board or posters greet the eye, but instead are solid banks of stately pines relieved by slender birch and glossy chestnut. Beautiful summer homes here and there stand out from a background of pine and hemlock, and an enormous summer hotel is being built on the lower shore of the Otsego, to be known as the Otesaga, and which will be ready for guests in the early summer season.

Many wealthy New Yorkers spend the entire summers here, having fine residences with large grounds. The late Bishop Potter's summer residence is here, and here he died last summer Mr. Spaulding, of Spaulding Glue fame, has a magnificent summer residence at the head of the lake, and Adolphus Busch—the Busch of 'Anheuser'—notoriety, also has a large estate upon which is grown many acres of the hops used in manufacturing his famous beer. The Clark estate is the largest of many, extending many hundreds of acres along the shores of the lake.

Cooperstown, in the days of the old Cooper house, was the scene of much gayety and social life, and many guests of renown have registered upon the old books which were destroyed in the fire which destroyed it in 1891. In the days of the new Otesaga there will be new social life, new gayety; the lake will resound with gay voices and modern canoes will float upon the same waters where once the humble bark noiselessly drifted its shadowed way; daintily shod feet will tread the same trail over which moccasin once stealthily slipped; a younger generation will read with slightly curious gaze the inscription on age worn slab and Indian battle ground, but let us hope that with all this, the men and women of letters, the lover of literature as well as the lover of beautiful scenery will make of Cooperstown the literary shrine of America, as Stratford-on-Avon is the Mecca of literary devotees in England.

ORIGIN AND ANTIQUITY OF HERALDRY

IX

CONTINUATION OF THE CONSIDERATION OF ANIMALS USED IN HERALDRY, THEIR ORIGIN AND THE SENTIMENTS WHICH ARE REPRESENTED BY THEM

BY HENRY WHITTEMORE

TOWERS differ from castles, being smaller, and are not triple-towered as castles; they have one or two towers above the embattlement, by the French called *doujonne*. The same may be said of the town of Aberdeen, *doujonne de trois pieces*, which in English are to be blazoned gules, three towers (not castles) triple towered, within a double tressure, flowered and counter-flowered argent, supported by two leopards proper, with the motto "*bon accord*."

The double tressure being a part of the royal arms, was granted as an honorable additament for the singular loyalty of the citizens of Aberdeen, who cut off in one night their old enemies, the English, their word being "*bon accord*," which arms are on the face of the town seal, and on the reverse in a field azure, a church argent, masoned sable, St. Michael standing in the porch, mitred and vested proper, with his right hand lifted up, praying over three children in a boiling cauldron of the first, and in his left hand a crozier or.

Edinburgh, the metropolitan city of Scotland, is eminent for its impregnable castle, which is thought to be older than the city anciently called *arx puellarum*, the Warden Castle; where the honorable virgins, the daughters of the sovereigns and of the nobility were kept from the insults of the enemy in time of war. The city has that castle represented for its arms, sometimes black in a white field; and at other times white in a black field.

The laird of Kincaird, in Stirlingshire, chief of the name, whose predecessor, for his valiant service in recovering of the castle of Edinburgh from the English in the time of King Edward I., was made constable of the castle, and whose posterity enjoyed that office for many years, carried the castle in his arms in memory thereof. There is an old broadsword belonging to some of the families of the name of Kincaird upon which were the above arms, with the castle and inscribed with the following:

“Who will persew, I will defend
My life and honor to the end.”

CHURCHES, BRIDGES, and other architectural designs are carried in arms. There are families in Piedmont of the name of Chiesa—signifying in that county a church—who carry churches relative to their names. Thus, the name of Templeton carries, azure, a fesse or, and in a base a church or temple argent.

In England the name of Trowbridge, in allusion to the name, *quasi*. Throughbridge, carried arms, a bridge of three arches in fesse gules, masoned, sable, the streams transfluent proper.

The name of Arches, in England carries gules three arches, argent, masoned, sable 2 and 1.

PORTCULLIS, Latined *porta catarata* or *rostrum militairo*, was the hereditary badge, or cognizance of the sons of John Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, for which reason they were borne in the castle of Beaufort, in France. The name of Yelts, of Teverodale, carried arms, or, a fesse embattled, being three portcullis gules. The name of Yates, in England carry gates in allusion to the name.

SHIPS, and their parts are frequently carried for the arms of maritime countries and towns, and also by families, on account of their situation and trading by sea, or for the service they were obliged to perform to their kings by their charters.

The arms of Orkney are azure, a ship with its sails furled up, and oars cross the mast, or, carried by the old earls of Orkney as feudal arms. Thorfinn, earl of Orkney, married a natural daughter of King William; she bore to him John, earl of Orkney and Zieland; for this reason it is said the double tressure was placed round the ship as an additament of honor.

The ship, or lymphad, is the armorial figure of the McPhersons, and the coat their crest; the badge of Catte, who have been considered the stock of the Clauchattan in the highlands by several writers, and represented by the noble families of the Keiths and Sunderlands. All of which are said to have been originally from the Catte, in Germany. Forced by Tiberius Caesar to leave their own country and seek for another, and having embarked for Britain, they were driven by stress of weather to the north of Scotland, where they landed in a country called after them Caithness; that is the Catte's Corner. Afterwards they spread southwards to the country now called Sutherland; to which they gave the name of Callow, from their own, and the inhabitants were called South Catte.

The Chatti, or Clauchattan, continued several ages in both these countries; some of them joined with the Picts and some of them with the Scots, of whom were the progenitors of the Keiths and Sutherlands. The others, after the decisive battle given to the Picts by Kenneth II., King of Scots, were forced to leave their country, Caithness; but, by mediation of their friends got liberty to settle themselves at Lochaber, where they continued a long time, being called the Clauchatten, as by a manuscript of the family from the tradition of the Highland senaches and bards. In the reign of Makon IV., one Muriah, who was parson of the Kirk of Kinguisse in Badenoch, after the death of his elder brother, who died without male issue, was called by the whole clan and family to be their head. He married a daughter of the thane of Calder and by her had several sons.

McPherson, chief of the name carried arms, parted per fesse or, and azure, a lymphad or galley, with his seals tressed up, the oars in action of the first, in the dexter chief point a hand couped grasping a daggar, point upwards gules, and in the sinister chief point a cross crosslet, fetched of the last; crest, a cat saiant proper; with the motto, Touch not the cat but the glove.

This family have had their arms supported with two Highlanders with steel helmets on their heads, and short doublets azure, thighs bare, their shirt tied between them, and round targets on their arms, being the dress wherein those of the clan were wont to fight in many battles for the crown, being always loyal.

Sir Hector McLean was chief of the McLeans, an ancient, loyal, potent clan in the Highlands of Scotland, of which there have been very brave men. The achievement of the family of McLean as illuminated in the book of James Esplin, Marchmont Herald, 1630, has four coats; quarterly, first, argent, a rock gules; second, argent, a dexter hand, fesseways, coupé, gules, holding a cross crosslet, fitché in pale azure; third or, a lymphad sable; fourth, argent, a salmon naiant proper, and in chief two eagles. This achievement is represented standing on a compartment representing green land and sea.

The town of Leith, the suburb and seaport of Edinburgh, has for arms a ship, as on the seal of Edinburgh; on the seal is a shield, with the castle of Edinburgh *acote*, with another of the arms of Leith, having a ship with her sails trussed up.

Nantz and Rochelle, maritime towns in France, carry ships for their armorial figures.

The arms of the city of Paris, France, carry or, gules a ship equipped in full sail argent, a chief *consee* azure, *seme* of fleur-de-lis, or. Menestrier says it carries a ship because the isle, or land upon which the city is built, in its form represents a ship.

The equipment of ships—anchors, sails and rudders—are also used in arms.

ARTIFICIAL THINGS OR CHARGES AS THEY RELATE TO CIVIL LIFE IN TEMPORAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

These are considered as armorial figures within the shield, which form and constitute arms, as tesseras of descent, and ensigns of dominions, territories, and offices, to distinguish one kingdom from another, and one family from another, and some of them as honorable additaments to their paternal bearings, included in these are crowns, ancient and modern; the imperial mond, or globe; sceptres, buttons, the archiepiscopal pall, mitre, crosiers and keys. Crowns within the shield are no more marks of sovereignty and dignity than lions, horses, mullets, buckles, or other armorial figures.

The old earls of Garioch carried for arms, or, a fesse cheque,

azure and argent between three antique crowns (open ones with points), gules. David, earl of Huntingdon, younger son of Prince Henry, eldest son of King David I., was by his brother, King Malcom IV., honored with the title of Earl of Garioch, which afterwards he resigned into the hands of his brother, King William for the earldom of Angus, which he did not keep long. Henry de Brechin, so designed from the place of his birth, a natural son of King William, was, by King Alexander II., made Earl of Garioch, and was succeeded in that dignity by his son Walden.

The armorial figures of the kingdom of Sweden, are three antique crowns, or; for the reason, it is said, that the bodies of the three kings, or wise men, who came from the East to adore our Saviour at his birth, are interred there.

The country of Murcia, in Spain, carries arms, azure; six ducal crowns, or three, two and one. They are said to be carried to represent and perpetuate as many victories obtained in that country by the Christians over the Moors.

Menestria says that crowns as armorial figures or charges in a shield are not to be taken for marks of dignity, but as rewards of valor and good counsel, with which great men were anciently honored; and with these armorial figures were adorned.

The name of Grant carries gules, three antique crowns or.

One Vanbassen, a Dane, in his manuscript in the Lawyers' Library, brings the first of the name from Norway to Scotland; and Sir George Mackenzie, in his manuscript, brings them from England, as Hollingshead mentioned one of the name of Grant, of old, a repairer of the University of Cambridge. There are many of that name in England, but by their arms they appear not to be the same stock with the Grants in Scotland, for they carry argent, three lions rampant, and a chief azure.

Others are of the opinion that the Grants are of the same stock with the Byzarts or Bissets, or Lovarts, who carried also the same crowns for their armorial figures; and by an evident granted by Bisset of Lovat to the Bishop of Murray, A. D., 1258, in which is mentioned Dominus Laurentius Grant, and Rebecca Grant, friends of the same Bisset, However, the family of Grant is both ancient and powerful.

John Grant, of Frenchie, obtained a charter of confirmation

of the barony from King James IV., holding it of his majesty for military services, as by the charter in the earl of Haddington's Collection, by which it is evident that he was the head of a potent clan. John Grant, of Bellendallach, carried gules, a boar's head couped between three antique crowns, or; crest, an oak tree growing out of the wreath proper.

Sir Francis Grant, of Cullen, baronet, one of the senators of the college of justice, carried, gules, three antique crowns, or; as descended from Grant of that ilk, within a bordure of ermine, in quality of a judge; supported with two angels proper; crest, a book expanded.

John Grant, of Carron, a descendant of Frenchie, carried gules, a dove argent, holding in its beak an olive branch vert, between three antique crowns, or; and for crest, an adder new, with head erect proper; motto: Wise and harmless.

Sir Thomas Brand, gentleman usher of the Green Rod of the most ancient Order of the Thistle, or St. Andrew, in Scotland, carried quarterly, first and fourth azure two buttons, (or rods) or; ensigned on the top with the Union of Scotland, as to the badge of the official; second and third or, on a bend sable, three mascles argent, and a chief azure charged with as many stars of the third, for his paternal coat, and over all by way of an escutcheon, a geronne of eight, ermine and gules, within a bordure engrailed of the last for Campbell of Lundie, whose daughter he married.

The Archepiscopal pall, mitres, crosiers and keys, which are all marks of ecclesiastical authority, are frequent in arms, and especially those of the episcopal sees in England.

The Archepiscopal see of Canterbury carried arms, azure, a pastoral staff in pale argent, topped with a cross patee or, surmounted by an archepiscopal pall of the second, edged and fringed of the third, and charged with four crosses, fitché, sable.

The archepiscopal see of York carried gules, two Keys adosse in saltier argent, and in chief an imperial crown.

Mitres, crosiers, crosses and keys, have made up the arms of several churches, churchmen and laymen, who have had a dependence on the church, or from their name relative thereto;

as those of the name of Kirk, who, in the old and modern books of arms, carried gules, a bishop's crosier, or, with a sword sal-tier ways argent, and on a chief of the second, a thistle vert. The last figure shows them to have been of Scotch extraction, and to have assumed the surname from the Kirk or church, probably on account of some of them belonging thereto.

Sir William Kirk is mentioned in the first book of Knox's "History of the Reformation," as being the first, among many others, whom Cardinal Beaton summoned before him in the Abbey Kirk of Hollyroodshire, in 1534, because he favored the Reformation. King James V., being then present, and interposing his authority, commanded Sir William to return to his former principles, to which he submissively acquiesced, and publicly burned his bill. He was brother to Daniel Kirk, burgess of Edinburgh, father of John Kirk, the writer, whose son was Jerome Kirk, minister of Aberfoyl, in Perthshire.

There are several well known families of the name of Kirk in England, who carry other figures, as is pointed out in Gil-lim's "Display of Heraldry." Sir John Knox, of Eastham, in the county of Essex, descended from Sir David Kirk, who was governor and proprietor of Newfoundland, carried arms, parted per fesse, or and gules, a lozenge counterchanged, with a canton azure, thereon a lion supporting a cutlas, charged and collared argent. This canton was given on an augmentation to the said Sir Daniel Kirk, and to Lewis Kirk, governor of Canada, and to Captain Thomas Kirk, vice admiral of the English fleet, and to their descendants, for their good services done in encountering and vanquishing the French navy, and bringing the admiral prisoner to England, and for taking the country of Canada, then belonging to the French, in which expedition Sir David took the governor and brought him prisoner to England.

Crosses are the badges of devotion, and especially the portable ones, the cross crosslets, which are frequently seen in the hands of churchmen, represented on seals and by the bearings of ancient families.

Cushions are looked upon as a mark of authority, and have been carried as armorial figures by ancient families, as of the

Randolphs, earls of Moray, and also those of the name of Johnston.

Cups are likewise used as armorial figures, and even from the office of butler to sovereign, as by the Butlers, dukes of Ormond, who quarter their coat of office, azure, three cups, or (with their paternal coat, or, on a chief indented, azure. The figures of the coat of office have descended from the branches of the family of that name in Scotland. England and Ireland as relative to the name. Butler, of Kirkland, in East Lothian, carried arms, parted per fesse, engrailed, azure and gules, three covered cups, two in chief and one in base or; crest, a cup without a cross, or.

Hunting Horns or bugles are ordinarily hung by strapping: which, if of a different tincture from the bugle, are then said, by the old heralds, to be bendressed, because worn over the shoulders by way of a bend. The modern heralds say stringed of such a tincture, and the French say *liez*. Hunting horns sometimes have three mouthpieces, and rings of a different tincture from the body of the horn, for which the French say *enginche* and *verrte* of such tinctures. The English say of such a tincture, garnished.

The surname of Forrester is from the office of keeper of the king's forests, as appears by their armorial figures, hunting horns, called bugles. King Robert III. gave a charter of annuity of ten marks sterling to Sir Adam Forrester, out of the customs of Edinburgh. Forrester of Cardon, in Sterlingshire, carried arms, argent, three hunting horns sable garnished.

OF ARTIFICIAL THINGS OR CHARGES AS THEY RELATE TO PROFESSIONS LIBERAL AND MECHANICAL

These figures are not so frequent in England as in other nations. Some of them are made use of by merchants and tradesmen as packs of manufactured goods in oval and quadrangular cartouches, since it is not allowed by the laws of well governed nations to place such in formal shields.

The letter A., with the Roman was the mark of absolution, and carried a token of honor and innocency.

The republic of Lucas as a trophy of its preserved liberty, carries azure, the word *libertas* in bend, between two cotises or.

The Turks and Moors, being forbidden by their religion the use of images and figures of living creatures, place letters on their ensigns.

The Spaniards who had long wars with the Moors in Spain, placed letters and words on their armorial ensigns; as the family of Vigo and Andria, in Spain, place the word *ave maria*, orleways round their arms.

The name Bell carries relative to the arms, balls; as Bell of Kirkonnell, azure, three bells or. When the tongue or clapper of a bell is of a different tincture the French use the term *bataille*.

Padlocks are carried by the Lockharts as pertaining to the name.

Chess-rooks used in the game of chess are carried in the name of Orrock.

Wheels are carried in the arms as that ancient one to be seen in the first quarter of the achievement of the archbishop of Mentz, elector and grand chancellor of the empire, viz: gules, a wheel or, which had its rise from one Willigis, or Willikis, who came to be an archbishop and elector in the time of the Emperor Otto II. Being the son of a mean man, or carter, or wheelwright, he took for his arms a wheel as a sign of his humility, to show the meanness of his birth and had the wheel painted on all the rooms of his house and furniture to remind him of his mean extract, with the words *villegis recolles ques es & unde venes*. And ever since that wheel has become the fixed figure of that see, which the emperor, Henry II., confirmed.

The St. Katharine wheel is another sort of a wheel met with in arms, which has iron teeth around it, used as an instrument of torture of old, upon which St. Katharine, a confessor, was put to death. Sir James Turner, one of the chief commanders of the forces of King Charles II. of Scotland, carried arms, sable, a St. Katharine's wheel argent, quartered with, argent *gouttes de sang*.

The Plough, Wagon, and all other implements of agriculture,

are met with in arms. The name of Kroyo, in England carries azure, a plough in fesse argent, with the motto *juvat dum lacerat*.

The Wagon is carried by the name of Benning, a descendant of the family of Fast-Benning, by Benning, of Carlouriehall, and Benning, of Wallford. It is said that one William Benning, of this family, surprised the castle of Linlithgow by a stratagem with a wagon full of hay, in the reign of King Robert the Bruce; and for this good service in dispossessing the English, he obtained the lands of East Benning, with the wagon added to his arms to perpetuate that achievement.

Barnacles, an instrument used by horse farriers to curb and command unruly horses was carried in arms by the ancient family of Geneville, by corruption called Grenville, sometimes great in England and lords of Meath, in Ireland, viz: three horse barnacles extended, in pale or, on a chief ermine, a lion issuant gules.

The De Lyons in France, originally from the ancient Leons in Rome had for their armorial bearings a lion. A branch of the family in France accompanied William the Conqueror to England and some of them later went to Scotland with King Edgar, son of King Malcom III., and obtained from that king sundry lands in the shire of Perth, which were called Glen Lyon.

The achievement of this ancient and noble family is, argent, a lion rampant azure, armed and langued gules, within the double tressure, flowered and counterflowered of the last; crest, a lady to the girdle, holding in her right hand the royal thistle, and enclosed within a circle of laurels proper; in memory of the honor that family had by marrying the daughter of King Robert.

The Label or Lambel is taken for a piece of silk, stuff, or linen, with pendants. The French take it for a scarf or ribbon which young men wore anciently about the neck of their helmets with points hanging down when they went to the wars, or to military exercises in company with their fathers by which they were distinguished from them.

To the eldest son, in his father's life time was assigned a label with three points plain; but if his grandfather was living, says Gerard Lee, a label with five points. The label is always placed on the upper part of the shield, the chief, or collar points of the

shield, and sometimes also by English heralds upon their exterior ornaments. The transverse part is called beam; this does not touch the sides of the shield, and the pieces that hang down are the points, which are always broad at the ends.

This figure is an ancient difference or *brisure* made use of by all nations, and the heralds who wrote in Latin gave *laminiscus lambella*, and *fascicula brifidia*, because its points are ordinarily three, and plain of metal or color, especially when it is used by the eldest son in his father's lifetime.

The plain label is seldom assigned to the younger brother, but when the heirs male of the eldest brother fail, and the inheritance falls to their daughters, and their heirs, the younger brother and his issue may use the plain label as heir expectant. When the label is not plain, but under accidental forms, or changed with figures, it then shows the bearers to be younger sons or the descendants of such.

The younger sons of King Edward III., of England differenced themselves and their families from one another by a label over their imperial arms. Edward, the Black Prince of Wales, bore his father's sovereign ensign, viz: France quartered with England, bruised with a label of three points argent. Lionel Plantagenet, third son of King Edward, carried the same arms and label, parti gules and argent.

John, of Gaunt, the fourth son of King Edward, who was duke of Lancaster in right of his wife, the heiress thereof, carried also France and England quarterly, with a label ermine for his difference.

Edmund, the Duke of York, carried the same arms, with a label argent, but for difference charged it with tortaux's gules. These last two brothers were the founders of the great families of Lancaster and York whose devices were the red and white roses, which became badges to their heirs and followers in the long and bloody war between the two families; and thereafter these were the badges of the kings of England. Since those days the label has been used to difference families by the greatest in Europe.

THE HELMET, HELME, CASQUE, OR MORION OF LEATHER OR METAL
OF VARIOUS KINDS FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE HEAD.

Helmets of old were made of leather, called *galea*, meaning the skin of a beast, with which the ancients carved their heads to make them appear terrible in battle. But at last they came to be made of metal for the defence of the head. As early as 1063 B. C. the metal helmet was used to protect the head and face from the several offensive weapons of warfare. Thus Samuel referring to the giant Goliath, whom David slew, said: "and he had a helmet of brass upon his head, and he was armed with a coat of mail; and the weight was five thousand shekels of brass." In the New Testament Paul, in his Epistle to the Ephesians, urges his followers to, "take the helmet of salvation and the sword of the spirit."

Burke in his description says: "The most ancient form is the simplest, composed of iron, of a shape fitted to the head, and flat upon the top, with an apperture for the light. This is styled the Norman helmet, and appears on very old seals attached to the gorget, a separate piece of armor which covered the neck.

The French for helmet use the *beaum*, especially when they understand an old fashioned, close helmet, with holes for breathing and seeing through. But when the helmet is open with bars, and adorned with lambrequen, crest, and other ornaments, they call it then the *casque*, or *timbre*. The last they use ordinarily for all marks of dignity that are placed upon the top of the shield or escutcheon, whether military, civil or ecclesiastic.

Heralds have observed three things in respect to the helmet; its matter, form and situation.

The matter of which they are supposed to be made, is of the metals, gold, silver, and steel, which show three degrees of dignity, viz: those of sovereign princes, of gold; those of high nobility, of silver; and those of lesser nobility, such as gentlemen, of polished steel. This order was observed in Germany, especially in Flanders, where, by an edict, in 1616, it was not lawful for any one to use a gold helmet on his shield under the penalty of three hundred florins.

As to their form, they are either close or open; there are some who claim that the first is a sign of military nobility; and the

open one of civil nobility. In Germany, says one authority, a close helmet is a sign of bezure nobility, and an open one of ancient nobility; a helmet altogether open, a sign of sovereignty; when with bars, of dignified nobility; and when with a vizor, with holes only, a sign of inferior nobility. The Germans also distinguish the degrees of nobility by the number of the bars; eleven of them show the sovereign dignity of a superior and king; nine, the dignity of a duke and marquis; seven, that of an earl; five that of a lord; and three bars show the dignity of a knight, and a gentleman of descent.

Burke, in describing the English custom in the use of helmets, says: "The helmet assigned to kings and princes of the blood royal, is fullfaced, composed of gold, with the beauvoir divided by six projecting bars, and lined with crimson. The Helmet of the nobility is of steel, with five bars of gold; it is placed on the shield inclining to profile. The helmet of knights and Baronets is the fullfaced steel helmet, with the visor thrown back, and without bars. The Helmet of Esquires, always depicted in profile, is of steel, with the visor closed."

The situation of the helmet on the shield fore-right, fronting, or side-ways, intimating also the degree of greatness and power, by the matter of forms as above. So that a close helmet, situated side-ways is a mark, as heralds tell us, of a gentleman or soldier who has acquired honor by his assiduous services, being always ready to fight, and give attention to the command of his superior.

When a close helmet stands direct forward, it shows nobility altogether new, and acquired by some heroic action; when barred and placed sideways, it is the mark of some lord who has no command in battle, or otherwise, except over his own vassals. When placed fronting, it intimates a chief command, not only of his own, but other companies, and when altogether open and fronting, it shows some absolute and independent power.

Menestrier, in his "Origin of Exterior Ornaments" says that "all Helmets were of old, close and plain, until their metal, number of bars, and separation came to be taken notice of, and that not long ago; but since the year 1559, when the French gave over the use of tournaments because an accident which happened to King Henry II. of France, jousting in disport at

a tournament with Gilbert, Earl of Montgomery, Captain of the Scots Guards, who thereby was wounded in the eye, with the splinter of a spear, of which his majesty died." After this various forms of helmets were used, and placed upon shields of arms by the nobility to show their degrees of dignity and quality, especially by the number of bars.

The degrees of heraldry, according to the French standard, are thus described. The helmet of kings and emperors are all of gold, damasked, fronting altogether open, without bars and visor; because they are to see and know all things, and command all without contradiction. Dukes, marquises and earls have silver helmets damasked with gold; fronting with nine bars. Viscounts, barons and knights, have silver helmets with gold edges, standing in profile, or little turned to the side with seven bars. Esquires and gentlemen of ancient descent, have side standing helmets of polished steel with five bars in the guard visor. To gentlemen of their descent they give a helmet in profile; that is standing sideways with three bars only. To a knight they assign the helmet standing right forward, with the bearer a little open, to signify direction and command.

The Scots and the English have their helmets after one form, somewhat different from those of the French. A gentleman and an esquire have their helmets in profile, that is, posted sideways, with the bearer close, to signify attention and obedience. The helmet in profile, open with bars, belongs to all noblemen in Britain under the degree of a duke. The helmet right forward, and open with many bars, is assigned to dukes, princes of the blood, royal, and monarchs. The monarchs of Great Britain have their helmets the same way, fronting with bars, but the French give to their sovereigns a forestanding helmet open, without bars, and visor of gold.

All agree that an open helmet is nobler than a close one, and a direct fore-standing helmet than side-standing one. According to English custom a knight has a fore-standing helmet open; and the dignified nobility, a side-standing helmet with bars; for the reason that bars are more noble than visors or bearers, though cast up.

When they all go to battle they have close helmets of steel or

brass for the defence of the head, which are not of gold or silver, nor forward with a certain number of bars, which are used for ostentation, and placed upon the top of the shield to show the dignity of nobility in public places, and at solemn assemblies.

Elias Ashmole, in his "Institutions of the Most Noble Order of the Garter," says that:

"The Knights Companies of this Order have, besides their escutcheons of arms, their helmet, crest, and sword, hung up over their stalls in the chapel of St. George, at Windsor, and ordered to remain there during the lives of their possessors. The helmets used for their reason are made of steel, large and fair, of more than ordinary proportions, and of two sorts; one appointed for sovereign princes; gilded and formed open, with bailes or bars; the others for knights. Subjects in the reign of Henry VIII. were parcal gilt; but in Queen Elizabeth's reign and since, it is the custom to gild all over, having close visors, and to place St. George's red cross in the middle before the visors; and these are the form of the helmets of the Knights of the Garter at Windsor."

When there are two helmets on an escutcheon of arms they are placed facing each other, and when there are three helmets, that in the middle is placed fronting; and the other two *coutourne*, that is, turned to it; and if three to four helmets in a shield, two looks to two. The practice of multiplying helmets is frequent with the Germans. The helmet with them is a sign of eminent nobility; if there are four, six, or eight helmets, the one half of them are turned looking to the other, and their mantlings and crests.

The wreath upon which the crest is generally borne is composed of two cords of silk interwoven or twisted together, the one tinctured of metal, and the other of the principal color in the arms. It was used to fasten the crest to the helmet.

The Crest, or Cognizance, (derived from the Latin word *crista*, a comb or tuft), originated in the thirteenth century, and served to distinguish the combatants in the battle or tournament. The crest, unless expressly stated to be on a chapeau or coronet is always on a wreath, which need not therefore be named in the blazon.

The helmet is placed immediately above the escutcheon, and supports the wreath on which is the crest.

SOME POLITICAL LETTERS OF THE RECONSTRUCTION DAYS SUCCEEDING THE CIVIL WAR

CONTRIBUTED BY DUANE MOWRY

THE letters which follow are all written in the same bold handwriting, evidently that of General John A. Dix. They were in the correspondence of ex-Senator James Rood Doolittle, of Wisconsin, and are now in the writer's possession. They have never been published. If not historically important, they are certainly valuable as throwing some light on the political affairs of the general government at the time to which they relate.

The "call" referred to in these letters is an interesting political document. It was dated July 10, 1866, and was designed to bring together at Philadelphia "a convention of the ablest men of the nation, without regard to their party antecedents, who favor, generally, the restoration policy President Johnson has advocated as against the dangerous course pursued by the majority of Congress." Of course, Judge Doolittle, then a United States senator, was one of the instigators of the patriotic movement; and it seems that from the letters submitted, General Dix, was one of his faithful sympathizers and supporters. The names signed to the call include some of the most eminent public men at that time in public life. The convention was known as the National Union Convention.

UNION PACIFIC COMPANY, President's Office,

Private.

20 Nassau St.,

New York, 14 June, 1866.

My dear Sir: I rec'd a letter from Genl. G. Clay Smith yesterday asking me to come to Washington the last of this week or the first of next to see you & some other gentlemen in regard to polit-

ical matters. I fear it will be impossible, as I am just now kept here awaiting very important communications in regard to the Union Pacific R. Road from Nebraska.

Fortunately, however, Judge Pierrepont, who with myself & some other democrats led off against the Chicago Convention in 1864, went to Washington this morning. He will be at Willards. He is a man of influence & his opinions reflect fairly those of the War Democrats here. I wish you could see him. Indeed, I think it important. But he may not feel exactly at liberty to do so without a suggestion from you.

I have dropped a line to Genl. Smith by this mail.

In great haste,

Very truly yours,

Hon. J. R. Doolittle.

John A. Dix.

New York, 10 July, 1863.

My dear Sir: I am doing all in my power to bring the right kind of men into the Philadelphia Convention. Our danger is that the men, whom we do not want, will get in to cover up their past political sins. This would be a most serious injury, & might imperil the whole movement.

I am very busy with the great railroad, and may not be able to do so much as I otherwise could; but I have arranged with Judge Pierrepont to see our most reliable and active men, and by next week I hope to be able to give you some definite information as to what can be done. There will be, I hope, a full delegation from this State, & it is indispensable that it should be of men of the right stamp.

I just learn that you are likely to adjourn this week. Do not fail to let us see you here as you go home. I think there is a general disposition to organize against the radical majority in Congress, and there is a corresponding anxiety to have the movement so managed as to insure success.

Yours very truly,

Hon. J. R. Doolittle.

John A. Dix.

P. S.—I will procure & send you my letter to the Brooklyn meeting in support of the President's plan of restoration.

New York, 13 July, 1866.

My dear Sir: I have received the call signed by yourself and others for a National Union Convention in Philadelphia on the 14th Aug. I concur in its propositions, its reasonings & its objects, and will do all in my power to carry them out.

I long since expressed the opinion that the States were entitled to their representation in Congress; that their exclusion was a violation of good faith and of the obligations of the Constitution; and that a persistence in such a policy must lead to consequences most disastrous to the peace and prosperity of the country.

These and other considerations connected with the present unsatisfactory relations of the States to the federal government and to each other render most timely and proper such a meeting as you have recommended of the patriotic and reflecting men of the Union to consult together for the general welfare.

I am truly yours,

John A. Dix.

Hon. Jas. R. Doolittle.

UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY, President's Office.
20 Nassau St.,

New York, 20. July, 1866.

Dear Sir: I have just rec'd yours of the 18th & am glad my letter was what you wished.

It is settled that the democratic organization in this state, as such, will not be represented at the Phila. Convention. This is as it should be. The Union men should be prominent in order to make it successful. I think by the 1. of Aug. the delegations from all the Congress Districts will be complete by separate action. We are now talking about the best mode of appointing State delegates. D. D. Field was to call a meeting at Albany. If this is not done, there will be a movement here for the purpose. I am only waiting for the return of Judge Pierrepont, who has been absent ten days, to consult with him, Morgan, Hoffman & others.

In regard to the naval office, I have expressed no opinion whatever, but have refused to recommend any candidate. If the President had said anything to me, I should have been very frank with him. He has been very unfortunate in the appointment of a Col-

lector. That office, which should have been a tower of strength to him, is not of the slightest account. Mr. Smythe is an amiable gentleman; but his sight is such that the duties of the office must be discharged by subordinates; and he has no political influence or *status even*. I say this as a proper introduction to the subject—the naval office. It is one of the utmost importance, and more especially when the Collectorship is so filled. The naval office, tho, not generally understood, is a perfect check on the Collector's. There can be no defalcation, no fraud, no irregularity in the latter if the former is properly administered. Formerly the first men in the State were selected for the office. Michael Hoffman, one of the ablest men this State ever produced, once filled it. The President should, under existing circumstances, select such a man if he can find one to take it. I do not know who all the candidates are; but I have declined to recommend five or six.

What I say is *strictly confidential*, tho' I have no objection that you should communicate it to the President, should he desire to know what I think. I will only add that the duties of the naval officer are by no means engrossing & he would have time to be useful to the government in other ways.

I am, Dear Sir,

Yours Sincerely,

John A. Dix.

I have found the paper (World of 26 April) containing my letter approving the President's policy & send it in another envelope.

Private.

N. Y., 23. July, 1866.

Dear Sir: I was very much disappointed not to see you yesterday. I saw Mr. Field & Mr. Weed and telegraphed you to come directly to my house, where you could have seen them quietly, as well as Mr. Wood.

It is very important that you should see Mr. Field & Mr. Weed. The latter remained here over Sunday to see you. A paper was presented to me calling a State Convention, to be signed by some democrats, & republicans who were friends of Mr. Seward, leaving Mr. Field & the old democrats of the republican party out. This will not do.

I am sorry that the democracy of Ohio & Penn. go in as organizations. It will seriously injure the movement, and they should stand back. The republicans & war democrats should take the lead & let others come in as individuals.

Are you coming here? I can go to Washington the last of the week, if necessary.

I think of going to Luzerne this evening, but shall be back Thursday morning.

Yours very truly,

Hon. J. R. Doolittle.

John A. Dix.

Paris 8. January, 1867.

LEGATION

des Etats Unis.

My dear Sir:—

Yours of the 23rd is rec'd. I concur with you fully in the opinion you entertain in regard to *all* the causes which contributed to our defeat last fall. In regard to the future I have, I confess, no distinct impression except this—that we cannot count upon any wise or disinterested action by the Democratic party with its present leadership, and if it changes its leaders at all, I think it will be to put forth others of the same stamp. I have, therefore, no hope except in the formation of a conservative party, with loyal men, & preferably, republicans at its head. If Messrs. Wade, Howard, and others will take the lead in this movement, I shall have new hope that something will be accomplished. I shall look with great interest to your proceedings.

In regard to myself I have not had, and do not mean to have, a moment of uneasiness. Should a majority of the Senate refuse to assent to my appointment, I think I am philosopher enough to bear it. I hope, in that case, that in justice to me, the injunction of secrecy may be removed from the proceedings.

Here everything is on the most satisfactory footing. The Emperor is doing all he can to get out of Mexico, and in March the whole French force will be withdrawn. My address suffered so much in the translation for the *moniteus* into French and back

again into English for Galigmani that I scarcely recognized some passages. I sent a correct copy to the State Department. The Emperor's reply was even warmer than was reported. Of his friendly sentiments, & his readiness to do anything to preserve amicable relations with us, there is not the slightest doubt.

I am writing for the mail and am obliged to close. I will advise you if there is anything interesting here, and pray let me hear from you.—

Yours very truly,

JOHN A. DIX.

I will write to my friends about your son.

A MORAVIAN MISSION TO THE WESTERN INDIANS IN 1758

BY T. J. CHAPMAN

IN the middle of July, 1758, Christian Frederick Post received orders from the governor of Pennsylvania to proceed to the western part of the province and endeavor to withdraw the Indian tribes there from the French interest. Post was an unassuming Moravian preacher who had come from Germany in 1742. For several years he had preached among the Indians, and he had married a baptized Indian woman. His own temperament and his intimate knowledge of the Indian character caused him to be well fitted for the duty with which he was entrusted. He was accompanied by Tom Hickman, an interpreter, and a number of Indians, among them Pisquetumen and Wellemeghihink.¹

The Indians were at Germantown, a hamlet a few miles north of Philadelphia. When Post arrived there on the fifteenth of July, he found them all drunk, except Wellemeghihink, who had gone to Philadelphia for a horse that had been promised him. Post waited until near noon the next day for the return of the Indian, and when he came he was so drunk that he could get no farther, and the expedition proceeded without him. Post had a good deal of trouble to get his Indians off, as they made out to be generally either drunk or sick; but on the sixteenth of the month he was properly started on his perilous journey.

At Fort Allen, where he arrived on the twentieth, he met with serious opposition from King Teedyuscung. Two years before, at Easton, Teedyuscung had made a treaty of peace and friendship with the English. He was now about fifty years old. He is described in the records of the time as "a lusty, rawboned man, haughty and very desirous of respect and command." He

1. In the "Pennsylvania Archives" we find this name printed Willm. McKaking. See Vol. III, p. 520. In Proud's "History of Pennsylvania" it appears as Willamegicken and Wellemeghihink. See Vol. II, appendix.

had also a great capacity for firewater. "He can drink three quarts or a gallon of rum a day without being drunk." Hence there is no telling what quantity he must have imbibed on those festive occasions when he became intoxicated, as at the council at Easton, when it is said that he and "his wild company were perfectly drunk, very much on the Gascoon, and at times abusive to the inhabitants." He was also "full of himself, saying frequently that which side soever he took must stand, and the other fall."² He declared that he had been made king by ten nations, namely, the united Six Nations, and the Delawares, Shawanese, Mohicans and Muncseys. "He carried the belt of peace with him," he said, "and whoever would might take hold of it." At this treaty he declared that he was present by the appointment of these nations, and that what he did they would all confirm. Yet a day or two afterwards he qualified this statement. He was not sure that he could prevail on the Ohio Indians. "I cannot tell," he said, "that they will leave off doing mischief;" and he advised the English to make themselves strong on that side. He was right as to the Indians on the Ohio. His treaty was effective so far as regarded the Indians on the Susquehanna, but the tribes in the Ohio Valley scouted his authority.

Teedyuscung now protested against Post's proceeding on his mission. "His reasons were," says Post, "that he was afraid the Indians would kill me, or the French get me; and if that should be the case he should be very sorry, and did not know what he should do." His opposition was such that but three of the Indians offered to go any farther with Post. "We concluded," says Post, "to go through the inhabitants, under the Blue mountains, to Fort Augusta, on Susquehanna." This fort stood at Shamokin, where Sunbury now stands. It was built in the summer of 1756. Post arrived there on the twenty-fifth of July.

"It gave me great pain," he says, "to observe many plantations deserted and laid waste, and I could not but reflect on the distress the poor owners must be drove to, who once lived in plenty, and I prayed the Lord to restore peace and prosperity to the distressed."

2. "Pennsylvania Archives," Vol. II, page 724.

At Fort Augusta the unpleasant news was brought by some Indians that the English army had been destroyed at Ticonderoga, which so discouraged one of his companions, "Lappopet-ing's son," that he refused to accompany the expedition any farther. This reduced the original company to only two men, evidently Pisquetumen and Tom Hickman. He must here have recruited his force, as we know that he afterwards had at least four men with him. One of those whom he here picked up was Shamokin Daniel, and Shamokin Daniel afterwards turned out to be a thorn in the flesh.³ At the fort they were furnished with everything necessary for the journey, and on the twenty-seventh they "set out with good courage." After various adventures they came, on the seventh of August, in sight of Fort Venango.⁴ "I prayed the Lord to blind them," says Post, "as he did the enemies of Lot and Elisha, that I might pass unknown." They slept that night within half gunshot of the fort. On the tenth they met an Indian, and one whom Post believed to be a renegade English trader, from whom they learned that they had lost the way, and that they were within twenty miles of Fort Dequesne. Upon this they struck off to the right, and slept that night "between two mountains." On the second day after this they came to the Connoquenessing, or, as Post writes it, the Conaquanoshon, where, he says, was an old Indian town, fifteen miles from Kushkushkee.⁵

"The point at which Post saw the Conaquanoshon was probably about where Harmony now stands, as this village is just fifteen miles in a straight line from Newport, which occupies the sight of Cusheuschunk, or Kosh-kosh-kung. If this supposition is correct there must have then been, in 1758, 'an old Indian town' upon or very near the ground on which Harmony is built."⁶

3. The Indians at Shamokin were a very depraved set. Good David Brainerd, who had visited them some years before, says of them: "The Indians of this place are accounted the most drunken, mischievous and ruffian-like fellows of any in these parts; and Satan seems to have his seat in this town in an eminent manner."—Brainerd's "Diary," Sept. 13, 1745.

4. This was the French fort at the mouth of French creek. It was called by the French, Fort Machault.

5. This name is variously spelled in the old records. In Weiser's journal it is written Coscosky; in Washington's journal, Kuskusgo; in Post's journal, Kushkushko; while two other varieties of spelling are seen above.

6. "History of Butler County, Pennsylvania," p. 15.

From this point they sent Pisquetumen to Kushkushkee in advance of the party, with a message of friendship and explanation. About noon they met some Shawanese that had formerly lived at Wyoming. They knew Post, and greeted him very kindly. "I saluted them," says he, "and assured them the government of Pennsylvania wished them well, and wished to live in peace and friendship with them." Before they reached the town, two men came out to meet them and bring them in. King Beaver seemed to be the chief man in the place. He received them and showed them a large house in which they could lodge. The news soon spread, and the people gathered about to see them. There were about sixty young warriors who came and shook hands with them.

King Beaver spoke to the people.

"Boys," said he, "hearken. We sat here without ever expecting again to see our brethren, the English; but now one of them is brought before you that you may see your brethren, the English, with your own eyes; and I wish you may take it into consideration."

Then turning to Post, he said:

"Brother, I am very glad to see you; I never thought we should have had the opportunity to see one another more; but now I am very glad, and thank God, who has brought you to us. It is a great satisfaction to me."

To this address of welcome Post replied:

"Brother, I rejoice in my heart; I thank God, who has brought me to you. I bring you joyful news from the governor and people of Pennsylvania, and from your children, the Friends; and, as I have words of great consequence, I will lay them before you when all the kings and captains are called together from the other towns.

Messengers were at once dispatched to the surrounding towns and villages, but it was not until the seventeenth of the month that the different "kings and captains" could be got together. In the meantime Post had been treated with the greatest kindness. The Indians seemed really pleased that he had visited them.

Thy came to his lodgings, where they would remain and dance sometimes until after midnight. Some Frenchmen, who were in the town building houses for the Indians, also came to see him. Among those who came to the great council were two Indian captains from Fort Duquesne. They were very surly.

“When I went to shake hands with one of them,” says Post, “he gave me his little finger; the other withdrew his hand entirely; upon which I appeared as stout as either, and withdrew my hand as quick as I could. Their rudeness to me,” he adds, “was taken very ill by the other captains, who treated them in the same manner in their turn.”

With these two messengers from Fort Duquesne, had come a French captain and fifteen men. But Post would have nothing to do with them; he had been sent to the Indians, he said, and not to the French. In the councils that followed, the Indians expressed a desire for peace.

“All the Indians,” said they, “a great way from this, even beyond the lakes, wish for a peace with the English, and have desired us, as we are the nearest of kin, if we see the English incline to a peace, to hold it fast.”

They entirely ignored Teedyuscung, however, and would not hear of any treaty that had been made by him. But, as they said, they could not make peace alone; it was necessary that all should join in it, or it could be no peace. They therefore proposed to go to a neighboring town called Sawkunk,⁷ and consider the matter further there. To this Post consented, and they set out on the twentieth. The party consisted of twenty-five horsemen and fifteen foot, and they arrived at Sawkunk in the afternoon. Post’s reception there was not so friendly as at Kushkushkee. “The people of the town were much disturbed at my coming,” says he, “and received me in a very rough manner. They surrounded me with drawn knives in their hands, in such a manner that I could hardly get along.” They evidently thirsted for his blood, and seemed to desire some pretense to kill him; but some Indians coming up, whom Post had formerly known, and who

7. Sawkunk was an important Indian town at the confluence of the Big Beaver and Ohio rivers. The name signifies “at the mouth,” or where one stream flows into another. See Boyd’s “Indian Local Names,” p. 43.

now greeted him in a friendly manner, the behavior of the others quickly changed.

Here it was proposed that he should proceed to Fort Duquesne, as there were eight different nations there who desired to hear his message. To this Post earnestly objected, but in vain; the Indians insisted, telling him he need not fear the French, that they would carry him "in their bosoms." They accordingly set out for the fort, but went only so far as Logstown that day. The next day, August 24, they continued their journey, and in the afternoon came in sight of the fort. They did not cross over, but remained on the north bank of the river. As they had come up the river from Logstown, the place where they halted was, perhaps, a little below the point where the fort stood. Immediately all the Indian chiefs at the fort crossed over, when King Beaver presented Post to them, saying: "Here is our English brother, who has brought great news." Some of the chiefs signified their pleasure at seeing him; but one old, deaf Onondago denounced him. "I do not know this Swannock," said he; "it may be that you know him. I, the Shawanese, and our father, do not know him." The next day, however, he acknowledged that he had been wrong; he said that "he had now cleaned himself," and hoped they would forgive him.

The French, and some of the Indians, demanded that Post should be sent into the fort; but the other Indians would not hear of this. On the twenty-fifth the chiefs assembled again and had a great deal of counselling among themselves. The French were still intriguing to get Post into their hands, but his friends would not give him up. He was told not to stir from the fire, for the French had offered a great reward for his scalp, and that some parties were desirous to secure it. "Accordingly I stuck constantly as close to the fire," says he, "as if I had been chained there." The following day the Indians and a number of the French officers crossed the river again to hear what Post had to say. They brought with them a table and writing materials, to take down what might be said. Post stood among them and spoke at considerable length "with a free conscience." The French, he says, did not seem pleased with his speech.

"Brethren at Allegheny," said he, "hear what I say: Every

one that lays hold of this belt of peace, I proclaim peace to them from the English nation, and let you know that the great king of England does not incline to have war with the Indians; but he wants to live in peace and love with them, if they will lay down the hatchet and leave off war with him. We let you know that the great king of England has sent a great number of warriors into this country, not to go to war with the Indians in their towns, no, not at all; these warriors are going against the French. By this belt I take you by the hand, and lead you at a distance from the French, for your own safety, that your legs may not be stained with blood. Come away on this side the mountain, where we may oftener converse together, and where your own flesh and blood lives. I have almost finished what I had to say, and hope it will be to your satisfaction. My wish is that we may join close together in that old brotherly love and friendship which our garndfathers had, so that all the nations may hear and see us, and have the benefit of it; and if you have any uneasiness or complaint in your heart and mind, do not keep it to yourself. We have opened the road to the council fire, therefore, my brethren, come and acquaint the governor with it; you will be readily heard, and full justice will be done you."

After the council the French and Indians returned to the fort, except Post's companions, who were about seventy in number. One of the latter, however, Shamokin Daniel, went over to the fort, though his comrades disapproved it. Here he had some conversation with the commandant, and soon returned with a laced coat and hat, a blanket, shirts, ribbons, a new gun, powder, lead, etc. He was quite a changed man. He reviled Post and the English, and "behaved in a very proud, saucy and imperious manner." Post was informed that as soon as they got back to the fort, the French proposed to the Indians to cut off Post and his party. To this the Indians would not consent. "The Delawares," said they, "are a strong people, and are spread to a great distance, and whatever they agree to must be." The French again insisted that Post must be delivered up to them; but the Indians refused to do so, except the traitorous Shamokin Daniel, who had received a string of Wampum to leave him there. Post's friends then determined that he should set off the next morning before day, which he did. They returned through Sawkunk, and arrived at Kushkushkee in the evening of the twenty-eighth.

Pisquetumen, Tom Hiskman, Shingiss, and the rascally Shamo-kin Daniel were of the party.

Though the Delawares had treated Post kindly, and had refused to deliver him to the French, they were not ready yet to surrender themselves to the English cause. They were suspicious of the English, and of their good intentions.

“It is told us,” said they, after they had got back to Kush-kushkee, “that you and the French contrived the war to waste the Indians between you; and then you and the French intended to divide the land between you. This was told us by the chief of the Indian traders; and they said further, ‘Brothers, this is the last time we shall come among you, for the French and English intend to kill all the Indians, and then divide the land among themselves.’”

Post made answer to this:

“I am very sorry to see you so jealous. I am your own flesh and blood, and sooner than I would tell you any story that would be of hurt to you or your children, I would suffer death. And if I did not know that it was the desire of the governor that we should renew our brotherly love and friendship that subsisted between our grandfathers, I would not have undertaken this journey. I do assure you of mine and the people’s honesty.”

In a council held on the fourth of Septemebr, the chiefs addressing him, said:

“Brother, you very well know that you have collected all your young men about the country, which makes a large body, and now they are standing before our doors. You come with good news and fine speeches. This is what makes us jealous, and we do not know what to think of it. If you had brought the news of peace before your army had begun to march, it would have caused a great deal more good. We do not so readily believe you, because a great many great men and traders have told us, long before the war, that you and the French intended to join and cut all the Indians off.”

To this speech Post replied:

“Brothers, I love you from the bottom of my heart. I am extremely sorry to see the jealousy so deeply rooted in your

hearts and minds. I have told you the truth; and yet, if I was to tell it you a hundred times, it seems you would not rightly believe me. I do now declare, before God, that the English never did, nor never will, join with the French to destroy you."

Having performed the task that had been given him to do, Post now desired to return home; but the Indians, on one pretext or another, delayed him day after day. They were not entirely satisfied in their minds.

"It is a troublesome cross and heavy yoke to draw this people," wrote Post; "they can punish and squeeze a body's heart to the utmost. My heart has been very heavy here, because they kept me for no purpose. The Lord knows how they have been counselling about my life; but they did not know who was my Protector and Deliverer."

At length, however, on the afternoon of the eighth of September, Post and his party set off from Kushkushkee, and proceeded ten miles on their return journey. They suffered much from hunger and exposure on the way, and were in great danger from the enemy, but finally arrived at Fort Augusta, on the twenty-second, "very weary and hungry, but greatly rejoiced of our return from this tedious journey."

ANNOUNCEMENT

WITH the July issue the AMERICAN HISTORICAL MAGAZINE changes its name, widens its field and passes under new editorial management.

The new name is AMERICANA, a title that seems to the publishers more in harmony with the scope of the National Americana Society, but no radical departure from its historical character is intended. There will be an enriching of its resources in this direction, and writers will be employed who have been successful in bringing to the light the buried treasures of our historical literature. Biography will remain a prominent feature, and several notable articles in this line are in preparation.

But Americana is to have a more distinct literary atmosphere from this time. The articles will be rather shorter and more narrative in character; there will be besides the editorial department, several others later on, which will add much to the attraction. The management will spare no pains to make of the magazine a distinguished, progressive periodical, the fitting organ of all that is best in our history and of most permanent value in our American life.

The new editor, Mrs. Florence Hull Winterburn, is a Washington woman who has made a substantial reputation as the author of sociological books, and has been several times associate editor of New York magazines. Completely identified with the interests of her country both by the traditions of her family as well as by her strong patriotism, Mrs. Winterburn is well qualified to take charge of a magazine so essentially patriotic as Americana.

The illustrative department of the magazine will be richer and stronger than ever. The illustrations will include, as formerly, steel plates, half-tones and line engravings in the text.

The subscription price will remain at three dollars a year.

Address all communications of a literary nature to the Editor of Americana, and all business communications to

NATIONAL AMERICANA SOCIETY,

154 East Twenty-third Street,

New York.

JULY, 1909

AMERICANA

FLORENCE HULL WINTERBURN, Editor

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Joseph Smith

AMERICANA

July, 1909

HOW DOLLY MADISON OUTWITTED THE BRITISH.

By HELEN HARCOURT

THE twenty-fourth of August, 1814, was the most memorable day in the history of our then young national capital. On that day the troops of Great Britain marched through its streets and destroyed all the best that was in it. It was the culmination of two years of fierce warfare, the outcome of British interference with our foreign commerce and the seizure of American sailors under the right claimed by England to search our ships for English deserters.

It was however, with avowed reluctance that President Madison, on June eighteenth, 1812, signed the declaration of war against Great Britain. He knew the power of the enemy, and our own unpreparedness for war, but his calmer judgment was forced to yield to the clamor of the nation and the will of congress. The President declared that such a war could only result in a fruitless destruction of American lives and property. And he was right. When the bloody war of two years was ended, the questions that had caused all the trouble were still far from being settled as the United States desired.

In the winter of 1812 Admiral Cockburn with a squadron of warships entered Chesapeake Bay. His proximity to the national capital naturally excited great apprehension among the people, but General Armstrong, the secretary of war, and other high military authorities, ridiculed the idea of the enemy's attacking Washington. The city was declared to be impregnable, and so vehemently did those who should have known insist on this being

the case, that a bill to increase the military forces in the District of Columbia was voted down by the congress as being unnecessary.

And as a matter of fact the English admiral had at this time no thought of attacking Washington, supposing the city and its approaches to be well fortified. His object in entering the bay was not a dangerous attack on the capital, but a safe attack on the defenceless seaboard town and villages, dock yards and harbors. Accordingly, he bombarded every little town that could be reached by his ships. Marauding parties were landed, towns pillaged and burned, many of their inhabitants killed or carried off as prisoners, and others wounded and left to die or live as the case might be. Such superfluous cruelty gained for their perpetrator the contemptuous title of "Cockburn the marauder." The very mention of his name filled timid hearts with terror, brave ones with scorn and hatred.

As the months rolled on the admiral became emboldened by success, and drew nearer and nearer to the capital. And still, in spite of the urgent advice of the President, his military chiefs derided the idea of danger to the city of Washington. Finally, in the early summer of 1814, came the startling news that a fleet of transports carrying a large force of Wellington's veterans had sailed from Bermuda for the Potomac river. Then at last active steps were taken for defence. A hasty cabinet meeting was held and the President laid before it a well considered plan of defence, which was eagerly adopted. The execution of the plan was placed in the hands of General Winder, and he was authorized to raise an army of ninety-three thousand men.

But now, as ever from that day to this, "red tape" obliged the general to submit to annoying and useless delays at every step. Official interference and leisurely ways handicapped his every effort even in the face of impending danger. His urgent call for volunteers too, met with but a feeble response, and ten thousand raw, undisciplined militia instead of the desired ninety-three thousand, were all that answered the call. The only quick response came from the gallant Commodore Barney, who, with his little flotilla of fourteen armed vessels, took his station in the Patuxent river, twenty-five miles south-east of the city.

In the meantime the British were not idle. Admiral Cockburn's squadron had been joined by twenty-one others under Admiral Cochrane, and these, carrying the five thousand veterans from Bermuda, under General Ross, entered the Patuxent river on the eighteenth of August. Two days later, the brave Barney, realizing that the only hope of saving his flotilla was to conceal the vessels, retreated as far up the river as it was possible to navigate them. Then, leaving a few sailors on guard with orders to burn the ships rather than permit them to fall into the hands of the enemy, he himself marched with four hundred of his men to join the militia who were hastily assembling.

Suddenly, on the early morning of the nineteenth, the people of the towns and villages lying between the Patuxent river and the capital, were startled from their slumbers by the furious clatter of a horse's hoofs through their main street, and the voice of a man shouting: "To arms, to arms, Cockburn is coming!"

Fast upon the heels of the excited rider came the official intelligence that a British force of five thousand troops under Cockburn and Ross had landed not more than forty miles from the city. The hated name of Cockburn was full of terror, and all along the route women and children prepared for flight to the woods. Some men also fled, but more, thank heaven, prepared to defend their homes and their country.

General Winder ordered a large detachment of militia to march out to intercept the enemy, whose avowed intention was to overtake and capture Commodore Barney and his brave band of four hundred sailors. The latter, however, succeeded in joining the militia unmolested. It was only now, it would seem, that emboldened by previous impunity and enraged by his failure to intercept Barney, Admiral Cockburn resolved to march on the cherished seat of the American government. One document above all others he vowed to seize and destroy, the hated Declaration of Independence; two persons above all others he vowed to capture and send to England as prisoners,—the President and his wife. It was the belief of this gallant persecutor of helpless women and children that thus the British government could wrest whatever terms it desired from the audacious Americans.

Admiral Cockburn succeeded in neither one nor the other of his objects. The bravery of one frail woman alone, however, stood between the spoiler and the precious document that he would have destroyed, a woman in whose honor a grateful nation should long ago have erected a monument in memory of her heroism in saving its most precious treasure from destruction.

In the midst of all the wild excitement following upon the news of the landing of the British, Mrs. Madison, Dolly Madison, as the people termed her with affectionate respect, continued quietly in her accustomed round of duties, although she was not quite satisfied by the assurances of her husband and General Armstrong that there was no danger of the enemy invading the city, as General Winder had ample forces for driving him back.

But serene though she seemed, Dolly Madison's senses were on the alert. The spirit of unrest was in the air; the gathering of troops, the roll of drums, the galloping couriers from the outlying army, the hurried flight of the people, bearing such household goods as they could carry, the shouts and cries in the streets, all imbued her with a sense of impending calamity. And, as the event proved, with reason. Each succeeding dispatch from the front told of the continued advance of the British without opposition. On the afternoon of the twenty-second, Mrs. Madison's husband bade her a hasty farewell and sped away on horseback to join Winder on the field. Then indeed, his wife's anxiety and dread became acute.

Scarcely had the President left the city when came the startling news that the flotilla in the Patuxent river had been burned to prevent it from falling into the hands of the enemy, who was now at a point almost opposite to the city. Wild rumors of all sorts added to the ominous news. Nor was the general terror lessened the next morning by a dispatch from James Monroe, secretary of state, who, with General Winder, had been reconnoitering, "The enemy is in full march to Washington. Have materials prepared to destroy the bridge. You had better remove the records."

Had a bomb alighted in the midst of government circles the consternation could hardly have been greater. Not a moment was lost in beginning the work of saving the records and public

documents. All that day and late into the night every clerk and official worked at top speed. In the midst of scenes of wildest confusion, Dolly Madison waited anxiously for tidings from her husband, knowing that his life was in danger not only from his natural foes, but from his own affrighted people who on all sides were loudly blaming him for the failure to check the British advance and to defend the city. To the worse than uncertainty of her own position, Dolly Madison gave little heed, though most of her personal friends had left the city, after vainly urging her to accompany them. The White House guard of one hundred men had deserted in a body, and it was with difficulty that the few servants were kept from following their example. At last came a hasty note from the President asking his wife to be ready at a moment's notice to enter her carriage and leave the city.

Soon brave Dolly was at work. Her first thought was for the valuable national documents that were stored in the White House. These, with the help of the remaining servants, were quickly packed into the two or three trunks that could be taken in the carriage. No personal belongings of her own or her husband's could be saved. It was impossible to hire a wagon or conveyance of any kind. Such as had not been pressed into service for the army, had been captured by the departments for the removal of the government records. When wagons failed, anything that could run upon wheels was eagerly seized upon by the terror-stricken citizens. Wheel barrows, dump carts, ox-carts, hand carts, sledges, big boxes, and even row boats set on hastily constructed runners in lieu of wheels, were piled high with household goods and with women and children and invalids, and hurried out of the city. Thus, those who were so fortunate, but the majority could find no medium whatever for removing their personal belongings, therefore the most valuable articles were buried, and their owners generally remained on guard, hoping with a forlorn hope, to find some means of saving their property from the ruthless foe.

As the day wore on all sorts of rumors filled the air, and the excitement and disorder increased. The British were advancing; there had been a battle and the Americans were retreating; the slaves were preparing for an uprising, and were arming

with knives and whatever other weapons they could procure. The government clerks, spurred on by desperation, summarily seized every wagon in sight, ejecting army rations and private goods and replacing them with bags and bundles of priceless records and documents. Thus the twenty-third of August, 1814, closed on a scene of uproar and fearful suspense.

As may well be imagined, that was a sleepless night for Dolly Madison. Repeatedly urged to fly from the approaching perils she as often refused to go until her husband returned or she was assured of his safety. Sunrise on the morning of that fateful twenty-fourth of August found the brave mistress of the White House at a window, eagerly scanning the horizon with a field-glass. All through the morning she waited and watched, hoping to see a loved form approaching. In the distance she saw only groups of soldiers marching here and there. Towards noon these groups united and got into active motion, and then presently came the dull, rumbling roar of cannon from a point scarce five miles distant.

It was on the famous tract known as the "Blandensburg duelling ground" that the British met the Americans who had hastily assembled, ready to fight a wholesale duel for the honor of their country, a duel on the result of which depended the fate of the national capital. It needed no prophet to foretell that result, when six thousand tried veterans hurled themselves upon three thousand raw, undisciplined militia, many of them under fire for the first time.

The Americans fought bravely, but in vain. Individual valor could not withstand the disciplined attack of a perfectly trained foe with a settled plan of battle, which latter was totally lacking on the part of the Americans. All evidence points to the fact that the whole engagement was hopelessly mismanaged by the American general. A Washington, a Moultrie, a Marion, would have spared the national capital the disgrace and destruction of an invasion by an enemy who now boastfully announced his intention to capture the President and his wife and to burn the nation's treasured Declaration of Independence.

The only portion of the American army which distinguished itself, were the sailors under Commodore Barney, who served as

gunners and made a stand so heroic and determined as to evoke the admiration of their enemies. This gallant band might have saved the day had they not been forgotten then, and a retreat ordered, leaving the brave sailors to their fate. Even so they fought on, yielding not one jot until they saw their noble leader fall wounded and helpless. Still they would have continued the hopeless struggle but for his stern commands to leave him and save themselves. "Go, your country can't spare you," he said, "I command you to retreat while you may. "He himself was taken prisoner by the triumphant enemy, and, as he said later on, "was treated by them as a brother."

Laughter is akin to tears; humor is a sister to adversity. Prominent among the militia was a company from Baltimore, composed almost entirely of the higher classes, and therefore nicknamed the "Silk Stockings." After their return home as vanquished heroes, its members were quite naturally made a target for good-humored jokes. One of the men was a witty fellow, and not even misfortune could drown his sense of humor. "Yes," said he, when teased on the subject of their encounter with the foe, "The British did get the better of us at first, but we got the better of them in the long run!"

Of how the battle was faring, however, no word reached the city. For two hours it raged with ceaseless fury; so much the people of the doomed capital knew, because they could hear the roar of the big guns, the rattle of musketry. But at last, emerging from the distant smoke of the conflict, arose a cloud of dust in the road. The cloud grew larger and larger as it swept on towards the city. In its midst was a rider, the inglorious vanguard of the coming flood of fugitives. His horse was foam-flecked, himself covered with blood and begrimed with powder, panic-stricken and shouting hoarsely as his weary steed dashed up Pennsylvania avenue,

"Fly, fly, the enemy are coming!"

Close behind the messenger who bore into the city of Washington the first definite of the defeat of the Americans and the approach of the British, came General Armstrong, secretary of war, he who had so persistently laughed to scorn the idea of danger to the capital. He was not laughing now. Behind him

swept on a terrified mob of terrified militia, in a whirl of dust and of horror. Their panic spread as panics will. Men, women and children rushed for the river, crossed the Long Bridge, and sought hiding places in the woods of Virginia in a perfect frenzy of fear. The terror of "Cockburn the Marauder" was as great as would have been that of a band of savage Indians.

Two gentlemen on foaming horses dashed up to the White House to inform its mistress of that which needed no telling, and to urge instant flight. Mrs. Madison calmly bade them secure their own escape, but for herself, she would remain until the last possible moment in the hope of seeing her husband return and of accompanying him in his flight. So bravely Dolly waited, but not in idleness, and her friends reluctantly waited also, patrolling the streets near by. In one of the state parlors hung a valued life size portrait of the "Father of his Country." This Mrs. Madison resolved should not be lost to the city, or at least not desecrated by the hands of the enemy. The portrait was in a heavy frame screwed to the wall. There was no time to unscrew it, so she ordered one of the few remaining slaves to loosen the frame with an axe, and lay it upon the floor. She then cut the picture without injuring it save at the very margin. Carefully rolling up the precious portrait, she wrapped it in coarse brown paper, with a ragged edge of old muslin conspicuously protruding, so that it looked like nothing more than some "old clothes," treasure of a poor woman to whom she hastily confided the package. This trusty woman was a Mrs. Baker, and she at once started in a hack for Georgetown. The studied choice of the most forlorn old rattletrap of a hack that could be found, resulted in its passage without molestation. Who would have dreamed of a famous treasure of the American republic being concealed in such a dilapidated conveyance and in the custody of a solitary old woman? No one, and that was just what shrewd Dolly Madison calculated upon. "But," said she, as her faithful messenger departed on her mission, "If there is danger of the portrait falling into the hands of the British, destroy it. It must not be desecrated by their touch." It was not, and to-day is one of the treasures of the nation.

Scarcely had Mrs. Baker left the mansion when the two gen-

tlements again dashed up to the door. "Fly, fly," they exclaimed, "The British are almost upon us!" Then at last brave Dolly felt that the time had come for her retreat. And now came the moment of inspiration, for such it must have been, that has made the name of Dolly Madison immortal in the heart of every true American. She was in the act of hurriedly stepping into the carriage when she turned to look back at the beautiful home she was about to abandon. She had no doubt that it would be burned to the ground. Had she overlooked anything of special value?

Startling as a lightning flash in the midst of darkness, came the answer. The Declaration of Independence! Yes, she had indeed lost sight of this, the most precious of all the treasures of the American people. Better that any other document should be lost rather than this. Specially guarded in a glass case apart from all other documents, and in an apartment but seldom entered, it had been forgotten in the wild rush and packing of more conspicuous papers.

"Thank Heaven that I remembered in time," gasped Mrs. Madison, turning red and white, "I must go back!"

"Stop, for Heaven's sake, stop!" cried her astonished friends, as the gallant little woman, regardless of the danger of delay, darted into the house and sped into the room where was the priceless document for which she was willing to sacrifice life or liberty, if need be to secure its safety. The case was locked, the key was not at hand, and so pausing only to wrap her handkerchief around her hand, Dolly Madison drove her little fist right through the glass door, and snatching up the precious document, waved it triumphantly over her head as she met her anxious friends at the door. Entering her carriage at last, she was driven rapidly out of the city in the direction of Georgetown, the Declaration carefully concealed in the folds of her gown, where it remained during the remainder of her flight.

The doomed city had been left but a short distance behind when having learned that the enemy had not yet reached the capital, Mrs. Madison ordered her reluctant coachman to return to the White House in the hope of gaining some tidings of her husband. Her joy, therefore, was great when presently she met him approaching on horseback, accompanied by several other

gentlemen. Mournfully the party turned their backs upon their beloved city, forlorn fugitives, like hundreds of others, desperately seeking a haven of refuge. Crossing the Potomac to the Virginia shore, Dolly Madison set off for a rendezvous some miles up the river where the President planned to meet her on the following day, his pressing duties preventing his accompanying her further.

The roadway was so crowded with fugitives, military and civilian, with horses and wagons and sledges, that Mrs. Madison was finally obliged to leave her carriage in the woods and tramp through the scorching heat and deep sand, and in the midst of a mob of rough soldiers, country people and insolent negroes who rudely pushed her aside and insulted her with coarse and angry remarks. To these, whenever she was recognized, were added insults and threats against her husband. Thus, suffering, humiliated and exhausted, she took refuge in a farmhouse for the remainder of the night.

The battle of Blandensburg ended at four o'clock in the afternoon of the twenty-fourth of August; at eight o'clock "Cockburn the Marauder" marched triumphantly into the city. As we have seen, the admiral had openly avowed to destroy the document so revered by the young republic, and to capture the President and his wife. With this first object in view he marched his troops to the Capitol, in the belief that so precious a document would be stored there and in a conspicuous place. Cockburn at the head of a detachment of officers and privates, burst in the doors and entered the building. A hurried search was made for the coveted paper. Needless to say, in vain, and angered by failure, Cockburn mounted the speaker's chair, and with mock gravity, put the question, "Shall this harbor of Yankee democracy be burnt?"

The hint was sufficient. A shout of delighted assent rang through the building. Papers and other combustible materials were piled under the desks and set on fire. The magnificent Congressional Library was broken into and there also books and papers were heaped up and fired. In a few moments the stately building that had been twenty years in course of construction, was a mass of seething flames. Involved in this wanton destruc-



DOLLY MADISON

tion was a vast quantity of official documents of great historical value which had been stored in the library.

Another of the chief objects of Admiral Cockburn's invasion was the capture of the stores in the navy yard and arsenal, but as he had been forestalled in the capture of the Declaration of Independence by brave Dolly Madison, so was he forestalled in this object also by the commandant of the navy yard, Commodore Tingly. Acting under orders received from the navy department, he set fire to all the stores, magazines and shipping as soon as he was assured that the British had actually entered the city. This second failure to make good his boasts still further incensed the brutal Cockburn.

From the burning Capitol he turned to the White House hoping to intercept the flight of the President and Mrs. Madison. Here too, as we know, he met with disappointment. Finding the house locked and deserted, the vandals fired volleys of musketry into the windows, then battered down the doors and swarmed into the building, breaking mirrors and furniture, raided the provision closets and enjoyed a hastily prepared feast in the state dining-room. The banquet finished, the soldiers threw the costly dishes on the floor, looted the silverware, ransacked the mansion from attic to basement, looting every small article of value, and finally finished their work of destruction by setting fire to the stately building.

Guards were left at the Capitol and White House to prevent the outraged citizens from attempting to extinguish the blaze, while Cockburn marched his marauders up Pennsylvania avenue and set fire to the Treasury building and those of War, State and Navy departments. Not content with the destruction of public buildings, many handsome private residences were fired, among them that which had been the residence of the first President.

A detachment of troops were sent to destroy the Patent office building, and their commander, finding that to set it on fire would involve the destruction of a number of dwelling-houses, prepared to batter down its walls with cannon. Needless to say that this commander was not Cockburn, else had such a trivial consideration not deterred him from using the torch. The head of the Patent office at that time was gallant William Thornton,

and seeing what the enemy was about to do, he threw himself in front of the cannon.

“Are you Englishmen or Goths or Vandals?” he cried indignantly. “This is the Patent office, the repository of the inventive genius of America, in which the whole world is concerned. Would you destroy it? If so, fire away and let the charge pass through my body!”

The cannon was not fired and the Patent office and its valuable contents were saved by the heroism of this one man who risked his life for the good of others.

Fanned by the gusts of a coming storm, the fires that had been started in various parts of the city spread in all directions with increasing fury, lighting the streets with a brilliancy greater than that of daylight, and revealing the marauders looting the houses and reveling in their terrible work of wanton destruction. Higher and higher leaped the flames, spreading further and further until the whole city was enveloped in a sea of flame whose lurid glow startled the people of Baltimore forty miles away.

The mighty waves of flame rolled and surged high above the doomed city until it seemed as though the black vault of the heavens were afire. And as if excited to frenzy by the horrors of the scene, and anxious to pit the powers of the elements against the comparatively puny efforts of man, thunder and lightning broke forth in a storm of almost unparalled violence. For hours wind, rain, thunder and lightning raged with increasing fury until the dawn of day, when a hurricane of terrific proportions completed the ruin that the flames, extinguished in many places during the night by the deluge of rain, had left unfinished.

Overawed as they might well have been, at the fearful devastation wrought by their own hands and supplemented by the powers of nature, the British marched silently out of the city on the night of the twenty-fifth of August, retreating in haste, having received information that a large force of Americans were preparing to intercept their return to their ships on the Patuxent river. It was an additional evidence of the incompetency of the military chiefs that this information was false, and that the British were permitted to reach their haven of refuge on the

twenty-sixth without the slightest molestation. Their advance had been made through a country which the Secretary of War himself described as "covered with woods, and offering at every step strong positions for defence." But in spite of this advantage, as Cockburn contemptuously remarked "Not a single musket was fired during the retreat."

And what of brave Dolly Madison? According to appointment she was rejoined by her husband on the twenty-fifth at a small tavern sixteen miles from Washington. Arriving before the President, she was at first refused admittance, and it was only the fierceness of the storm that finally induced the rough mob which had taken shelter in the tavern, to permit her entrance, though the permission was accompanied with gross insults. She who a week before had been the idol of the populace was now contemned and humiliated because that same populace had turned against her husband, who, of all the high officials, was probably the least to blame for their misfortunes.

Gladly therefore, Dolly Madison left this inhospitable shelter on the afternoon of the twenty-sixth, in disguise and attended only by a friend and trusty soldier. The President had been compelled to leave her on the twenty-fifth, having heard that Cockburn had learned his location and had sent a detachment in pursuit. Reaching Washington on the night of the 'twenty-sixth, Mrs. Madison paused only to take a brief and mournful survey of the smouldering ruins of her late beautiful home and then drove to the house of her sister which had escaped the general disaster. Here she anxiously awaited her husband, who presently rejoined her in safety.

The noble capital of the young republic lay in ruins, but its destruction roused the spirit of patriotism of whole American people. Forgetting party lines and partisan bitterness, they rallied as one man to the support of the government, and by glorious victories of Baltimore and New Orleans effaced the disgrace that had fallen upon the nation, and wiped out the shameful defeat at Blandensburg. From the ashes of the inglorious fall of the capital city, arose another and greater city, a veritable Phoenix, the grandest and most beautiful city in the world to-day.

But all the spirit, all the patriotism, all the wealth, all the architects in all the earth, could never have replaced the priceless piece of parchment that Dolly Madison risked her life and liberty to save for her country's honor and glory. Surely for such a heroic deed her memory should be enshrined in every heart, and perpetuated by a grateful nation. Among all the distinguished men immortalized in Statuary Hall, none are more worthy the place than Dolly Madison, the preserver of the sacred Declaration of Independence.

THE SONG OF PEACE

A LEGEND OF OWOTANNAK

BY AILEEN CLEVELAND HIGGINS

ON late, long winter nights in the northwest, many are the legends, which the old tell the young. Full of charm and mystery are these strange primeval histories which have come down from generation to generation, lip from lip, to present day hearers. Of all these stories, the one which listeners lean most eagerly to hear and the one which the old love most to tell is the legend of Owotannak.

Owotannak, an Indian brave of the Sisseton tribe, was a dreamer of dreams and a singer of songs, a poet of the forest who voiced the wonderful mystery and the pulsing beauty of the wilderness. His eyes were ever open to the fair, changing panorama about him, and his ears were always listening to the symphony of nature's music.

His quick eyes caught numberless shifting changes of color to which others were blind: the delicate network of gray limbs blending into the mauve twilight-haze, the glinting rose-gold of the embers, the deep brown of fir trunks against the blue-white snow, the iridescent sheen of the dragon-fly's gauze-wing, the silver flash of dancing mist-sprites in the marsh, the quiver of rainbow-lights across the distance of open space, the sheathed pinkness of willow buds, the blue gossamer veil, enwrapping the far mountains.

He heard music when to others there was silence. He was sensitive to all exquisite gradations of sound: the muffled fall of snow, the soft stir of bird's wings, the rhythmical swaying of young growing branches, the gentle drop of leaves, the opening of buds, the music of waiting dawn.

He sang of all these things about the camp-fires, voicing the

fancies and dreams of his comrades for which they had no words.

The song he sang most often was his Song of The Unbroken Trail, which was the cry of his restless spirit, his response to the call of the unknown and the untried.

His tribe loved him well. Every Sisseton knew Owotannak's songs. The braves sang them over and over in their hearts, but there was not one in the tribe who could voice a single song which was Owotannak's.

The old braves nodding over their pipes, whispered among themselves.

"A spell is cast about Owotannak's songs—so it is no other can sing them."

Thus a strange air of mystery grew about Owotannak and when he approached the camp-fires he was greeted with a certain awe.

Beside his gift of song, Owotannak was miraculously sure with his arrow. His tent was crowded with wonderful trophies of his hunts. His comrades in the hunt watched him bring down zig-zagging game with astonishing sureness. Many were the excited tales of Owotannak's prowess which were told and retold among the Sissetons.

Strange it was,—no Indian maid had ever held his thought. His glance which clung so caressingly to the faces of flowers, never rested but passingly upon the fair oval of a maiden's cheek, or the smouldering fire of her passionate eyes. The maidens whispered among themselves that it might be Owotannak was wedded to a spirit-maid—some dream princess of his fantasy to whom he sang his rare songs of love. When sometimes, at twilight, he lifted his wonderful voice full of such haunting witchery, and sang his songs of love, his listeners caught their breath, so poignant was the stinging sweetness of these melodies which gripped their hearts the closest.

One day when the forest was a-pulse with spring promise, Owotannak pushed aside the red kinnikinic boughs and stood upon the edge of the water, singing his Song of The Unbroken Trail. He slipped into his canoe and paddled alone down the river. Upon the wind spiced fragrantly with new pine needles, echoes of his song came back to his tribe who knew that he had

started upon another of his adventurous trips into the unexplored parts of the country.

"When he returns, what tales he will have to tell!" sighed the young braves enviously.

"And his spoils,—always more wonderful than the last," murmured Winnepak, the old chief reminiscently.

It was many days before Owotannak came back. He went far to the southeast where white men were setting up their camps. When he returned, he brought with him no big game, no rich treasure of gems.

They heard him coming far off singing a new song, a pean of joy. And who came with him? They leaned and listened. Like the faint trill of birds above the blue, like the tinkle of far-off bells, like the lute-notes of little singing winds, was the voice which sang in unison with his. When he came in sight they saw that he carried in his arms a little white child, who snuggled her head upon his shoulder in rapturous response to his crooning tenderness.

The Sissetons gazed at the wee child in wonder and crowded about Owotannak with many questions. How had he come by her? Had he stolen her from her people? Where had he found her?

"She is mine, she is content, as you see, to be with me, what matter how I came by her?" Such was Owotannak's answer.

They called her Ortega, "the golden-crested," because of the golden shower of hair which fell softly about her flower-like face.

"The face of her is like the pink of early blossoms beneath the snow," exclaimed one of the Sisseton maidens.

"And her hands! They move like quickly poising humming-birds!" cried another.

The old squaws shook their heads as they touched her softly.

"She is like a dream-child. She is so frail, she will soon waste away from sickness, or will die of longing for her own kind."

"Hark, her laugh!" interrupted a young brave. "It ripples like the soft fall of waters slipping along through the willows."

Each day the Sissetons grew in wonder over Ortega. She lived among them quite contentedly with never a moment of sickness.

She was always with Owotannak and the two seemed strangely akin. They were very happy together. Owotannak set before her every dainty of the wilderness and with his own hands, fashioned her garments from soft skins.

Together Owotannak and little Ortega sang about the campfires. They sang of gypsy winds, the wing-to-wing flight of birds, the flow of heedless brooks, the beckon of waving poplar tassels, the vagabonding flash of color in the spring, the hum of insects sharing the summer-sweets, the gold in the forest-lily's heart, the crash of trees in storm, the rush of waters, of all these things they sang, telling endlessly of the heritage of the world's beauty which is mortal's own for the taking.

Sometimes they sang of things of the spirit, which the tribe only dimly understood but which lingered in their memory and roused the dormant poetical response of their beings.

Soon they found that Ortega had a strange kinship with wild things. No creature of the forest was afraid of her. Wild animals came to her and played with her fearlessly. She seemed to understand their language, and answered their calls in mimicry, wonderfully like.

One day there came hovering about her tent a white bird, the like of which the Sissetons had never seen. It brought her berries from the deep of the woods. She took it in her hands each day and kissed its little white crest. Soon the Sissetons perceived that the crest was turning from snow-white to gold, the color of Ortega's own silken hair. Then they came to look askance at her and draw apart from her with wonder and half-fear.

Before many months a strange sickness came upon the tribe. None of the medicine men could stay the disease for it was something for which herbs seemed to have no healing. The tribe fell away till but a handful was left.

Then the white people began to edge their way into the Sisseton's lands. The tribe was worsted in every attack they made upon the white people.

"An evil spell is upon us," declared Winnipak, the chief.

He held long talks with his braves, all except Owatannak, who was excluded from all their meetings, for it was whispered

among the tribe that he had wrought ill luck upon them by bringing Ortega to live among them. At last it was decided that in order to break the spell, both Owotannak and Ortega must die.

So it came that Ortega was bound to Owotannak's back, and together they were tied to the old oak which overshadowed Ortega's tent portectingly by the edge of the lake. Owotannak fought with all his wild strength to save Ortega. He begged to die any death of slow torture if they would but let Ortega go and restore her to her own people. But the Sissetons were deaf to his pleadings. With the look of a wounded deer in his eyes, Owotannak watched his people pile the brush thickly about him.

Winnipak set fire to the brush and a frenzied shout went up as the flames leaped upward.

A hush fell upon the tribe as suddenly Ortega and Owotannak began to sing. It was a song of triumph, this, their last song together, as if they glorified in the liberty of death. Soon the flames reached little Ortega; her golden head drooped, and her voice died away in a soft cadence.

As Owotannak heard Ortega's voice grow silent and her little body relax in death against his own, his voice rang out in an imperious call. He cried out to his tribe for an oath that they would make a vow of peace with Ortega's people, the white settlers who were coming into the Sisseton's territory. He sang so compellingly that the tribe huddled before him, and brokenly shouted their oath to hold peace forever with the white people.

Then Owotannak chanted a Song of Peace, a melody so solemn and full of unearthly beauty that it rang out through the forest-gloom like some spirit-song. It ended with a low minor note, then Owotannak's voice rose in a terrible curse upon his tribe should they ever break their vow and raise a hand against Ortega's people.

Owotannak's head dropped back against Ortega's and as Death softly muted his glorious voice, the gold-crested bird fluttered down from the oak into the flames and perished with them.

At the sight of the white bird, the Sissetons sprang forward, as if released from a strange thrall, to rescue the two victims from the flames. Remorsefully they unbound Ortega from

Owotannak's body, and frantically sought to bring the two still figures to life. But their healing touches were futile. The tribe gathered around silently for the death rites.

Winnipak, impelled by some inexplicable force commenced to sing Owotannak's Song of Peace. All the tribe took it up, amazed that they could voice a song which Owotannak had sung. They buried Ortega and Owotannak together beneath the old oak. Each night thereafter the tribe sang the Song of Peace, the only song of Owotannak's they could ever sing. Then one by one they each dropped two handfuls of earth upon the grave, in token of their remorse. So faithfully they observed this rite, that the grave grew to be a great mound.

One morning the Sissetons awoke to find the mound and the old oak tree separated from the rest of the land, floating in the lake. They named the new island the Isle of the Golden Spirits.

Every night, as they listened at the hour when Ortega and Owotannak were burned, they could hear,—as those whose spirits can perceive other than things of earth, can still hear, in the rustling leaves of the fire-scarred oak, the echoing Song of Peace, sung by the soft spirit voices of Ortega and Owotannak.

So it was that the Sissetons became and remained forever a tribe of peace.

*It is an historical fact that the Sissetons were a tribe of peace.

HISTORY OF THE “MORMON” CHURCH*

BY BRIGHAM H. ROBERTS

ASSISTANT HISTORIAN OF THE CHURCH

CHAPTER I

THE ANCESTRY OF JOSEPH SMITH, THE PROPHET

I

The Smiths of Topsfield, Massachusetts

ON the paternal side the ancestry of Joseph Smith the Prophet, can be traced only to Robert Smith, who is known to have come from England to America in 1638, when about fifteen years of age. Nothing is known of the antecedents of Robert in England. After his arrival in America he settled in Essex county, Massachusetts, where he married Mary French, by whom he had ten children. Robert is accredited with having begun life in a humble way; with having won the esteem of his neighbors; and with having prospered fairly well as to material things. He purchased two hundred and eight acres of land located partly in Boxford township, partly in Topsfield. He was usually spoken of as Robert Smith of Boxford, but some times of Topsfield. He was esteemed as a quiet, unassuming man; interested in the welfare of Boxford, and generous to the needy. It was from this man that the Mormon Prophet descended through the following line:

- Samuel (I) third son of the above Robert;
- Samuel (II) first son of the above Samuel;

*The official name of the Church is, “The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; but for reasons that are obvious the name by which the organization is more generally known is here used.

—Asael, second son of the above Samuel (II);

—And Joseph, second son of the above Asael, and father of the Prophet.

In view of recent efforts to account for the Mormon Prophet and what are regarded as his "more or less abnormal performances," in bringing into existence the Book of Mormon, and founding the "Mormon" Church, the study of his ancestry becomes important, since no pains are spared in making systematic pathological studies of that ancestry in the hope of finding some abnormalities that would justify the theory that the Prophet's revelations were but hallucinations, the product of a mind diseased. It will be well, therefore, to state what is known of this line of men from whom the Prophet descended, as also to inquire concerning his maternal ancestors.

Samuel Smith (I) son of the aforesaid Robert Smith, was born January 26, 1666. He was a carpenter by trade and married Rebecca Curtis, daughter of John Curtis; and to them were born nine children, two sons and seven daughters. Twenty-three days before his death Robert Smith made his will, which bears the date of August 7th, 1693, in which he appointed his wife Mary and Samuel (I) his executors. But later, and at the request of both mother and children, Samuel (I) became sole administrator of his father's estate, a substantial testimony of the family's confidence in his ability and integrity. The letter of administration was issued from Judge Jonathan Corwin, October 3rd, 1698. After the settlement of the estate, Samuel (I) moved from Boxford to Topsfield where he became an influential member of society, and while a carpenter by trade, he was also a land owner, and held several offices of trust. He died July 12th, 1748.

Samuel Smith (II) first son of the above Samuel Smith (I) was born January 26th, 1714. He inherited from his father the homestead in Topsfield, and married, first, Priscilla Gould, by whom he had five children. After her demise he married, second, her cousin of the same name. From the number of public offices Samuel (II) filled and the length of time he served in them, it is evident that he was a man of education and enterprise, prominent in the affairs of Topsfield, and active even in the affairs of

the State. From the public records of Topsfield town it appears that he was grand jurymen in 1760; in 1770, road supervisor; in 1779, 1780, 1783, 1784, and 1785 he was on the Committee of Safety.¹

From 1771 to 1777 and in 1781 and 1782 Samuel (II) was assessor and selectman in Topsfield, declining the honor in 1783; he was moderator of the Topsfield town meetings—chosen by the ballots of the people at each meeting²—in 1758, 1759, 1760, 1762, 1764, 1766, 1767, 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, 1773, 1774, 1775, 1778, 1779, 1780, 1782, and 1783; recognizer of debts in 1777, 1778, 1779, 1780, 1782, and 1783; representative to the General Court (H. of R.) in 1764, 1765, 1766, 1767, 1768, 1769, 1770, 1772, 1777, 1778, and 1781; town clerk in 1774, 1776, and 1777; delegate to the Provincial Congress at Concord, October 11, 1774, and again January 19, 1775. He was chairman of the local “Tea Committee,” and thus had some part in that movement which more than any other of the preliminary steps of resistance to Great Britain’s encroachments upon the rights of the colonies, gave good earnest of the greater resistance so soon to follow.

In the “Massachusetts Archives”³ is found the following entry:

1. This was a patriotic organization that grew out of the “provincial congress” movement, that had John Hancock for President. Dr. Joseph Warren, the hero of Bunker Hill, was chairman of the committee. It was made the duty of the committee to collect military stores, with power to call out the militia—(Fiske’s “American Revolution” I.—Cambridge edition—p. 129; “History of the United States,” Morris, p. 189), in a word, to prepare for the impending Revolution. Feeling surprised that the “Committee of Safety” should have been perpetuated in Topsfield, according to the town records—from which the above information was obtained, a letter was written to Mr. George Francis Dow, Secretary of the Topsfield Historical Society, which elicited the following answer, bearing date of April 28th, 1909:

“Committees of Correspondence’ were organized as early as May, 1764. The first one being in Mass. At the beginning the correspondence concerned a federation of Colonies, but as the Revolution drew near the towns appointed ‘Committees of Correspondence’ to keep in touch with the central Committee located at Boston. This central committee early in 1775 was styled ‘The Committee of Safety and Correspondence for Boston,’ and similar Committees in all the other towns in the Province shortly began to adopt the name ‘Committee of Safety.’ That Topsfields’ Committee continued to be elected until March, 1785, is not surprising. The war was not over until the spring of 1783 and political conditions were in a very unsettled situation for several years. The Committee was in a way the mouthpiece of the central agency at Boston and in turn represented the influence and political power of the town, as a unit in the government of the State.’”

2. “Civil Government,” Fiske, p. 26.

3. Vol. 157, page 519.

“Province of the Massachusetts Bay. To the honorable the general court, Committee Accounts now Sitting at Wattertown:

“The selectmen of Topsfield hereby exhibit for allowance the account of the powder and lead that the said selectmen delivered out of the town stock, to the minute men and others, to the number of 32, in the whole—and all of the town. It being what they expended in the engagement with the ministerial troops, on their retreat from Concord on the 19th day of April last, viz: One quarter of a pound of powder to each man, amounting in the whole to eight pounds of powder, and also to each man 12 leaden bullets, amounting in weight to 17 pounds. By order of the selectment of Topsfield.

Topsfield, April 11, 1776.

Pr. Sam'l Smith.”

Samuel (II) was active throughout the Revolutionary war, and was known as “Captain Samuel Smith,” a title he received from service in the militia. He died November 14, 1785, in the ninth year of the Independence of the United States, to obtain which independence he had devoted courageous and efficient service. On his death he left an estate valued at five hundred and forty-four English pounds, which roughly estimated would be equivalent to \$2,700. His obituary published in the “Salem Gazette” of 22nd of November 1785, said of him:—

“Died.—At Topsfield, on Monday the 14th instant, Samuel Smith, Esq., aged 72.—So amiable and worthy a character as he evidently appeared, both in public and private, will render the memory of him ever precious. For a number of years he represented the town in the General Court, where he was esteemed a man of integrity and uprightness. His usefulness among those with whom he was more immediately conversant was eminent. He was a sincere friend to the liberties of his country, and a strenuous advocate for the doctrine of Christianity.”

“The memory of the just is blessed.”

Asael Smith, second son of the above Samuel Smith (II) was born 7th of March, 1744. His early life was spent in Topsfield, and at twenty-three he married Mary Duty, of Windham, New Hampshire, in which place he lived for sometime, thence moving successively to Dunbarton, and Manchester in the same State.

During the American Revolution he served, though with less distinction than his father, in the American army.

On the death of his father, Samuel Smith (II), Asael returned to the old homestead at Topsfield, which he had inherited. At Topsfield, Asael was made to feel the pressure of sectarian intolerance. It is evident that he had strong inclination himself towards that system of doctrine known as universalism—the belief that all souls will finally be saved, that good will finally triumph, universally and permanently.

He was a man of strong convictions in religion, courageous, outspoken, but tolerant withal; and held to the view, not so popular then as it afterwards became, that men should be free to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience. These views brought upon him the displeasure of the severely orthodox, who, at that time were swayed by the spirit that regarded toleration with the suspicion, so well expressed in the following quatrain:

“Let men of God in courts and Churches watch
O’er such as do a toleration hatch,
Lest that ill egg bring forth a cockatrice
To poison all in heresy and vice.”⁴

This long had been the spirit dominant in New England, and therefore when Asael Smith made free to express his unorthodox opinions and further emphasized these by giving shelter in his home to a despised and persecuted quaker, it brought such displeasure of the community upon him that he resolved to leave Topsfield, the home of his fathers, and seek a more congenial society. He went first to northern New Hampshire, thence to Tunbridge, Vermont, where with the aid of his sons he cleared a large farm of virgin forest. In the later years of his life he made his home with his son Silas at Stockholm, St. Lawrence county, New York, where he died October 31st, 1830, in his eighty-sixth year.

4. These lines were found on the person of Thomas Dudley, who was the author of them, at the time of his death. Dudley, it will be remembered, was associated with John Winthrop, as Deputy Governor of Massachusetts. “Beginnings of New England,” Fiske, p. 125.

It is necessary to deal further with the character of this ancestor of the Mormon Prophet, since he is much relied upon by the hallucination theorists to prove the physical and mental defects which they feign Joseph Smith, the Prophet, inherited from his forefathers. It has been said that Asael had a physical deformity, that one shoulder was higher than the other. Nehemiah Cleveland, in an address at Topsfield, on the occasion of the two hundredth anniversary of the town's incorporation, alluded to this supposed defect by saying:

"This man, like 'Ammon's great son, one shoulder had too high,' and hence usually bore the significant and complimentary (!) designation of 'Crooked Neck Smith'." One may easily discern the bias of the speaker, as he adds: "He was so free in his opinions on religious subjects, that some regarded his sentiments as more distorted than his neck."⁵ The facts in relation to this physical "deformity" are, that while a small child Asael's neck was severely burned, the cords contracted, drawing the neck to one side, and rendering it stiff. This misfortune the malice of those whom he offended by the freedom of his religious opinions seized upon as an "abnormality" that later was pressed into service to account for supposed mental abnormalities in his grand-son, founder of the "Mormon" Church. As to the "distortion" of Asael's mind, two documents of his exist which reflect the quality of his mind so clearly, that he will need no other evidence to establish the soundness of his understanding, the clearness of his intellect, or the refinement of his nature, than their publication.

The first of these documents is a letter written by Asael Smith after his removal from Topsfield, Commonwealth of Massachusetts,⁶ and reads as follows:

Asael Smith's Letter to Mr. Jacob Town.

"Tunbridge, Jan. 14th, 1796.

"Respected Sir:—Having a favorable opportunity, altho' on

5. "Address at Topsfield, Massachusetts," New York, 1851, p. xxv, quoted by Riley, "Founder of Mormonism," note, p. 63.

6. The original, in 1872, was in the hands of the son of Jacob Town, then the town clerk of Topsfield; who, while not willing to part with the original permitted a copy to be taken by the Mormon Church Historian, George Albert Smith, grandson of Asael, which copy is now on file at the Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City.

very short notice, I with joy and gratitude embrace it, returning herewith my most hearty thanks for your respect shown in your favor of the 30th of November, by Mr. Willes, which I view as a singular specimen of friendship, which has very little been practiced by any of my friends in Topsfield, altho' often requested.

“My family are all, through the goodness of the Divine Benediction, in a tolerable good state of health, and desire to be remembered to you and to all inquiring friends.

“I have set me up a house since Mr. Willes was here and expect to remove into it next spring, and to begin again on an entire new farm, and my son Joseph will live on the old farm (if this that has been but four years occupied can be called old), and carry it on at the halves, which half I hope will nearly furnish my family with food, whilst I with my four youngest sons shall endeavor to bring to another farm, etc.

“As to news, I have nothing, as I know of, worth noticing, except that grain has taken a sudden rise amongst us, about one-third.

“As to the Jacobin party, they are not very numerous here, or if they are they are pretty still; there are some in this state, viz., in Bennington, who, like other children crying for a rattle, have blared out against their rulers, in hopes to wrest from them, if possible, what they esteem the plaything of power and trust. But they have been pretty well whipped and have become tolerably quiet again, and I am in hopes, if they live to arrive to the years of discretion, when the empire of reason shall take place, that they will then become good members of society, notwithstanding their noisy, nauseous behavior in their childhood, for which they were neither capable of hearing or giving any reason. -

“For my part, I am so willing to trust the government of the world in the hands of the Supreme Ruler of universal nature, that I do not at present wish to try to wrest it out of His hands, and I have so much confidence in His abilities to teach our senators wisdom, that I do not think it worth while for me to interpose, from the little stock of knowledge that He has favored me with, in the affair, either one way or the other. He has conducted us through a glorious Revolution and has brought us into the

promised land of peace and liberty, and I believe that He is about to bring all the world into the same beatitude in His own time and way; which, altho' His ways may appear never so inconsistent to our blind reason, yet may be perfectly consistent with His designs. And I believe that the stone is now cut out of the mountain without hands, spoken of by Daniel, and has smitten the image upon his feet, by which the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver and the gold, (viz.) all the monarchical and ecclesiastical tyranny will be broken to pieces and become as the chaff of the summer thrashing floor, the wind shall carry them all away, that there shall be no place found for them.

"Give my best regards to your parents and tell them that I have taken up with the eleventh commandment, that the negro taught to the minister, which was thus—

"The minister asked the negro how many commandments there were, his answer was 'Eleben, sir.' 'Aye,' replied the other, 'what is the eleventh? That is one I never heard of.' 'The eleventh commandment, sir, is mind your own business.'

"So I choose to do, and give myself but little concern about what passes in the political world.

"Give my best regards to Dr. Meriam, Mr. Willes, Joseph Dorman, and Mr. Cree, and tell Mr. Cree I thank him for his respects and hope he will accept of mine. Write to me as often and as large as you can and oblige your sincere friend and well wisher.

(Signed) Asael Smith.

"Mr. Jacob Town, Jun."

The second document is an intended posthumous address to his family. This brave, silent man, who had suffered because of his opinions, is conscious that he "is not free of speech," even under any circumstances, but especially not free of speech "when sick or sad." And not knowing what leisure he might have in the hour of death, or how soon death might overtake him, he writes this Address some thirty years before his demise, in which he "speaks his heart" to his beloved ones, and wishes them to cherish the product. Though it was the intention of the writer of the document not to have it delivered to the family until after his demise, yet, owing perhaps to the unexpected prolongation of his life after he had written it, its existence became known to and

was read by the family before the death of its author. The original writing, in a good state of preservation, is now in the possession of a branch of his family, in Salt Lake City, by whom it is treasured, as well it might be, as a sacred heirloom.⁷

Asael Smith's Address to His Family.

“A few words of advice which I leave to you, my dear wife and children, whom I expect ere long to leave:

“*My Dear Selfs*—I know not what leisure I shall have at the hour of my death to speak to you, and as you all know that I am not free in speech, especially when sick or sad; and therefore now do speak my heart to you, and would wish you to hear me speaking to you as long as you live (when my tongue shall be mouldered to dust in the silent tomb) in this my writing which I divide among you all.

“And first to you, my dear wife, I do with all the strength and power that is in me, thank you for your kindness and faithfulness to me, beseeching God who is the husband of the widow, to take care of you and not to leave you nor forsake you, or never suffer you to leave nor forsake Him, nor His ways. Put your whole trust solely in Him, He never did nor never will forsake any that trusted in Him. One thing, however, I would add, if you should marry again, remember what I have undergone by a stepmother, and do not estrange your husband from his own children or kindred, lest you draw on him and on yourself a great sin. So I do resign you into the everlasting arms of the great Husband of husbands, the Lord Jesus Christ.

“And now my dear children let me pour out my heart to you and speak first to you of immortality in your souls. Trifle not in this point; the soul is immortal; you have to deal with an infinite Majesty; you go upon life and death; therefore in this point be serious. Do all to God in a serious manner; when you think of Him, speak of Him, pray to Him, or in any way make your addresses to His great Majesty, be in good earnest. Trifle not with His name nor with His attributes, nor call Him to witness to any thing but is absolute truth; nor then, but when sound reason on serious consideration requires it. And as to religion,

7. “Asael Smith of Topsfield,” by Joseph F. Smith, Jr., from *Topsfield Historical Collections*, Vol. VIII.

I would not wish to point any particular form to you; but first I would wish you to search the Scriptures and consult sound reason and see if they (which I take to be two witnesses that stand by the God of the whole earth) are not sufficient to evince to you that religion is a necessary theme. Then I would wish you to study the nature of religion, and see whether it consists in outward formalities, or in the hidden man of the heart; whether you can by outward forms, rites and ordinances, save yourselves, or whether there is a necessity of your having help from any other hand than your own. If you find that you stand in need of a Savior, Christ saith: 'Look unto me and be ye saved all ye ends of the earth;' then look to Him, and if you find from Scripture and sound reason that Christ hath come into the world to save sinners, then examine what it was that caused Him to leave the center of consummate happiness to suffer as He did—whether it was to save mankind because they were sinners and could not save themselves; or, whether He came to save mankind because they had repented of their sins, so as to be forgiven on the score of their repentance. If you find that He came to save sinners merely because they were such, then try if there is any other [sinner] so great that He cannot save him; but mind that you admit no others as evidences but the two that God hath appointed, viz., Scripture and sound reason. And if these two witness that you are one whit better by nature than the worst heathen in the darkest corner of the deserts of Arabia, then conclude that God hath been partial towards you and hath furnished you with a better nature than others; and that consequently, He is not just to all mankind. But if these two witnesses testify to you that God is just to all and His tender mercies are over all His works; then believe them, and if you can believe that Christ came to save sinners and not the righteous Pharisees, or self-righteous; that sinners must be saved by the righteousness of Christ alone, without mixing any of their own righteousness with His, then you will see that He can as well save all as any. And there is no respect of persons with God, who will have all mankind to be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth, viz., 'that there is one God and one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus, who gave Himself

a ransom for all, to be testified in due time.' And when you believe this you will enter into His rest, and when you enter into His rest you will know what that rest is, and not before. And having gotten this evidence that God is true, be still adding to your evidence and enjoy your present assurance. Do all to your God as to your father, for His love is ten thousand times greater towards you than ever any earthly father's could be to his offspring.

"In the next place strive for those graces, most which concern your places and conditions and strive most against those failings which most threaten you. But above everything avoid a melancholy disposition, that is a humor that admits of any temptation and is capable of any impression and distemper; shun as death this humor which will work you to all unthankfulness against God, unlovingness to men and unnaturalness to yourself and one another.

"Do not talk and make a noise to get the name of forward men, but do the thing and do it in a way that is fair and honest, which you can live and die by and rise and reign by; therefore, my children do more than you talk of, in point of religion; satisfy your own consciences in what you do; all men you shall never satisfy, nay, some will not be satisfied though they be convinced.

"As for Your Calling—Any honest calling will honor you if you honor that. It is better to be a rich cobbler than a poor merchant; a rich farmer than a poor preacher; and never be discouraged though sometimes your schemes should not succeed according to your wishes.

"Persevere in the way of well-doing and you may hope for success. For myself (who had never your parts nor helps), I never found anything too hard for me in my calling, but discouragement and unbelief. If I was discouraged and did not believe I could do a thing, I never could; therefore, when you think anything is too hard for you, do not undertake it.

"As to Your Company—Abandon all infectious, self-serving companions; when once you have found them false, trust them no more. Sort with such as are able to do or receive good. Solomon gives you the best counsel for this in many places. Read the Proverbs and remember him in this: Forsake not an old friend; be friendly and faithful to your friends. Never trouble

nor trust friends unless there be a necessity, and lastly be long in closing with friends and loth to lose them upon experience of them.

“As to your Marriages—I do not think it worth while to say much about them, for I believe God hath created the persons for each other and that nature will find its own.

“But for Your Children—Make it your chiefest work to bring them up in the ways of virtue that they may be useful in their generation. Give them if possible a good education; if nature hath made no difference do you make none in your affections, countinances nor portions; partiality this way begets envy, hatred, strife, and contention.

“And as for Yourself Within Yourselves—My desire hath been to carry an even hand towards you all and I have labored to reduce you as near as I could, all circumstances considered, to an equality; and, therefore, my last request and charge is, that you will live together in an undivided bond of love. You are many of you, and if you join together as one man, you need not want anything. What counsel, what comfort, what money, what friends may you not help yourselves unto, if you will all as one contribute your aids.

“Wherefore, my dear children, I pray, beseech, and adjure you by all the relations and dearness that hath ever been betwixt us and by the heart-rending pangs of a dying father whose soul hath been ever bound in the bundle of life with yours, that you know one another. Visit as you may each other. Comfort, counsel, relieve, succor, help and admonish one another; and, while your mother lives, meet her, if possible, once every year. When she is dead, pitch on some other place, if it may be your elder brother's house; or if you cannot meet, send to and hear from each other yearly and oftener if you can; and when you have neither father nor mother left, be so many fathers and mothers to each other, so you shall understand the blessings mentioned in the 133 Psalm.

“As to Your Estates—Be not troubled that you are below your kindred; get more wisdom, humility and virtue and you are above them, only do this. Deal with your hearts to make them less; begin low, join together to help one another; rest upon the promises which are many and precious this way. Love mercy

Fac-simile of the concluding
paragraph of Asael Smith's letter. \

Sure I am my Saviour Christ is per-
fect and never will fail in one circumstance
To him I commit your souls, bodies,
Lives, names, ~~careers~~ ^{careers} Lives, Deeds
and all; and my self waiting when
he shall change my vile body and
make it like his own most glorious
Body. and wish to leave to you every
thing that I have in this world but my
soul, and then I take with me to
the grave, there to be buried in everlast-
ing oblivion. but leaving my virtues
of ear I had aye to revive and live
in you. eternum So come Lord Jesus
come quickly Amen

The Above was written April
the 10th 1799 and Left for my
Dearly Beloved wife and children
to view after my Decease

Asael Smith

and have mercy on yourselves and one another, and I know, I know, I say and I am confident in it, that if you will trust God in His own way He will make comfortable provisions for you. Make no more objections but trust Him.

“For the public—Bless God that you live in a land of liberty and bear yourselves dutifully and conscionably towards the authority under which you live. See God’s providence in the appointment of the Federal Constitution and hold union and order precious jewels. And for the church of Christ; neither set her above her Husband nor below her children; give her that honor, obedience and respect that is her due. And if you will be my children and heirs of my comfort in my dying age, be neither others nor factions of any party or factions of novelty; it is true that this is not a rising way, but it is a free, fair, comfortable way for a man to follow his own judgment without wavering to either hand. I make no doubt but you will hear divers opinions concerning me both before and after I shall sleep in silence; but do not be troubled at that. I did what in my circumstances seemed best for me for the present; however, the event hath not in some points answered my expectations; yet I have learned to measure things by another rule than events and satisfy myself in this that I did all for the best as I thought, and if I had not so much foresight as some others I cannot help it.

“Sure am I, my Savior, Christ, is perfect, and never will fail in one circumstance. To Him I commit your souls, bodies, estates, names, characters, lives, deaths and all, and myself, waiting when He shall change my vile body and make it like His own most glorious body. And wish to leave to you everything I have in this world but my faults, and them I take with me to the grave, there to be buried in everlasting oblivion; but leaving my virtues, if ever I had any, to revive and live in you, Amen; so come Lord Jesus; come quickly, Amen.

“The above was written April 10, 1799, and left for my dearly beloved wife and children to view after my decease.⁸

[Signed] Asael Smith.”

8. The original copy of this article, which is in a well preserved condition, is now in the possession of the Smith family. It was read and well understood by Asael’s family many years before his death and no doubt had a great influence over them in their actions for good. “Asael Smith of Topsfield,” by Joseph F. Smith, Jr., from the Topsfield Historical Collections, Vol. VIII.

Making due allowance for some provincialisms, and in one or two places lack of precision of expression, we have in these two papers documents that one would be glad to find that any ancestor of his had written and left as a family heritage. While as a replica of Asael Smith's mind, character, and manners, they certainly reveal him to be a serious minded man, yet of a pleasant humor, and polite manners. A man of noble independence of mind, yet of child-like humility. Of unbounded faith and trust in the wisdom of Providence and His over-ruling hand in the affairs of nations. Loyal to his country, and full of faith in the stability of the American government, under the over-ruling providences of God. A family solicitude, most admirable; a knowledge of both the problems of life and the best means of their solution. This is not the language of adulation, but merely the summing up of the contents of these two documents.

Joseph Smith, son of the above Asael Smith, and father of the Prophet, was born at Topsfield, Massachusetts, July 12, 1771. He accompanied his father first to northern New Hampshire, thence to Tunbridge, Vermont, where he assisted in clearing a farm of which, four years after it was first cleared, he took possession to cultivate on the half share system, common to those times in New England; while his father and four other sons went on clearing other lands. Here he married Lucy Mack, daughter of Solomon Mack of Gilsum, Cheshire county, New Hampshire. The young people met during the repeated visits of Lucy to her brother Stephen Mack, who was engaged in the mercantile and tinning business with John Mudget at Tunbridge. The marriage took place on the 24th of January, 1796.

Soon after the marriage as the young people were starting on a visit to the bride's parents at Gilsum, the matter of making Lucy a wedding present became a subject of conversation. "Well," said Mr. Mudget, "Lucy ought to have something worth naming, and I will give her just as much as you will;" this to Stephen Mack. "Done," said the brother, "I will give her five hundred dollars in cash." "Good," said the other, "and I will give her five hundred dollars more." They drew a check for one thousand dollars upon their bankers, and Lucy had been provided with her dowery.⁹ "This check," says Lucy, "I laid aside,

9. "History of the Prophet Joseph," lby Lucy Smith, ch. IV.

as I had other means by me sufficient to purchase my house-keeping furniture."¹⁰

Six years Joseph Smith cultivated his farm at Tunbridge—Lucy calls it a “handsome farm—” and then the ambitious pair determined upon a business career in merchandising. The Tunbridge farm was rented and the family removed to Randolph, where in a short time Joseph Smith learned of the large profits in raising ginseng root, the medicinal properties of which were highly prized in China.¹¹ Joseph invested all the means he could command in this enterprise; and evidently was successful, since a local merchant of Royalton offered him three thousand dollars for the first quantity he had prepared for shipment. As this

10. “History of the Prophet Joseph,” by Lucy Smith, His Mother, ch. x. As it will be necessary to make frequent reference to this book, it is proper to say that it was originally published under the title “Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet and his Progenitors for many Generations,” by Lucy Smith, mother of the Prophet, published by Orson Pratt, Liverpool, England. In the Preface to the edition published in England, Orson Pratt says that these Biographical sketches “were mostly written previous to the death of the Prophet, and under his personal inspection.” In this matter Elder Pratt was misled, as Lucy Smith did not begin dictating these memoirs until the fall of 1844, after the murder of her two sons Joseph and Hyrum at Carthage, Illinois. The work was completed in 1845. Mrs. Martha Jane Knowlton Coray was “Mother Smith’s” amanuensis; and made two copies of the work, one of which she left with Lucy Smith, and the other she took to Utah and deposited it in the hands of President Brigham Young. The copy left with Lucy Smith fell into the hands of her son Wm. Smith, thence into the hands of one Isaac Sheen, who sold it to Orson Pratt in 1852, when the latter was en route to England on a mission, and called upon Sheen in Illinois. There were some slight inaccuracies in the English edition, the work not being carefully edited, or Mother Smith’s recollections correlated with established historical data. In consequence of these errors, and also being displeased with the procedure of Elder Pratt in publishing so important a work without consultation or knowledge of either the Presidency of the Church or the Twelve Apostles, President Brigham Young ordered the edition suppressed. A new edition of the book, however, was published by the Improvement Era in 1901 at Salt Lake City, with the sanction and approval of President Joseph F. Smith, nephew of the Prophet, who wrote an Introduction to the work setting forth the above facts. But instead of the ponderous title of the first edition the more simple one “History of the Prophet Joseph,” by his mother, Lucy Smith, is used and by such title it will be referred to in this writing.

There was also an edition of this book published at Plano, Ill., 1880, by what is known as the “Reorganized Church.” It follows the English edition published by Orson Pratt. The notes in its Preface and a foot note on page 90-91 bear out the statements above set forth. All the editions are identical in chapter numbering, hence the chapters are given in references instead of pages.

11. Ginseng:—A herb of the genus *Aralia*, having a root of aromatic and stimulant properties, in great esteem in China. The true Manchurian ginseng of China is *A. Ginseng*. *A. quinaue folia* of the eastern United States (doubtless the species grown in Vermont) is closely akin to it, and is exported to China in large quantities. (Funk & Wagnalls Standard Dictionary). In recent years the industry of raising ginseng root has been taken up in Oregon. There is always a good market at high prices for this product, and an immense amount of the stuff can be grown on a small piece of ground.

was but about two-thirds the current value of the product, Joseph determined upon finding a shipper independently, and for this purpose visited New York City. Finally he and Mr. Stevens shipped their ginseng in the same vessel for China, where evidently it sold to great advantage: but through the rascality of Mr. Steven's son, who, according to mutual agreement, went with the cargo to China, Joseph Smith received no returns whatever from this venture. The younger Stevens, after his return told a plausible story of failure to sell the ginseng cargo, but he at once employed eight or ten men and prepared to go into the business of crystalizing ginseng root on a large scale. His embezzlement of the Smith proceeds of the cargo sent to China began to come to light, however; thereupon he fled to Canada, and that was the last the Smiths heard of him. Meantime Joseph Smith's affairs were desperate. He had risked all his means on this ginseng venture. He had lost about two thousand dollars in bad debts while merchandizing. He was owing eighteen hundred dollars to Boston merchants, payment of which he expected to meet from the proceeds of his China shipment of ginseng. The only resource left was the Tunbridge farm. This was sold for eight hundred dollars, about half its value; and Lucy bravely brought forth her wedding dowery deposit of one thousand dollars, and this with the proceeds from the sale of the farm, met Joseph's obligations to the Boston merchants.

After disposing of his farm at Tunbridge, Joseph Smith lived a short time at Royalton, and thence moved to Sharon—the distances not great—Windsor county. Here Joseph rented a farm of his wife's father, Solomon Mack, which he cultivated in the summer and taught school in the winter. By dint of the father following the two occupations, the affairs of the family began to improve and take on an air of comfort. And here, on the old Mack farm, among the hills of Sharon overlooking the beautiful White River Valley, Joseph, the future Mormon Prophet, was born on the 23rd of December, 1805.

CHAPTER II

THE ANCESTRY OF JOSEPH SMITH, THE PROPHET.—(*Continued*).

II

The Macks of New England.

On the maternal side the Prophet's ancestry cannot be traced beyond John Mack, who was born in 1653, in Inverness, Scotland; and who came to America about 1680. He settled in Lyme, Connecticut, in 1734.¹ The Prophet Joseph Smith descended from this man in the following line:

- Ebenezer Mack, son of the above John Mack;
- Solomon Mack, son of the above Ebenzer Mack;
- Lucy Mack, daughter of Solomon Mack, and mother of the Prophet.

John Mack the Scotch immigrant of 1680 was the original and early settler of that name in the colony of Connecticut, and the ancestor of the early Macks of that State. In the "History of Five Colonial Families," of which the Mack family is one, the following occurs:

"It is thought that the Mack family dropped their original name, retaining the prefix only, thereby being better able to escape persecution on account of their religious belief. It is said that part of their coat-of-arms was a boar's head. The Scotch families of McDougal and McTavish have as parts of their coats-of-arms a boar's head erased. One branch of the family thinks that the original name was McDermon."²

Ebenezer Mack was born at Lyme, December 8th, 1697; and became pastor of the Second Congregational Church at that place. He was a man of considerable property and lived in good style, commanding the respect and attention usually accorded those engaged in his calling, and who follow habits of strict morality. But after enjoying these advantages for a time, misfortunes overtook Ebenezer Mack and the family once so comfortably situated was scattered.

Solomon Mack was born at Lyme, Connecticut, September

1. "American Ancestry," Vol. II, p. 76. "Five Colonial Families," Vol. I, p. 343.

2. Vol. I, Appendix. See also "History of the Town of Gilsum," N. H., p. 357. Here also is given the family tradition by Wm. Mack of Stanstead, Canada—"I have heard my father say he never knew a Mack convicted of any crime."

15th, 1732.³ When misfortune befell his father's family, Solomon was but four years of age. He was apprenticed to a farmer of the neighborhood, and experienced the hardships of an "apprenticed hand"—all too common in New England in those times, and afterwards—long hours of incessant toil, cold neglect, with no schooling, and but little opportunity for self improvement. Not until he attained his majority was Solomon Mack set free from this semi-bondage. Then he entered the service of his majesty, King George II, the French and Indian War being at its height. He saw active service during the next four years, being in a number of important engagements with the French and Indians about Lake George—at Fort Edward, Fort William Henry, Ticonderoga and Crown Point. At the last named place in the spring of 1759 Solomon Mack received his discharge; and the same year he married Lydia Gates, the daughter of Nathan Gates of East Haddam, Connecticut. Lydia was a school teacher. Solomon speaks of her as an "accomplished young woman;" and later in his "Narrative" justifies the description by a further reference to her in the most complimentary terms, in connection with the rearing of their family. The money that accumulated in Solomon's hands by four year's service in the army was invested in lands in Grandville, Washington county, New York, east of Lake George, and near the Vermont line. Part of the settler's contract was to build a number of log houses on the tract he had purchased. About this time Solomon had the misfortune to cut his leg and he was disabled for work throughout the summer. The man whom he employed to build the aforesaid log houses, and whom he paid in advance, absconded with the money, the part of the contract pertaining to building the houses was not fulfilled, and consequently the land with the investment was lost. After this the family settled in Marlow, Cheshire County, New Hampshire. "No other than a desolate, dreary wilderness," is Solomon's description of it, "only four families within

3. This date is the one given in "Five Colonial Families," Lucy Smith gives the date of birth September 26, 1735. The date of the text is most probably the right one, since Solomon Mack's "Narrative" states that he left his master at twenty-one, to enlist in the service of his country, and describes an engagement with the enemy at Half Way Brook in 1755. If Lucy Smith's date were the right one, it would have been 1756 before Solomon enlisted. The author of the "History of the Town of Gilsun," however, (Silvanus Hayward—1881) gives Lucy Smith's date for the birth of Solomon Mack.

forty miles." But here the talents and virtues of Lydia, his wife, shone out. The pair now had four children, and the husband says:

"Here I was thrown into a situation to appreciate more fully the talents and virtues of my excellent wife; for, as our children were deprived of schools, she assumed the charge of their education, and performed the duties of an instructress as none, save a mother, is capable of. Precepts accompanied with examples such as hers, were calculated to make impressions on the minds of the young, never to be forgotten. She, besides instructing them in the various branches of an ordinary education, was in the habit of calling them together both morning and evening, and teaching them to pray; meanwhile urging upon them the necessity of love toward each other, as well as devotional feelings towards Him who made them. In this manner my first children became confirmed in habits of piety, gentleness, and reflection, which afforded great assistance in guiding those who came after them, into the same happy channel. The education of my children would have been a more difficult task if they had not inherited much of their mother's excellent disposition."⁴

This lady, it should be remembered, was the maternal grandmother of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet.

In 1776 Solomon Mack enlisted in the American army, serving for some time in the land forces, but subsequently with his two sons, Jason and Stephen, he served in a privateering expedition under Captain Havens. After serving his country for four years he returned to Gilsun, New Hampshire. Owing to exposure and the hardships of his early life Solomon Mack's health failed him in his later years; he was feeble and much afflicted with rheumatism. In making journeys about the country in those days he rode on horseback, and for his greater comfort used a woman's saddle—a circumstance pressed into service to emphasize the existence of an "abnormality" in one of the ancestors of Joseph Smith!⁵

The circumstance that, following a severe injury in the head,

4. The passage recalls the lines of Burns:

"I've scarce heard aught describ'd sae weel,
What generous, manly bosoms feel."

JOSEPH SMITH'S MONUMENT

at

SHARON, WINDSOR COUNTY, VERMONT.

Erected by members of the Church he organized, and dedicated on the One Hundredth Anniversary of his birth, December 23rd, 1905.

DESCRIPTION.

The monument stands on the crown of a hill eighty seven feet from the hearthstone of the old home, where the Prophet was born; and is 1,350 feet above sea level. The foundation of the monument is of concrete fourteen feet square at the bottom and seven feet deep. Upon this rests the first granite base twelve feet square and twenty inches thick, weight eighteen tons. The second base is nine feet square and two feet thick, weight thirteen tons. Upon this stands the inscription die six feet square at the bottom and two inches less at the top. It is six feet two inches high, weight nineteen tons. It is covered by a moulded cap seven feet four inches square, by two feet six inches thick, weight ten tons. Upon this stands the shaft of the monument four feet square at the base, and three feet at the top—the peak rises three feet higher. Its whole length is $38\frac{1}{2}$ feet, weight thirty-nine tons.

All the granite of the monument is highly polished from base to pinnacle. It is 50 feet ten inches high and weighs nearly one hundred tons. The lines of the monument are squared with the ancient town line of Sharon, running north 40 degrees 10 minutes east, and is parallel with the front of the memorial cottage, built on the spot where the foundation and hearthstone of the old Smith house was found. The inscriptions are as follows: Upon the southerly side in sunken letters—

SACRED
TO THE MEMORY OF
JOSEPH SMITH
THE PROPHET.
BORN HERE
23rd DECEMBER, 1805;
MARTYRED,
CARTHAGE, ILLINOIS,
27th JUNE, 1844.

On the opposite, or northerly side this inscription:

TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH SMITH.

In the spring of the year of our Lord, 1820, The Father and The Son appeared to him in a glorious vision, called him by name and instructed him.

Thereafter heavenly angels visited him and revealed the principles of the Gospel, restored the authority of the Holy Priesthood, and the organization of the Church of Jesus Christ in its fulness and perfection.

The engraved plates of the Book of Mormon were given him by the angel Moroni. These he translated by the gift and power of God.

He organized the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints on the sixth day of April, 1830, with six members.

He devoted his life to the establishment of this Church, and sealed his testimony with his blood.

In his ministry he was constantly supported by his brother Hyrum Smith, who suffered martyrdom with him.

Over a million converts to this testimony have been made throughout the world; and this monument has been erected in his honor, to commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of his birth, by members of the Church which he organized.

They love and revere him as a Prophet of God, and call his name blessed forever and ever, Amen.

Around the capstone just above the die, in letters three inches long, is the following quotation from the Bible, which led Joseph to seek the Lord:

"If any of you lack wisdom let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally and upbraideth not; and it shall be given him." (James 1:5.)



JOSEPH SMITH'S MONUMENT

AT

SHARON, VERMONT.

ten statement of Horace Stanley, Stephen Mack was the proprietor of a large mercantile establishment in Detroit—large for those days, employing six clerks. Besides this establishment he had a number of stores in various parts of Michigan, and Ohio. At his own expense he built a turn-pike road from Detroit to Pontiac where he owned a large farm upon which he lived. In 1828 he was a member of the Council of the territory of Michigan. All this would indicate that Stephen Mack was a man of intelligence, judgment, enterprise, and successful withal. When he died he left his family an estate of \$50,000, without incumbrance, which, in those days, was a large fortune.⁹

Lovisa and Lovina Mack, daughters of Solomon, died in early womanhood. Both being of a deeply religious nature they had some experiences in spiritual manifestations and bodily healings regarded at the time as bordering on the miraculous, but which now, in the larger experience of Christian life, including the claims of "Christian Science", and of the "Immanual Movement," would scarcely be looked upon as ultra remarkable.

Lydia Mack, the third daughter of Solomon Mack, was less religiously inclined than her sisters. Of her it is said: "She seemed to float more with the stream of common events. * * * She sought riches and obtained them: yet in the day of prosperity she remembered the poor, for she dealt out her substance to the needy with a liberal hand to the end of her days, and died the object of their affection."¹⁰

Daniel, the third son of Solomon Mack, is described as "worldly minded, but not vicious," and was noted for two things: daring and philanthropy. In proof of the first trait he is credited with rescuing three men from drowning in one adventure, at the risk of his own life."¹¹

Solomon Mack (II), the fourth son of Solomon (I), was born in the town of Gilsum, New Hampshire, where also he married. He was known as "Captain" Solomon Mack of Gilsum. He stayed close to his home town, traveling no farther than to Boston, to which city for some time his business called him about

9. "History of the Prophet Joseph," (Lucy Smith) ch. iv.

10. "History of the Prophet Joseph," (Lucy Smith) ch. v.

11. Ibid, ch. vi.

twice a year. But in the rocky hills of the old New Hampshire town prosperity responded to his industry and business acumen, and he was held in honor by the local community in which he lived and died, surrounded by the dignity of a large family.¹²

With Lucy Mack added, of whom something has already been said, and more remains to say—such was the family that Solomon Mack, maternal grand-father of Joseph Smith, the prophet, gave to his country. This veteran soldier of two wars, the French and Indian War, and the War of the American Revolution—especially when it is remembered that in the latter war two of his sons fought by his side—may be pardoned the vanity of thinking that his life warranted the publication of a brief autobiography, even if, owing to an entire absence of opportunity for schooling in youth, the “narrative” was faulty in literary style, imperfect in authography and grammar, and included some “hymns” of doubtful poetic value.¹³

NOTES ON JOSEPH SMITH'S ANCESTRY.

Three things are commonly charged against the ancestors of Joseph Smith, the Prophet: “restlessness,” “illiteracy,” and “credulity.”¹⁴ The statement of facts in the preceding chapters on the ancestry of Joseph Smith, drawn from trust-worthy sources of information, and relating to both his paternal and maternal ancestry, as far as it can be traced, may be relied upon to refute all three of these charges, so far as it is necessary to refute them; for to a certain extent these qualities may be admitted without prejudice either to Joseph Smith or his ancestors. For instance, as to

“*Restlessness:*” On the paternal side it can only be alleged as to Asael Smith and Joseph Smith, Sen., grand-father and father respectively of the Prophet. The former removed from

12. “History of the Town of Gilsum, N. H.” “His father lived with him for some years. He was captain in the militia and served the town as select man.”

Also “History of the Prophet Joseph” chs. vii and ix.

13. Both Riley and Linn think it worth while to speak sneeringly of the Old Soldier’s “Narrative,” see “Founder of Mormonism,” pp. 12-18; and “Story of the Mormons,” pp. 8, 9. The full title of this autobiography is as follows:

“A Narrative of the Life of Solomon Mack, containing an account of the many severe accidents he met with during a long series of years, together with the extraordinary manner in which he was converted to the Christian Faith. To which is added a number of Hymns, composed on the death of several of his relations. Windsor: Printed at the expense of the author.”

14. “Founder of Mormonism,” p. 12; also pp. 25, 26. “Story of the Mormons,” pp. 8, 9. Kennedy’s “Early Days of Mormonism,” ch. i.

Topsfield to northern New Hampshire, thence to Tunbridge, Vermont, where he engaged with his sons in clearing farms; and in his old age moved to Stockholm, St. Lawrence county, New York, where he might spend the closing days of a long and arduous life in the midst of his children and grandchildren. As to the "restlessness" of Joseph Smith, Sen., previous to the commencement of his son Joseph's career, as founder of a church, it was manifested only in several removals covering no great distances in Vermont, and New Hampshire; and thence, the longest distance of all, to Palmyra, New York. As to the restlessness of the Macks, it may not be alleged against any of them, except it may be Solomon Mack, maternal grand-father of the Prophet. And even in him only during the period of the French and Indian War, and the war of the American Revolution. Apart from his movements in that period, and one voyage to Liverpool, England, the limits of his "wanderings" were marked by Cheshire county, New Hampshire, and Windsor county, Vermont—located at no great distance apart across the State line. And what is their in this "restlessness" that was reprehensible? And why should it subject these men to the spiteful epithets of "tramp"¹⁵ and "vagabond"?¹⁶ It was only such "restlessness" as sought to better industrial conditions by change of habitat; and the soil of New England, sterile at best, and the uncertainty of the climate in the hill country of Vermont and New Hampshire, at least justified if they did not compel the removals. It was the "restlessness" that sent the people of New England, Pennsylvania and Maryland through the gateway to the west provided by the head waters of the Ohio, into the Western Reserve; and the people of Virginia and the South Atlantic States, over the Appalachian Mountains into Kentucky and Tennessee; and finally westward to the Pacific coast. It was the "restlessness" that led Americans to take possession of their heritage—was this reprehensible?

The biographers of Lincoln have to meet this same charge of a restless, migratory spirit in the great President's immediate ancestors; and Mr. Henry C. Whitney, in his biographical treatise—"*Lincoln the Citizen*," published 1907, in defense of the migrations of the Lincoln family, says: "Migration is an American institution. Instances are not rare of men who have actually lived in a dozen different States; and California, Oregon, and Washington are largely peopled by men who commenced their tours of migration in the Atlantic States, and by slow approaches ultimately reached the ultimate limits of Western civilization.

15. "Story of the Mormons," p. 8.

16. "Founder of Mormonism," p. 33.

Andrew Jackson, William Henry Harrison, James K. Polk, Zachary Taylor, Andrew Johnson, Ulysses S. Grant, and Benjamin Harrison were emigrants." (*Lincoln the Citizen*, p. 59.)

"*Illiteracy*:" This may not be strictly charged upon any of the Prophet's ancestry except, perhaps, on Solomon Mack. Certainly not upon the Smiths of Topsfield, the two Samuels and Asael; for the evidence that refutes the charge is before the reader in these chapters. Certainly illiteracy may not be charged upon Joseph Smith, Sen., father of the Prophet, for he taught school in Sharon; notwithstanding which Linn says of him: "The father and several of the boys could not read!"¹⁷ And while Riley, admits the school teaching, he seeks to minimize the fact by saying: "How much knowledge this would imply is conjectural. The course of study in a Vermont district school at the beginning of the last century did not consist of much more than reading, writing and arithmetic."¹⁸

The remark is not objectionable. It is safe to say that the educational equipment of school teachers in Vermont and New York was limited; and Mr. Riley himself in a subsequent passage to the one just quoted, gives a sufficient explanation of such limitations: "Of the founders of Vermont it was said that few were versed in the rules of grammar. A like state of affairs existed on the frontiers of New York, where the average school attendance was but three months in the year and where, at the time of the writing of the Book of Mormon, there were not two academies to a county. Moreover in their toils in the backwoods the boys were needed at home. * * * Along with these short comings in education went an equal scarcity of books: every house had its Bible, but of general reading there was a woeful lack. If at this time it cost a day's wages to carry a letter from Boston to Cincinnati, books could not have been widely circulated by mail."

But one whose knowledge extended to "the three R's", who read the Bible,¹⁹ and doubtless other books, ought not to be classed as illiterate. Such illiteracy, then, as may be, in a limited way, attributed to the ancestors of the Prophet, or himself, was that enforced upon them by environment, by lack of opportunity, by the fault of the times, of their location, and of their fortunes; not a deliberate choice of illiteracy in the midst of opportunities to have it otherwise; and hence they bear the charge sans reproach.

17. "Story of the Mormons," p. 11.

18. "Founder of Mormonism," p. 25.

19. "Founder of Mormonism," p. 41-42.

20. See chapter iii.

Credulity: Yes; the Prophet's ancestors were credulous in that some of them believed that they were healed of bodily ailments by the power of faith in God. Others had dreams, as their neighbors had, that they could refer to no other than the spiritual forces of this God's world. In common with their neighbors they lived in a spiritual world as well as in a material one; they experienced much that they could not understand, and after the manner of their times and the locality in which they lived, they attributed the phenomena of this spiritual world to God or Satan—the names that stood to them for good and evil forces. It may be admitted that some of them believed in fortune telling, in warlocks and witches—though, to their credit be it said, they are not found among those who burned the witches, or who oppressed others for their religious opinions, or for the lack of religious convictions—all this may be admitted. Indeed it is scarcely conceivable how one could live in New England in those years and not have shared in such beliefs. To be credulous in such things was to be normal people. To have been incredulous in such matters in that age and locality, would have stamped them abnormal. And then, it might be pertinent to ask those who now sneer at the “credulity” of past ages, if their “philosophy” has driven the phenomena of mind, or spirit from the realm of man's experience? Or have they merely satisfied themselves with what seems to them a more rational explanation of the sources of these phenomena? And are they quite certain that they have reached the last analysis of such phenomena? If not, does not the truly scientific spirit, which is the boast of our age, require that they be a little modest before speaking too contemptuously this word “credulity”? Then for Christian people who sneer at the “credulity” that in modern times believes in dreams, in healing of bodily infirmities through faith-power, in angel visitations, spirit voices and promptings, amounting sometimes to revelations—for them there are the origins of Christianity to reconcile with their unaccountable scorn of that “credulity” which merely accepts the reality of just such things as those that are associated with Christian origins. Are not we of this age believing more than our ancestors? Let the bulky tomes of the Society for Psychological Research answer. Is not this the twentieth century? Is it not an age pre-eminent for its precision in scientific knowledge; for universal education; for breadth and soundness of philosophy? And yet as these pages are written the press dispatches are burdened with accounts of the Beatification of Joan D'Arc,²¹

21. This April, 1909, and Joan D'Arc with elaborate ceremonies was solemnly beatified at Rome on the 18th.

the maid of Orleans, the national Heroine of France, and canonization is practically assured a few years later. After the severe trial of thorough investigation, the "spirit voices" that Joan heard in her girlhood, the revelation to her that France would be saved from the English and that she would save it, are declared to be spiritual realities. All our hard-headed science, our philosophy, our universal enlightenment, our thought-to-be skeptical age, cannot drive out these "super-natural" realities from human life. Credulity is not necessarily a badge of ignorance. A truly enlightened age is going to be more thoroughly credulous than an age of darkness. It will not always be an apt saying—"the slighiter intelligences are much given to convictions;" nor this, "those who know a few things, believe a great many." Those of the enlightened age to be, now dawning—those of profound intelligence will have the firmer and larger convictions; those who know many things, will believe very many more. And that which men now and in the past have sneeringly called "credulity," may yet stand, as often it has stood in the past, for rational faith in the spiritual realities of life.

THE HERO IN HISTORY

BY H. L. CONROY

I FEAR that in seeing my heading, readers will be led instantly to suppose that I contemplate intrenching upon the field Carlisle has made so particularly his own in his renowned *Hero Worship*. But if it should unhappily appear, in the course of these pages, that I have been influenced or swayed in my views by that master mind, it is with entire unconsciousness, and only as one in the same line of thinking is necessarily emulative of what is admirable; sometimes echoing without being aware of the imitation, a note or so that has entwined itself with the little songs of his own making.

I wish to say, at the first, that if I owe to any one the direct incitation of this, it is to a certain old Italian literature which recently fell into my hands, and that contained some interesting matter upon the subject of a disputed British chronicle from which the legends of Arthur have been largely drawn. It was in reading of the Arthur of Britton, and comparing him with the Charlemagne of the northern French, that I was borne to reflect upon the great similarity of the views of different men, in different countries, on the stuff that makes a hero. Our own Dr. Holmes once said, in whimsically caustic vein: "The world has got to thinking what it calls an 'intellectual' man to be made up of nine-tenths, or thereabouts, book learning." He was not of this opinion himself, but he was in everything, most original, and perhaps he found at least one reason for not believing a thing, the fact that it was a popular idea. However, it seems pretty evident that most people are contented to take what is current coin of the intellectual mint, without being at the trouble of setting up a little private manufactory of their own. And we find through all the historical legends and chronicles certain well accepted views and superstitions that change only in expressions and are always fundamentally the same.

To chase through all the disguises and metamorphoses imposed by perpetual wandering through foreign lands, the ever delusive and surprisingly familiar *character* has been for sometime past an amusement for me and not the less wanting in zest that others have pursued it before me.

The first thing that has struck me as a constant truth, never contradicted, is that all fables of heroes, in all countries, have a veritable basis in fact. The imagination of man may or may not have wings, but it always has feet; and habitually one foot rests on solid earth. It is as if that glittering trail of color of all the loveliness that "never was on sea or land" were really built on a cobweb form that the first architect constructed, and that no one has ever known how to alter. All the national poets resemble one another in their subjects; all the imaginative historians—those who go out from the beaten path of dry details to dwell somewhat upon the genius of man, the maker of history—place before us something virile, active, ambitious and far-seeing, as the central figure of an epoch, or a century. Everywhere the polished Saladin and the extraordinary Haroun, all with the "main de fer" in ready training to execute vengeance and create fear. Over the border arises the curious figures of Macduff, and of Fitz James, kings who talked philosophy between their adroit sword thrusts; but always with the sword at side. Ever and always, the weapon. What would Charlemagne, or even the revered Alfred have amounted to in history, without their skill in marshalling armed men ?

This is the necessary basis in the case; the gift of brute force in the hero. With this to build upon, the historian begins to construct and adorn his figure, according to the ideals of his age. We thus see Mark Anthony rising like a phoenix from the dead ashes of his victims, to sing his own triumphs in melodious verse; the man of the ancient salon; poet, philosopher, sage. But weak as a lover always must be. We see the British general, Arthur, elevated to kingship, and embellished with every virtue belonging to mankind; wisdom, patience, fortitude, but not so successful in the home as in the field of battle. The Henrys, Edwards, and Charlies of England have a strange similarity of character with the ancient Pompeys, Cæsars and Hannibals; and whether

the wind blows from the east or south, and forces before it some ferocious Philip or monstrous Timon, the soft zephyr of fame fails not to smooth out the wrinkles of the angry Simoon, and the historian finds his hero ready made in the traditions of his own land, and only requiring to be well placed in the favorable foot-light of the stage for the world to see.

The same man lives, dies and comes to life again, in Rome, in Gaul, in Ireland, in Norway and in America. Then, there is but one man, and he has the gift of being everywhere at once, and uttering his battle cries in every language known to the civilized and uncivilized world. He has even been found yesterday in Africa, to be lost and re-discovered to-day in St. Petersburg! He is assassinated here to be resuscitated and feted there; always changing and always the same. Does he exist in the mind of his biographer, only, and is his actuality a mere outcome of some striking event that requires a leader to account for it? To separate the fact from the accompanying fancy is a curious part of mental science, and for my part, I am not sure whether all men are heroes, unchronicled except upon rare occasions, or whether the hero is a sort of ornament to facts, like a banner placed on the top of a solid piece of masonry, to draw attention to something of local importance.

But positively, we have first the fact; without a war there is no hero; without victory, no general. In times of peace the king who rests from combat occupies himself in revising the statutes; but King Louis, the Lamb went first to the Crusade, and then talked about the beauty of love to our neighbor. He would have appeared feeble without that background of the bloody Orient, with its over-rid hosts of slain. Arthurt first slew Uther, and then preached to his knights the grace of forgiveness. And the same tales told of him are related of Charlemagne the Great. Which came first, and who borrowed and who loaned the romance that adorns the brow of the hero? It seems to me the most idle of questions; the poetry was all ready made somewhere, to be thrown like a wreath, over the head of the first comer. The Skalds, the trouveres, the minnesingers, the troubadours turned their lay to suit the feeling of worship of power in an individual. What and where the individual, who cared?

And who knows, after a short lapse of time, if the wreath belonged on the head that wore it? Where the fields are so full of the flowers of fancy, every little two penny bard may cull a few blossoms to add to the mass that embellishes the hero of the hour.

But history takes its laudations seriously, and resents misappropriations. It would undo wrongs and "wrest the wreath of fame from the hand of fate," where fate has been too kind. We see now and then, a poor hero denuded of his bravery, and exposed to the scorn of posterity. He either "was not there" when the event happened or he was not equal to the occasion. In either case he is some weakling, masquerading as a giant. The real giants defy time and modern science to hunt them from their haunts. But they cannot have the comfort of knowing it, for during their life time they are simply tentative heroes; waiting on the future generation to ratify or refuse the verdict of their contemporaries. Often over-praise in one decade is offset by a succeeding wave of approbrium, and among moderns, especially when more is exacted than that a hero should hold his own among other leaders, the popularity of a day is no guarantee of continued favor. I am much struck with the extraordinary departure in our history, from the ideals that have so long obtained in the world. It almost seems as if among so many eccentricities, the American people are about to develop the real eccentricity of a new type of hero.

I do not forget that there existed a Bayard, a Percivale, a Gorozola de Cordova, when I say that it is a new thing for a man of peace, a stainless knight of humanity, not a man of the battle field to be placed upon the pedestal of fame by his countrymen, as a national hero. Yet, we are now in way to commit this unheard of act. Among all the men of our land who have been accorded a high place in our annals, none stands so high as Abraham Lincoln, not "first in war" but always and ever we may hope, "first in the hearts of his countrymen."

Columbus gave a new world to Spain, and it has passed away from her ungracious hands into those that can hold it more bravely, and more wisely. But Lincoln gave to the world a new type of hero; let that not pass away from us.

SOME OLD CHURCH SILVER IN AMERICA.

BY MIRIAM CRUIKSHANK

WHEN the Exposition at Jamestown was held in 1907 it was planned that among the exhibits there should be one of old church silver loaned by such of the parishes in the thirteen original states as were existent during the colonial period of our history. Unfortunately, the impression got abroad that this special exhibit was to be purely local in character and when the time came only Virginia and one parish in North Carolina were represented.

It seemed a pity, for while ecclesiastical silver is probably less interesting to the average collector than rare spoons, historic loving cups or obsolescent patterns in candlesticks; yet it represents its period quite as faithfully as any piece of household or "college" plate. Then too, since the day when Joseph of Arimathaea brought into Britain that treasure for which King Arthur's knights searched so long and earnestly there has hung about the sacramental cup a charm for every lover of legend or history whether he be a good churchman or not.

We do not know the form or substance of that Mystic Holy Grail, "Rose red with beatings in it" upon which Sir Galahad looked before he died; but all traditions and all early eucharistic vessels that have come down to us to prove that a chalice and paten were the two essentials in the serving of the sacred feast. Later usage requires a flagon for the holding of additional wine and in some instances (since the modern paten is small, its bed being of the proper size to fit upon the top of the chalice) a flat plate for extra bread or wafers. In passing it might be added that a full sacramental service has two chalices, two patens and a baptismal bowl; but to hark back to the Jamestown silver exhibit.

St. John's Church, Hampton, Va., which is the oldest active parish in this country, having been founded in 1610, sent a silver

set that bore the hallmark of 1618—the year the gallant Raleigh was executed, the year of the breaking out of the thirty years war, the reign of James 1.

This silver was brought to the colonies in 1619 to be used in St. Mary's Church, Smith's Hundred, Va., a church that was endowed by a legacy from one pious Mistress Mary Robinson of London, who was desirous of promoting missionary work among the Indians. In the Indian massacre of 1622 the church was destroyed but the silver was rescued and sent to Jamestown. About 1632 it was turned over to the church at Hampton—then known as Elizabeth City—where it has been ever since. It seems as if this silver had indirectly kept alive the memory of that godly Mistress Robinson and her zeal for the Indians' welfare, for the Indian pupils at the Normal school at Hampton attend St. John's and they have placed in the church a memorial window to their own princess—Pocahontas.

The chalice of this set bears the inscription:—"The Communion Cupp of St. Mary's Church in Smith's Hundred, Va." One of the two small patens is inscribed, "Whoever shall eate this bread and drink this cupp unworthily shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord," and the other—"If any man eate this bread he shall live forever."

Scarcely less interesting was the silver sent from the parishes of Pharnham and Lunenburg, which bore the date 1720 and which, so says tradition, was purchased from Queen Anne's Bounty. In 1803 the church in these parishes was confiscated and the silver was put up at public auction. It was bought by a Colonel John Tayloe who presented it to St. John's Church, Washington, about 1816, but in 1876 it was restored to Pharnham and Lunenburg.

Some few years before the outbreak of the Civil war negroes at work in a field in Accomack County, Virginia, dug out of the ground a metal cup of unusual design. Pleased with their discovery, yet ignorant of its value, they carried it to the well to be used as a common drinking vessel. In time the cup attracted the attention of passers by and it was redeemed by Mrs. Peggy Bailey Custis, who had it cleaned and polished. When the mold and other discoloration were removed it was found that the cup

was of silver and bore the inscription—"For the use of the Parish Church of Accomack in Assuaman." Mrs. Custis presented the chalice—which no doubt had been buried in the field for safe keeping during some early war—to Emanuel Church, Assuaman Parish, which Parish loaned it to the Jamestown Exposition.

Among other single pieces in the collection was a chalice from Wicomoco Church, Northumberland Co., Va., which is dated 1711 and inscribed—"Ex Done Hancock Lee to ye Parish of Lee." A flagon from this same parish had the date 1729 and was given in memory of a Mr. Bartholomew Shriver by his son Bartholomew.

The one parish in North Carolina which chose to be represented at the Exposition was old St. Paul's Edenton. This church sent a Chalice and paten, both inscribed, "Ye gift of Colonel Edward Moseley for ye use in ye church in Edenton in ye yeare 1725." In this same old church there is a flagen of unusual design, which tradition says is an old English "pottle" or half gallon tankard. This was given to the parish in 1833 by a Mrs. Mary Granby.

When confronted by the records of the Colonial churches one is almost appalled by the generosity of Queen Anne. Old Trinity, Newport, R. I. owes her its bell—twice recast since 1709. Immanuel Church, New Castle, Del., founded in 1689 received from her royal hand its plate, pulpit and vestments and a large number of the churches in America founded before or during her reign, point proudly to their communion services built in the massive fold prevalent in her time, and undoubtably the gift of the Queen.

It was Queen Anne, it may be remembered, who created the celebrated Queen's Bounty by taking the produce from the tithes and first fruits—hitherto a perquisite of the crown—and devoting it to the needs of church livings, valued at less than fifty pounds a year. Perhaps Her Majesty took pride in the strides made in the art of the smith and the cunning of the artisan during her reign and wished to give their skill the approval of her patronage. Perhaps there was balm to her mother's heart for a row of little graves and a desolate nursery, in the giving of the plate and cup that were to bring spiritual comfort to others who travailed and were heavy laden. Whatever the cause there are

few Colonial parishes that can doubt the munificence of that stout, commonplace dame—the last sovereign of the house of Stuart.

Some of the silver to be found in old churches is of American make—notably the service at St. Mary's, Whitechapel, Lancaster Co., Va., inscribed—"Gift of Capt. David Fox 1669." and the chalice and a small paten at Abingdon Church in Gloucester County. When, as in the latter instance, no date is engraved on the vessel, the interested onlooker must gauge its history by his knowledge of "periods" for the American silversmith places no hallmark upon his wares. It may be that he is animated by the patriotic spirit of that doughty Paul Revere, who practised his art in the early days of our country's history and flouts the custom as smacking too strongly of the ways of Mother England; or it may be that he thinks it a waste of time.

Now, the veriest tyro in the art of silver collecting can tell you that a goldsmith's guild was founded in England in 1300; that a charter was granted to the guild in 1337 by Edward III.; that since that time no piece of silver has been turned out without a hallmark, which is a protection to the dealer and a guarantee of good faith to his patron, for any piece so marked must have passed triumphantly through one of the four assayers' offices of the United Kingdom.

He can proudly point to a leopard's head alone as distinguishing silver made between 1300 and 1337; he can show you the mark of a leopard's head and crown on the silver that was turned out between 1337 and 1545 and he can discant learnedly upon an alphabetical system of dates that was adopted sometime in Edward IV.'s reign (1441-1483) by which the initiated who runs may read; but he cannot combat the iconoclasm of his age.

This is a generation of paste diamonds, of blown "cut" glass, of watered stocks and gold bricks in general. A man who has made a long and exhaustive study of the matter, sorrowfully admits that it is not only a possibility but an accomplished fact for the shrewd and skillful Yankee goldsmith to so successfully imitate the hallmark that is early Victorian, or late Georgian, or solid Queen Anne, as to fool the very elect.

Old St. Michael's Church, Charleston, S. C., which opened its

doors for service on the first of February, 1761, has a record to this effect: That on Feb. 18, 1762, the wardens inform the vestry of the gift from his Excellency Thomas Boone, Esq., Governor of the Province, of a service of silver plate—two flagons, a chalice and cover and a large dish—which “dish” we are authoritatively informed was the plate for holding the bread at the time of celebration.

In 1764 George Somers, Esq., added two silver alms dishes to this collection; in 1816 another chalice was presented by “Elias Horry, Esq., intendent of this city;” in 1819 Miss Anne McPherson gave the same church a silver christening bowl.

When the great Civil war swept the country in the early sixties all this silver was sent to Columbia for safe keeping and when that city was burned by Sherman the silver disappeared. When peace was declared the vestry advertised their loss and in 1867 a gentleman in New York returned one of the flagons which he had come across in a pawn broker’s shop. A year or so later the “chalice cover”—really a paten, was discovered in Ohio and bought by the church authorities. Both of these pieces are engraved: “The gift of his Excellency Thos. Boone, Esq., Governor of this Province to the church of St. Michael’s, Charles Town, So. Carolina, 1762.” The flagon bears also the British coat of arms. None of the other pieces have ever been heard from.

In an obscure North Carolina village there is a little old lady who is the proud possessor of a pewter chalice and paten—all her own. Many years ago these vessels were made in Philadelphia and presented to the first Dutch Reformed Church in North Carolina, where they were in regular use. Time passed by and the church was burned, it was never re-built and the parish was absorbed in a neighboring one of greater pretensions, that had no need of the humble communion set.

So, after due deliberation on the part of those in authority, it was decided that the two pieces be handed over to the oldest living communicant of the old parish, to be passed on at his death to the next in age. The present owner is the last survivor of that faithful little band and no doubt the unusual legacy will go down to her descendants as a treasured heirloom.

THE NEED OF SCIENCE IN AMERICAN FAMILY RULE

BY FLORENCE HULL WINTERBURN

IN studying the constitution of the United States one remarks the wisdom which provided such strict time limitations of authority. Corruption of power rarely follows immediately upon the assumption of it. Men coming into office feel at first that they are watched and are made careful by the sense of their prominence, as an actor appearing for the first time before the footlights is nervously afraid of blundering. This diffidence wearing away after awhile is replaced by a certain callousness; what the people think is not so important after the place is secured. But as nothing is so corrupting as the habit of exercising command, the person in power once ceasing to fear opposition, feels his heart harden and his sympathy dull day by day; the people subject to him become nothing, and the routine which formulates his own ideas becomes everything. Like a lioness defending her young, he would defend his regulations; the offspring of his brain they are part of the *ego*, and to subject them is to cripple him and degrade his dignity.

At this point, before the period arrives for him to grow wanton in the abuse of his power, our constitution steps in and despoils him of it, and installs a novice in his place. The heads of the great departments of our government, petty kings in many respects, have every temptation to become tyrannical and autocratical. What restrains them is the knowledge that their reign is not only limited, but preparatory for their successor. Whatever in their administration is meant only for self-aggrandizement, whatever is not founded upon a just conception of utility will not only be swept away, but will furnish a topic of ridicule for the whole country.

This publicity given to all their proceedings is an effectual check upon self-seeking politicians. If "the spoils of office glit-

ter in his eye" he is obliged to veil his eagerness by a semblance of public spirit. There can be no display of force, and any attempt at dishonesty is so hazardous that only determined rogues venture it. Our statesmen are imbued with a deep belief in the inclination of truth to show itself. With a people so alert, a free press so vigilant and keenly inquisitive, nothing can be long hidden, and men in office must walk in the clear light of noon day.

These precautions are all to prevent unscrupulous men gaining possession of authority. An office is hedged about with restrictions, and a conscientious official has his upright intentions stimulated, and any latent capacity to become a rogue sternly discouraged. Everything depends upon his own conduct. In our judicial department there is the nicest adjustment of liberty of action and moral restraint. The judges are absolutely free from control, and their decisions, however unpopular, cannot be used against them by hostile political parties. And yet their "tenure of office is only during good behaviour," for they are liable to be impeached or tried. So, although they enter upon what is called a life appointment, they realize that it is for a *good* life, one fulfilling all the requirements of morality, decency, and justice. Behind all the temporary enactments made by our rules, and beyond all the authority with which they may be invested, lies the constitution, the supreme authority which may not be set aside, and which may hardly be altered; that has provided for all emergencies, and abrogated all disputes, that holds each man to his duty and checks every impulse toward license.

So much did our wise and cautious forefathers know about human nature, and so rightly did they estimate the appetite of men to abuse power. Yet with all these interpositions, with every restraint and guard that ingenuity can devise and watchfulness maintain, the constant endeavor is made in our country to give office only to the most suitable men. Notwithstanding the "rings and the ring-leaders," the mobs and the mob-laws," and the outbreaks here and there of wicked and undisciplined beings who are inimical to what is orderly and fair, it is proven over and over again, when the test of general election comes, that these evils are of a cast merely local, and that the sentiments of the major-

ity in our country are in harmony with the spirit of the founders of the republic; they uphold the eternal principle of right and justice, and they will intrust the carrying out of the law only to upright and trustworthy men.

And now I wish to draw attention to the great and momentous dissimilarity between the provisions made for securing men of excellent character and abilities to fill places of public trust, at the same time that by both restrictions and watchfulness they are prevented from abusing their power, and the total absence of such selection in character and limitation of power in that private and important province, the family.

In modern times the family has been considered sacred from interference by the law. The police of Russia and Paris, so vigilant in ferreting out crimes, and bringing criminals to punishment, are helpless before the citadel which guards the rights of family relationships. A father may squander his fortune on courtezans and leave his children penniless, a mother may pander to the gambling mania of a depraved son, and deprive her remaining children of the necessities of life; a husband may beat his wife, a parent may cruelly abuse infants, and the victim's tears falling in his own house, are unseen by the public, his cries unheard by the police who have no warrant for entering the sacred family precinct, even if hell were being enacted within, unless the excuse was afforded that the peace of the neighborhood was disturbed, or some desperate sufferer should violate usage and decency enough to sally out and enter a complaint against his family. Children never do this. They do not know that they can, and they would be afraid, for even the protection of the law can affect nothing salutary, except in cases of extraordinary cruelty; it is at best, but temporary, and the power of their parents, for good or ill, permanent. A parent's power is not like that of a judge, "dependent upon good behaviour." It is for life, whether the behaviour be good or ill.

It is apparent that the law taking cognizance of a man only in his public capacity as a citizen, trusts his private life in his own hands, assuming that the same self-restraint which enables him to avoid encroachments upon the rights of his neighbors, will make him faithful to his duties toward his family. The gradual

loosing of authority which has taken place, until among civilized nations men of good conduct think themselves free agents, has regard to the individual in his entirety. The presumption is that a man who is never accused by his fellow men of stealing or lying is honest; that one who shows no signs of being cruel or oppressive is amiable. The world takes the character of a man largely upon trust, having the right of inquiry only into such acts as concern society. In his private relations he has long been emancipated. It is useless to ask if he was ready for this, if the policy which holds him strictly to account for every public act, and leaves him totally unaccountable in his private relations is the best policy. It is the policy that prevails and is, under the circumstances of modern life, the only possible one. A man worthy to be a good citizen of an enlightened republic ought to be so far developed in his moral nature as to need no other officer than his conscience to keep him to his duty to his family. So public opinion declares, and the ideal is a right one.

But it is certain that the facts fall far short. A good citizen, i. e. one who violates none of the laws, and conducts himself to all outward appearances in a seemly fashion, is not necessarily a pattern family man. The explanation is not far to seek. Civil law is a positive thing; there is no ambiguity about an ordinance which forbids the counterfeiting of currency, and puts its veto upon street fights. Uniformed guardians of the peace stroll around casually, and would-be offenders entertain lively apprehensions of the consequences of exploiting their evil impulses. The necessity of attending to these restrictions, acknowledged by generation after generation, has become a habit, and the association of peace and order with obedience has favored the growth of self-control. A certain discipline has wrought a certain effect. The efforts of civilized nations long directed to the point of securing good citizens have been effectual. The repetition of any set of actions long continued, induces a mechanical tendency toward them, and even if there is lacking the mental capacity to apprehend moral distinctions, mere association of pleasure and pain with special kinds of conduct establishes a sort of morality of action that may have every appearance of virtue,

and yet leave the individual totally unenlightened in all matters not directly embraced in his education.

Civil laws are directed, not to conduct in the abstract, but in the concrete; certain acts are forbidden, but beyond a vague and general inference possibly to be drawn by the intelligent mind as to the bearing upon general welfare, there are no reasons of explanations which would induce reflection tending to an extended elevation of moral nature.

Experience goes to prove instead, that close attention to the details of civil codes leads to a rather barren, arid disposition, and discourages sympathetic, lenient views of humanity. So, it appears that the man who has walked uprightly before the eyes of the public all day, intelligently conforming to customs he has inherited a pre-disposition to, and yielding with docility to specific regulations his business and occupations impose upon him, may not, for all his excellent carriage, be the better disciplined in his whole character, or fitted to deal with matters where there is no law to restrict, no public opinion to protest, and no clear code to enlighten. He leaves knowledge in the street and enters upon a realm where *right feeling* and *instinct* are supposed to be his sufficient guides. For business and for citizenship he has had special education, for family life, none. Some slight training in moral philosophy he may have had, but it must be confessed that much that purports to be moral philosophy is not only useless, but an absolute hindrance to the liberal and refined tendencies of our modern civilization. But unless he has had the questionable good fortune to have pursued studies in this line, even of the old-fashioned sort, he is left absolutely without anchor in the swift running sea of domestic perplexities.

Nature, who is snubbed in the courts and offices of cities, brow-beaten in schools, and flouted everywhere else, is given a sort of contemptuous recognition at this juncture. She is supposed to be in charge of the family, and responsible for the actions of its members; although, let it be remarked, it is the rarest thing for anyone to perceive that there are any reciprocal obligations, and that in return for the beneficence of the godmother they are bound to try in some degree to understand and carry out her intentions. The questions now come up: Is nature more fallible

than civil law? Does she fail to confer necessary enlightenment, and is instinct a mere by-word that covers real poverty of heart and mind? The answers to these questions involve some of the widest reaching consequences possible to life.

It is a truism that happiness has no autobiography. Discontent finds a voice, and misery takes up the pen to write its despairing record. But when everything is going fairly well with a people, they are "by the world forgot." Whence wails proceed is sorrow, and reason for investigation. No one will dispute that although from the time of Adam down, domestic unhappiness has been heard of, there has never been a period when there was so general a stirring of the waters, and such a complete manifestation of internal discord and infelicities as at present. There is an agitation of all questions relating to the rearing of offspring, and a general sentiment in favor of the adoption of some new method, all the old ones having proved inadequate to the demands of modern life. Yet, it has for so long been believed that family relations were something unique, not subject to the laws ruling elsewhere, and the idea has been so thoroughly implanted that some super-natural agency expressing itself, through "instinct" was the right Mentor in these affairs, that there has been no organized effort made as yet, to treat such moral maladies as bad parentage and unfilial conduct from the scientific standpoint.

With an edifying trust in an overruling Providence, which would yet by no means be expected to supply the wisdom properly belonging to a practical art or trade, and inspire a man for instance, how to build a wagon, the parent, unsuccessful in his efforts from day to day, casts the blame upon nature, laments the waywardness of his offspring, and with shame acknowledges himself inadequate to the situation.

Instinct, so long relied upon as an infallible guide to parents, does not, seemingly, give entire satisfaction. Possibly not only the word but the idea attaching to it may be at fault. People speak of instinct as if it implied inspiration, tutelage from an infinite source of wisdom. Says Darwin: "It is worthy of remark that a belief constantly inculcated during the early years of life, while the brain is impressible, appears to acquire almost

the nature of an instinct, and the very nature of an instinct is that it is followed independently of reason." Is it then, this divine monitor upon whom such reliance is placed—not a higher sort of reason, but something "followed independently?" An automatic motion toward acts previously performed? It must be confessed that certain modes of discipline run in families, and some children are allowed to eat candy simply because their mothers ate it when they were children, while a boy has been known to receive a flogging to keep up the traditionary standard of punishment.

When we reflect that every sort of progress made by men has been the result of reason, and that only through the active co-ordination of all the mental faculties has it been possible to arrive at the conceptions of conduct to which we have attained, it becomes apparent *why* domestic relations continue to be most disproportionately backward, and still too often a mere barbarism. Everyone would instantly see the absurdity of trying to substitute instinct for acumen in business matters. It would make a man turn down a certain street to reach his office if he had turned down the same street many times before, but it would not enable him to guess the correct quotation of the stock market for the ensuing day, even if his ancestors had been stock brokers for generations and he had inherited their shrewdness in trade.

Instinct can only deal with what has already been done, and is helpless in the face of a new situation. We may correctly speak of "instinctive liking," "instinctive repugnance," but who would seriously speak of instinctive judgment? And certainly judgment, not preference, is the quality necessary to every kind of government. It is regarded as so dangerous to admit preference as a factor in cases requiring careful consideration, that the judge upon the bench endeavors to eliminate from his mind every sentiment in favor or disfavor of a culprit, and impartiality implies the absolute absence of preference.

Our intellectual and social life has become so complex that we now profess to be actuated by reason instead of instinct in almost all relations with others. The wise man controls his passions and prejudices, subjecting them to scrutiny and the dominion of his will. But the same diversity which has grown up in all other

conditions has affected domestic relations also, and it is absurd to exempt these from the rule obtaining elsewhere, that *feeling* is not a trustworthy guide and that knowledge of natural law is as necessary in dealing with the members of our own family as it is in the conduct of trade or science.

It cannot be too often impressed upon men that impulse has no moral character, but takes the form of good or bad from the amount of knowledge possessed by the person who is acting. If he enters upon a new experience his impulses are as likely to lead him into measures which are practically wrong, as they occasion misfortune to others, as they are to lead him into right measures. Now, new experiences are of hourly occurrence in family life; the changes of environment which take place from one generation to another are not greater than the changes in the nervous structure of each member; the change consisting in a differentiation which renders the individual more keenly sensitive, more irritable, more difficult to deal with. His capacity for reasoning having increased he perceives more and more the complex aspects of facts, and questions of conduct have a thousand bearings, where to a more simply constituted creature they would have but one or two. Prevision being the outcome of past experience, each succeeding generation, inheriting the results of ancestral experience naturally is endowed with longer sight, and the greater insight one is possessed of the more he is constrained to recognize the many effects springing from a single cause. This makes thinking rapid and conduct nervous. Our civilization has the hum of an unceasing Corliss engine, and the multiplicity of revolving wheels dazzles the eye. Young children feel it. The stir is in their blood and they fidget from the first as if sensing thus early the vast responsibilities awaiting them.

A few centuries ago in the rural sections of England the squire's boys and girls opened their eyes to gaze placidly upon the green fields and take in little by little the knowledge leisurely imparted to them; a knowledge almost wholly classical, and dealing with the history of the past. On Sundays they trooped to church and heard good sleepy sermons, and came home to eat their syllabub and beef, going early to bed in quietness of soul without a thought of anxiety for the future to give them a night-

mare. To-day the descendants of these same placid country children live in our new, seething country, a life which makes their blood run like quick silver and inspires in them a feeling of restlessness and emulation. Instruction has changed in character; the classics are less prominent, and science, which is lore of a prophetic, not meditative nature, is assuming more importance. Locke's idea that children were fair, white pages, blank till the teacher writes thereon, has fallen into disrepute. The design of intelligent modern teachers is not to cram, but to develop the minds of their charges. From the mite in the kindergarten exercising his budding perceptions to distinguish the colors of his worsted balls to the youth in college, thinking less of his Greek verbs than of his critical treatise upon the improbability of the existence of Homer, the entire trend of modern education has in view, perhaps unconsciously, the arousing and cultivating of the critical faculty. We are a race of critics and seers, quick to detect an anachronism, a false quantity, a political blunder. Our minds are little engaged by the past, hardly by the present, but constantly with the future. Toil, anxiety, incessant calculation, mark our days. We have no repose, but a vigor ever on the wing, and we realize—no other people realize it to anything like the same extent, because no other people are so constrained by nature—the enormous importance of the moral element in our country and our government. We need leaders who are men of sound, common sense, and trained judgment, not men of hasty passions, not of wily, self-seeking disposition. We know that we are not a simple-minded, easily governed people; we give ourselves full credit for our egotism, our quick-wittedness, and our keenness to detect flaws in those men we temporarily invest with power. How we would ridicule anyone who should advance the opinion that in governing men and administering the affairs of a nation that knowledge is not essential, and that instinct will infallibly enable men to order things right!

But this is the absurdity we are guilty of when we come in from the great world to the little world of the interior, where the forces we have to deal with are the same in kind, and only different in degree. To the nervous, sensitive children of a restless, alert race we apply the same arbitrary measures that successfully

obtained with the docile little creatures that lived before steam and electricity thrilled their nerves, and in ages when argument was deemed heresy, and to doubt what an elder said, a crime. Were it nothing else but the "droppings from the sanctuary," the stray sentences heard in the parlor and at table, suggesting free disapproval of pulpit oratory, of political measures, of prevailing social customs—the education would be sufficient to disturb a child's equilibrium and incite him to become critical of what seems strong. But added to this is the education at school, much more encouraging to originality than any ever given before; the stimulation of high-spirited young companions, all sniffing like Bucephalus, the air of a free country, and longing to get out of the path of routine and into new courses; and the suggestions of the vast new literature which has grown up lately for children, treating of all things, from children's standpoint, and enabling them to conceive that there is nothing from clay modelling to evolution which they may not try to understand.

It may be then, that as such children are the product of our century and civilization, that disaffection in families must inevitably follow from parental neglect of the principle that complexity of mental organization includes complexity of moral organization, and from depending wholly upon parental instinct as a motor of government. That feeling is right in its place and at the proper time; it is animal, affectional, it is not intellectual or moral.

Now, it must be asked, why should an animal instinct be promoted to the position of a completely developed moral faculty? The provisions of nature are not at fault. If we should insist upon using our toes for fingers, and abuse the providence that gave us such cumbersome members, denying the existence of hands, the folly would be apparent. But is there not some folly, too, in neglecting to employ to their highest use, the faculties assiduously developed through all the ages, and retaining for use in our loftiest, finest function only the rude sense possessed by the lower animals for the protection of their young? We do not think that we are any the less in harmony with nature for being highly developed and well educated. Facts favor the opposite opinion; the more ignorance is overcome the more we

harmonize with natural laws. Where, then, would there be anything unnatural in extending our education into regions where it would be most beneficial?

If the question was directly put to him a parent would surely admit that he owes his child the same consideration he owes to himself; that he is bound to insist for them upon a wise, just, and consistent government in the same way that he insists for himself that the government to which he submits shall be properly administered. But if the point were pressed it would probably be hard for him to prove that he takes the same care to secure the welfare of his offspring in this matter that he takes to secure his own. How many hours does he spend over newspapers and political discussions, and how many moments in thinking of his parental duties? He has time to give to the one matter because it involves large interests—the interests of grown people. It is exigent—pressing, which means that it concerns himself. He has no time to give to the other matter, but nature attends to that for him. It is singular that man has not yet learned that this one great exception which he makes exists only in his own imagination. Nature who confers latent capacity does not make that capacity available without effort upon our part. She does not teach men to be carpenters, nor does she teach them how to be parents, except in the performance of mere animal functions. If we want to bring our children up to be animals we need no special training, and instinct is indeed sufficient. But if we want to rear them to be intellectual, moral beings, fitted to carry on from the point attained by us the progress of the race, we must bring to bear upon the problem of their education the same intelligence we use for our own advantage, recognizing for once and all, that it is our privilege to have arrived at a stage of enlightenment where we can, by rightly directed efforts, understand and interpret the true laws of development.

To the fair and conscientious mind, thus resolute to give due consideration to a matter so important as the improvement of the race and the securing of their rightful portion of happiness to the majority of its members, it must appear that not only should we be as careful in the establishment of government over our children as we are in securing good legislation for ourselves,

but that we ought to be far more careful; for when our rulers interpret the law wrongly the evil is remediable because their term of office is temporary; but when a parent either through viciousness, ignorance, or carelessness, is unfit for his high office, he cannot be displaced, but retains his position during the whole minority of the unfortunate child under his jurisdiction. And this security of office, exempting him from the fear of criticism and interference, is so calculated to undermine the most sturdy justice, that more than common watchfulness and self-restraint is necessary to make him continue even moderately fair and consistent. So, as our rulers are required to thoroughly understand the law which they are to expound, as well as bound by oath to be conscientious, and truthful in interpreting it, there is a heavier responsibility resting upon parents, considering their unlimited power: to understand the law of natural equity, which is their children's unwritten "magna charta," and to hold themselves bound, by the most solemn of tacit obligations, to exercise all their knowledge as well as all their virtue, in interpreting this law for the helpless beings under their control: beings who have not the power to discharge incompetent rulers, who are denied the right of protest, and who, from their extreme sensitiveness suffer even more from bad government than any grown person suffers under the worst conditions to which he can be subjected.

The first duty therefore belonging to the prospective parent, is to prepare himself for his responsible position with more care than he prepares for any other duty in life. For in the performance of his public duties he is always under the law, while as a parent he is a law unto himself, since the protests nature makes are not always immediate, like those of civil law, but are often deferred, and of such various character that it is sometimes, although not always, possible to disclaim the justice of them.

THE CAPTAIN OF THE DREADNOUGHT.

BY WALTER B. NORRIS

IF a boy reader of sea stories should open a new volume to find that the hero ran away to sea at eleven to escape a disagreeable stepmother, fled from the first ship he sailed in, travelled a few thousand miles in a crazy schooner, was wrecked, rescued, enlisted in a government vessel only barely to escape a severe flogging, deserted and was kidnapped into a rotten, fever-stricken ship bound across the ocean, saw half the crew die of hard work and lack of food, fought pirates and cannibals, sailed in a haunted ship around the world, was taught navigation by a kind-hearted captain's wife, became an under officer, and at twenty-one a captain,—the boy would think that he had found a first class story.

If, then, in a sequel he found the author's imagination still active, and his hero performing such feats as out-sailing a British fleet, hob-nobbing with a Sultan who offers him the post of admiral but is refused, rescuing a beautiful lady from a harem, assisted by a sentimental stranger who later finds that he has rescued his first love, and if he then sails the Atlantic in the fastest ship afloat, the boy, one imagines, would think that the writer was a good one.

If, however, the boy should be told that he was reading not a piece of fiction but a true, unvarnished story, would he not be more amazed at truth stranger than fiction.

Yet there died in Brooklyn, New York, not long ago the man who had done all of these things and more, Captain Samuel Samuels, the famous commander of the Dreadnought. The story of his life is full of excitement, but will not necessarily give a boy an unconquerable longing for the life on the ocean wave. Besides, the life he knew no longer exists. Sea life to-day is not only less

interesting but less dangerous than in the days of Marryat, Cooper, or the author of "Two Years Before the Mast."

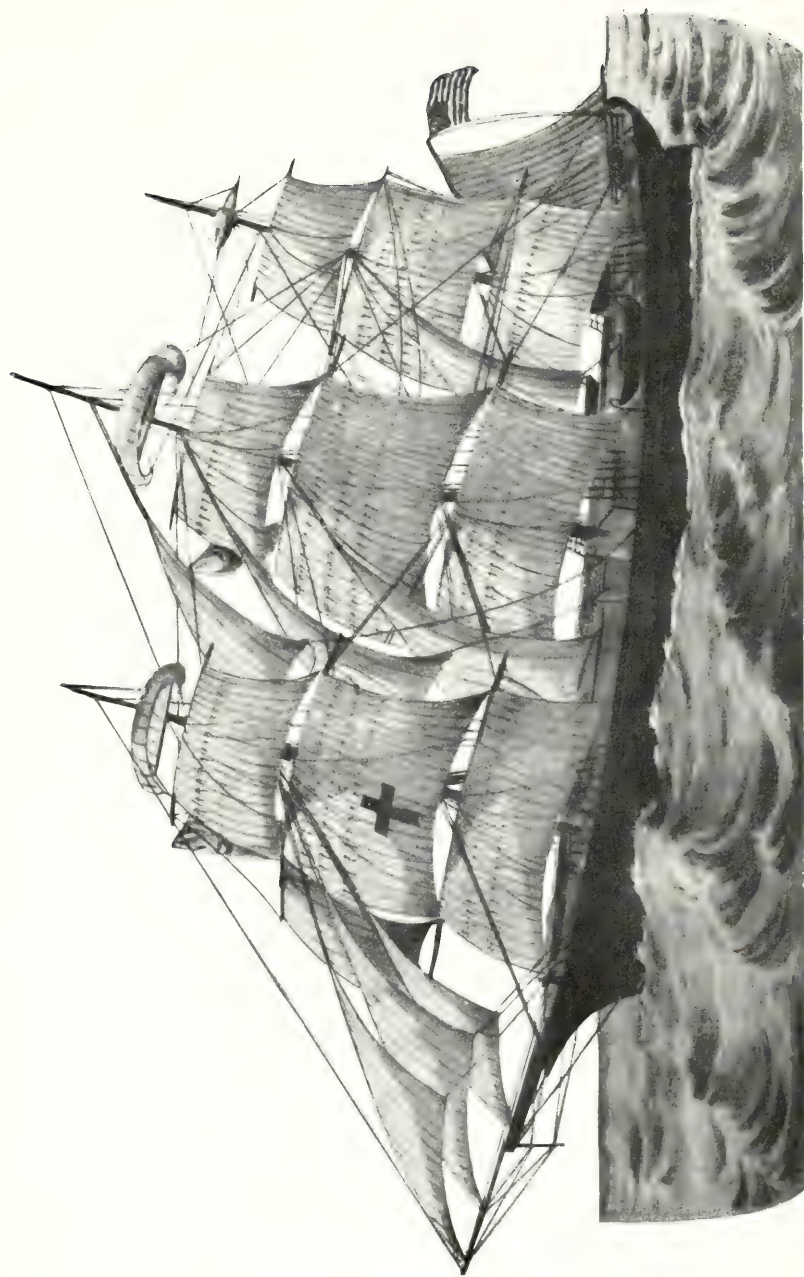
Captain Samuels was born in Philadelphia in 1825, and began his sailor days when only eleven years old, by running away from home and sailing on a schooner bound for New York. He was so worn out by sea-sickness and hard work, and so frightened by the gruesome tales about river pirates that while the ship lay at the wharf in New York, he would dream at night of murderers boarding the ship, and cry out so as to wake all the crew. But he was reckless enough to run away before the ship sailed, and to ship on a boat to Newport, R. I., where he shipped again, this time for the Gulf of Mexico.

This was the scene of a number of his experiences, not many of them pleasant ones. Just before the ship reached its destination, it was wrecked, and it was with difficulty that Samuels reached Mobile. Here he got his first dose of kidnapping, or "shanghaiing" as it was called. Captains in need of crews secured them through "crimps" who drugged desirable men and carried them on board. The sailor would find himself on board a ship bound on a long voyage, and find that he had already received a part of his wages in advance. He had no redress against such swindling, as he could prove nothing.

Samuels began by deserting his ship and enlisting on a revenue cutter as an able seaman. Here he got a taste of navy discipline, as he soon showed that he could not furl a square sail properly, and was swung up by the thumbs, body bent forward, just about to be given a dozen lashes on the bare back, when the captain intervened, and released him on account of his youth. Though he had almost fainted with fear, he had wisely said nothing. Here he became a firm friend of an old seaman, French Peter, who was with him on several voyages, and protected him at times.

But the life on a revenue cutter was not to Samuels' liking, and he and his friend deserted, but in a sailor's boarding-house were drugged, and found themselves on a ship bound for Liverpool. It was a horrible experience. So many men died of yellow fever that the survivors were overworked. Provisions gave out, disease appeared, but at last they reached England.

He returned to America by way of Galveston, narrowly avoiding being captured by pirates in the Caribbean Sea. There he



THE CLIPPER SHIP DREADNAUGHT

enlisted in the Texan navy during that gallant little republic's fight for freedom from Mexico. But yellow fever broke out on board and he got away to New Orleans, where he worked on the stage or in the cotton fields until he was shanghaiied again, but escaped by jumping overboard as the ship was passing down the Mississippi.

Several other voyages then intervened, one of which gave him a chance to return home. He soon went back to sea-faring, however, and in 1840 left Philadelphia in a ship that had never made a voyage without disaster. Nevertheless, Samuels got around the world in this unlucky vessel. In Sydney, Australia, he recklessly failed to return before the vessel had left the dock, and had to swim three miles to its anchorage in the outer harbor.

From Australia the ship headed for Manila but stopped at several islands in the South Seas. At one Samuels and a few others ventured ashore in a boat. The natives, largely cannibals, met them in the surf, overturned the boat, and would have killed them all if help had not come from the ship.

At Manila he learned something of Spanish methods in intrigue. Becoming infatuated with a Spanish girl, he was almost assassinated by a rival suitor for her hand. Sailing away, he encountered a typhoon in the China Sea, but reached Philadelphia safely.

On his next voyage, in the ship *Henry Pratt*, he went as second mate, and on a later voyage, he learned mathematics and navigation under the tuition of the captain's wife. He was now nearly twenty-one and at last seems to have been fired with some ambition to advance. He also married and, after several voyages on well-known ships and under able commanders, secured a position as chief officer of the *Manhattan*. At Amsterdam the ship was sold to a Dutch merchant, who put on board a Dutch crew and made Samuels, though only twenty-one, their captain.

On the ship's first voyage, through the Mediterranean to Constantinople and Odessa, his luck for adventure did not desert him. Sailing up through the Grecian Archipelago, he met two very fast British war vessels, and as they wanted a race, he consented and beat them decisively. At Constantinople his skill and daring in coming into the harbor gained him the notice of

the Sultan and he was actually offered the position of admiral in the Turkish Navy. However, he wisely declined the precarious post.

One adventure of his in Constantinople was perhaps the most romantic in his career. While passing a house one afternoon, a beautiful lady showed herself at a window high above the street and dropped a note to him and his companion, a Swedish sea-captain. It proved to be the piteous plea for rescue of a Christian girl who had been captured by Turks and placed in a harem as the wife of an army officer. Samuels, with the help of the Swedish captain, who was also stirred by the romance of the affair, actually rescued her in a few weeks, and the Swedish captain took her on board his ship, carried her to England, and married her. Strangest of all, the lady proved to be the girl whom the Swedish captain had loved in his youth but whom her parents had kept him from marrying. He had gone to sea in desperation, and her family had travelled to Egypt, where they had been captured by bandits, and the women sold into Turkish harems.

Samuels, himself, had an experience with bandits in Italy near Pisa, soon after this, but was rescued by officers from an American man-of-war. In the Mediterranean he was also chased by Sicilian pirates but so disabled their ships by firing at the rigging that he was able to escape.

His next voyage, also under Dutch ownership, took him to the Dutch colony of Java, where, as captain of an important ship, he was lavishly entertained. On his return around the Cape of Good Hope he was washed overboard, but saved himself by climbing into a lifeboat that had also been knocked into the sea by the same wave. During several of these later voyages his wife and children sailed with him.

By this time Samuels was known as a daring yet skillful seaman, and as a captain able to control his men and prepared for any emergency. When, therefore, a group of New York merchants wished to build a swift packet ship for the New York-Liverpool trade, and to make it the fastest sailing vessel on the Atlantic, they not only made Samuels its captain but entrusted him with much of the construction of the ship. The ship was

built at Newburyport in 1853 and named the Dreadnought for the famous vessel of that name in Lord Nelson's fleet and for which the Dreadnought in our navies to-day are also named.

Under Samuel's command the new ship soon carried off most of the sailing records for the Atlantic. On her first trip from Liverpool, she left a day after the Cunard steamer Canada sailed for Boston. Yet no sooner had the Canada reached her destination than the Dreadnought was sighted off the entrance of New York harbor.

Twice she left between steamers, and arrived in Liverpool soon enough to bring the latest news. In 1859 she crossed in a little over thirteen days, good time for a steamship, and in 1860, she made the fastest time ever made by sail power, 2,760 miles from New York to Queenstown in nine days and seventeen hours.

Such speed was only secured by attention to every detail of seamanship. The ship carried every bit of sail that her masts could bear, from main-sail and top-gallant-sail to royals and flying masses of studding-sails. Samuels' practice, which explains many of his quick passages, was carrying as much sail by night as by day.

Life on a transatlantic packet of the '50's was not a monotonous existence. Sail was crowded on and then every piece of canvas and every change of wind watched vigilantly. Discipline was much like that of a man-of-war, and the captain was a man of great importance. Passengers were numerous, and it is said that Samuels read the Episcopal service each day of the voyage. On one occasion it is related that a lady asked why the flags were flown on Sunday during church service, although not a ship was in sight to notice them.

"God sees them," was the reply. "We feel ourselves nearer to him on the ocean as only six inches of planking separates us from eternity."

Danger was indeed not far away at any time. On one passage from Liverpool in 1859, Samuels was obliged to take as sailors thirty men said to be members of a desperate gang known as the Forty Thieves. On the trip the ruffians attempted to kill the officers and rob the ship and its passengers. When their attempt was nipped in the bud by Samuels' pistols, they refused to work

the ship, and for several days the ship sped on with all sails spread and no provision for a squall or a change of wind.

Nevertheless, so determined was Samuels to break the spirit of the mutineers that when the passengers protested at the danger they were in and urged him to make concessions to the crew, he clapped the spokesman in irons. By his determination and personal courage he forced the crew to go back to work, made the leader of the mutiny beg for pardon for his evil deeds, and brought his ship safely into New York.

During the Civil War Captain Samuels was in the Union service and took part in both attacks on Fort Fisher. After the Civil War he gained new laurels as a seaman in several international yacht races. In 1866 he sailed the schooner yacht *Henrietta* from Sandy Hook to the Isle of Wight, beating both of his competitors. He also sailed the *Dauntless* in several such races, the last in 1887.

In the same year he published an interesting account of his life in "From the Forecastle to the Cabin," which has become a popular book with boys, and even up to the time of his death last May he was connected with business and maritime interests in New York City.

BURGOYNE'S CAMPAIGN

BY H. H. ROBERTSON

SOME unpublished testimony that he expected co-operation from Sir William Howe is herewith given.

To the student of Burgoyne's campaign, the Memorial of Joseph Beaty of Balston, hitherto unpublished, (Canadian Archives B. Vol. 214 page 275) throws light on several points of importance in the justification of the much maligned Burgoyne. His memorial relates that about the middle of September, 1777, he, with six men, arrived at Burgoyne's Camp and joined Captain McAlpin's Corps. Captain McAlpin referred to, was an officer of the 60th Regiment who was put in command of a corps of provincials. The middle of September was a critical period. On the 19th September, the first battle of Saratoga, commonly called Freeman's Farm, was fought, the last victory for Burgoyne, who maintained his ground against vastly superior numbers. Between the 19th September and the 7th October, when the final struggle occurred, the testimony of Joseph Beaty shows conclusively that Burgoyne at that time looked for the promised co-operation of Sir William Howe from New York in furtherance of the main object of his expedition, namely his junction with Sir William Howe's army at Albany. The testimony of Joseph Beaty is, that as late as the 4th October he was sent from the British camp southward through the enemies' lines, on a most perilous expedition to ascertain whether the British fleet was coming up the North River.* On that day Beaty went as far as Catskill and found a rebel officer in a public house, who informed him that Fort Montgomery was taken in the Highlands, and Aesops was destroyed by fire, and returned with the news back through the enemies' lines to Burgoyne on the 16th October. The great Convention of Saratoga was held

*The Hudson.

on the 15th October,—the day before Beaty's arrival in Burgoyne's camp. It was owing to Beaty's intelligence that Burgoyne balked and hesitated in signing the articles of the convention. Even at this late hour Burgoyne was not without hope of co-operation. His army at this time amounted to less than 4,000 effective men, while that of the enemy, certified by General Gates, totaled 18,624. The negotiations for the surrender began on the 13th October. At a council of war on the 16th, Burgoyne voted with a minority including Generals Phillips, Hamilton and Balcarras, against signing the treaty of capitulation. Although no book of history records the source of Burgoyne's intelligence, his own account and all the evidence taken in the House of Commons shows this vain hope still in his mind. Earl Balcarras was examined " (Question 130). When advice was received "that Sir Henry Clinton was coming up the North River, did you "apprehend the question of treaty had gone so far that it could "not be broken?" (A) My opinion was with respect to that "question that all military negotiations were fair and justifiable "to make delays and to gain time. I therefore thought and "declared my sentiments that General Burgoyne was at full liberty to break off that treaty in the stage it was then and I could "not conceive that the public faith was engaged until the treaty "was actually signed and exchanged."

It was General Fraser who dispatched Beaty on the 4th October to ascertain whether the long looked for succour was on the way, the same General Fraser who was fated to fall, three days afterwards, in the battle of the 7th. The story of his death and the heroism of the Baroness Reidasel, the wife of the General in command of the Hessians is to be found in her memoirs. The whole of the provincial corps Jessups, McAlpines, MacKays and Peters Corps were under the supervision of General Fraser. Every paragraph of Beaty's petition contains some statement which revives the tragic events of those few days on the Banks of Fish Kill, where both armies stood in close proximity on either side of the ravine waiting for the end, Burgoyne's little army hoping against hope for relief, while General Gates was adding to his already comparatively enormous host, almost hourly. On the 16th October, says Beaty, he was carried before General Reidasel.

It is to be remembered that despite all honor the solemn undertaking that the army should be sent to England free was broken by Congress. The army never returned but were kept prisoners for years in Southern Virginia, and ultimately scattered in all directions, some going to Canada and others to different parts of the colonies. Beaty was captured on the 15th January 1779, put in irons, condemned to death but he made his escape on the 16th August. His hand had been seriously injured yet he had the temerity to go to Balston to have the hand healed of which he had lost the use, the irons eating into his flesh while confined by the rebels. On the 2nd October 1781, having been much injured in health and strength and lost the use of one of his hands he indites his petition to Governor Haldimand. On the 6th October, four days afterwards, he received an appointment as an officer in the Provincial Corps (Canadian Archives, B. 160, page 96). From Stone's 'Life of Brant' page 211, we learn of his capture near Balston in the winter of 1781 and '82, while on a recruiting expedition. On the 17th June 1782, the widow of Ensign Beaty is to receive her husband's pay until the 24th June and afterwards a pension of £20 a year. (Canadian Archives 160, page 111). The memorial in which Joseph Beaty's movements are detailed is filed amongst the Haldimand Collection of documents which only of late years have been available to students of American History. It is safe to say that Col. Stone had not access to these papers when he wrote this history of Joseph Brant. It was not until the year 1853 that this collection became available in the British Museum. It was not until 1883 that the documents were transcribed in the Canadian Archives. There are two sides to every story, the spirit of American historians at the time Stone wrote his history was worse than partisan and is now confessed by American writers to have been written in a policy which sacrificed truth for the sake of national patriotism. Sydney Fisher makes this confession in his "True Revolution." That Beaty should have encountered so much adventure and risk in the cause of constituted authority, stamps him as a hero of no mean order.

That Joseph Beaty the memorialist, is the man spoken of by Stone, is my inference from the evidence. The spelling of the

surname is not the same but the evidence otherwise points conclusively to the identity. His petition to Haldimand is dated October 2, 1781. He was captured (according to Stone) in the winter of 1781-2. It appears from the Calendar of the Haldimand Collection that an Ensign Joseph Beaty's *widow* is ordered a pension. (Can. Arc., 160-111).

(COPY.)

C. Archives Series B. Vol. 214 p. 275.

To His Excellency Frederick Haldiman, Esqr., Captain General and Governor in Chief of the Province of Quebec and its Dependants Vice Admiral of the same, etc., General and Commander in Chief of his Majesty's forces in the said Province and the frontiers thereof, etc., etc., etc.

The Memorial of Joseph Beaty of Balstone in the County of Albany in the Province of New York.

Humbly Sheweth

That your Memorialist about the middle of September 1777, arrived at General Burgoiens Camp at Freeman's Farm with eight men, six of whom joined Captain McAlpin's Cour, and your memorialist also joined the said cour as volunteer and was promised a commission in said cour; Captain McAlpin soon afterwards recommended your memorialist to General Burgoien and General Fraser as a person capable to be of service upon which General Fraser sent your memorialist to the Rebel Camp in order to conniture the works and know what number of cannon and how supplied with provisions. Accordingly your memorialist went into the Rebel Camp and got intelligence from a Rebel Officer a Lieutenant as he could not see the works himself.

Your memorialist immediately after took the Road for Albany and went to New Scotland twelve miles west of Albany and there got fortien men. Amongst those were Captain Duncan and Chief White of Trion County who came with your memorialist to General Burgoyne's camp and arrived there the third day of October and delivered his message to General Fraser who had sent him. On the following day your memorialist was ordered

again by Genl Fraser to go and learn wether the British Fleet was up the North River and wether Genereal Picot was on his way from Road Island through Connecticoute and to learn all the intelligence he possible could and return immediately.

Your memorialist went as far as Cats Kill and there found an officer of the Rebels in a Public House who informed your memorialist that the Fort in the High Lands was taken and that Exsopes was destroyed by fier, upon which your memorialist immediately returned with the news to Genl Burgoine on the sixteenth of October at about three of the clock in the morning and was carried before Genl Redasel and from there to Genl Burgoine. At eight the same evening Genl Burgoine ordered your memorialist to go for New York and inform Sir Henry Clinton of his situation, accordingly your memorialist set out for New York and was fired upon by the Rebels three different shots that night.

Your memorialist was obliged to travel night and day till he arrived at New York, on his way down was fired upon sundry times by the Rebels and was one near being taken by a party of the Rebels the number of forty who fired several shots at your memorialist by which means he was obliged to quite his horse and take to the woods, soon after your memorialist came through a party of men who was going to the shipping then at Flookie Bush the Road was so guarded by the Rebels that they would not proceed any further they thought the risque to great. Your memorialist left them and proceeded alone to the vessels which was nine miles off. On his arrival there found a boat on shore which with great difficulty got off himself and was fired upon by a large party of Rebels soon after he embarked on board the boat some of which shot struck the boat and he got on board the shipping and there delivered his message to Genl Vaughan who then commanded. Your memorialist was the first person that brought any kind of intelligence to them from General Burgoyne and obtained a certificate from General Vaughan to that purpose but unfortunately the certificate is now at New York.

Your memorialist was immediately sent by General Vaughan to Governor Trion then at Fort in the Highlands, he then examined your memorialist and sent him for New York to Sir Henry Clinton and arrived at New York on the 21st of said October.

On the twenty-sixth of said October your memorialist was ordered to go on board a ship for Philadelphia by Sir Henry Clinton and to Sir William How for further examination was ten days on the passage there when your memorialist was examined by Sir William How and sent back to New York.

Your memorialist on the fourteenth of December was ordered by Sir Henry Clinton to go for Road Island to wait on General Burgoin, from thence went with the fleet to Cape Codd that was ordered to take General Burgoin on board, on there arrival there they would not suffer General Burgoin to embark so that your memorialist returned to Road Island again and remained there till General Burgoin cam there. Upon General Burgoin's arrival at Road Island he gave your memorialist some money and a recommendation to Sir Henry Clinton at New York.

Your memorialist returned to New York again on the first of April 1778. There your memorialist was subsisted at four shillings per day till better provided for. In May following your memorialist was ordered into Connecticote by Sir Henry Clinton with printed proclamations to distribute amongst the inhabitants which he did for about eighty miles in length and returned to New York again.

Your memorialist in June following was ordered out again to Connecticote by General Robertson on secret service which he performed and returned to New York and afterwards was ordered out again by General Robertson on Secret Service and returned again to New York.

Your memorialist in January 1779 was ordered by Governor Irion to go for Danbury in Connecticote; on the 15th day of said January your memorialist was taken prisoner by a party of Rebels at Sand Mill River near King's Bridge, was immediately stript naked and lost all and from thence was carried to Peek's Hill and was put into irons hand and feet chained down to the flower where your memorialist remained some time and then was tryed for his life and condemned to suffer death. On the approach of the King's troops your memorialist was removed up to Fish Kills and remained still in irons till the sixteenth of August following when your memorialist made his escape by braking out of Gaul.

Your memorialist when out of confinement went to Balls Town and there remained for some time to recruite his health and have his hand healed which he had lost the use of by the irons eating into the flesh when confined by the Rebels.

Your memorialist on the second of November following set out for Balls Town with ten men for Canada and went through a great deal of hardship being obliged to travel through woods and not acquainted and arrived at St. John's on the second of December following there being a great deal of snow in the Roads and allmost starved for the want of provisions. On your memorialist arrival at St. Johns the ten men was claimed by by Coln Close as part of Joseph Brant's men and they remained with Colonel Close (Claus?)

Your memorialist on the sixteenth of March 1780 turned out a voluntier with Lieut Blurce for Steens Borough (Skenesboro) with a party of Indians on their arrival at Skeens Borough took fourteen prisoners and killed four and returned again to St. Johns.

Your memorialist on the fourth of May following turned out a Volunteer again and went with Sir John Johnstone to the Mowhawk Rover where they destroyed a number of houses and took severl priseners.

Your memorialist obtained leave from Sir. John Johnstone to remain and recruite men for Major Rogers Cour for which your memorialist was promised a commission.

Your memorialist proceeded ten or twelve miles below Albany and then got five men and proceeded for Canada, on there way through Balls Town took a scout of three men, brought one to St. Johns, was obliged for the want of provisions to let two escape, the man brought was sent to Chamble Prisons.

Your memorialist obtained leave from Major Carleton then commanding officer to return again to the Colleries to recruite men for Major Rogers Cour.

Your memorialist on his return joined Major Carleton at Mill Bay nine miles this side of Crown Point with nine men, four of which joined Major Rogers Cour the other five joined other cours.

Your memorialist obtained leave again from Major Carleton

to return again to the Colleries for the purpose of recruiting. The season being very severe was obliged to remain all winter. In May 1781 your memorialist set out with twenty men, eighteen joined Major Rogers Cour, they took one prisoner, brought him to St. Johns and was sent to Chamble Prisoner.

Your memorialist came to Quebec from St. Johns in June wetn up again and on the sixteenth of July was ordered by Doiter Smith to go for Albany and there to tale Doitor Stringer Prisoner.

Your memorialist went according to orders and took the four men that was ordered for that purpose. on his arrival near Albany found it impractible to anything as three of the four men left him upon which he immediately returned to Canada.

Your memorialist prays Your Excellency to consider him, the Hardships that he has gone through, the risques he has run the raising me at his own expense, the loss of his health and the use of one of his hands and that he may be provided for in Major Rogers Cour as he has raised a number of men for that Cour as your Excellency shall think fitt.

And your memorialist as in Duty bound shall ever pray &c &c

Sgd Joseph Beaty

Quebec 2nd October 1781.

RISE OF THE UNITED EMPIRE LOYALISTS

BY THE VISCOUNT DE FRONSAC

“Parliament became corrupt, jealous of power, fickle in its resolves and factious in spirit. . . . It grumbled at the ill-success of the war, at the suffering of the merchants, at the discontent of the churchmen, and it blamed the crown and its ministers for all at which it grumbled. . . . Its mood changed, as William bitterly complained with every hour.”

It seems that before this date, in 1672, the late king, James II., had formed a cabinet of five members, chosen by himself, as advisers on different functions of the administration. Parliament had no right to expect a share in these functions of the crown at that time. But after the Revolution of 1688—after it had put on the throne a king of its own, it felt that it ought to be the guardian of that king, by shaping the administration through the cabinet indicated by itself. William of Orange had continued the practice of forming his cabinet without consulting parliament, and what parliament was aiming to do was to control the king's choice. But not one of its members knew how to accomplish it, as it had never been done before. The credit of solving the difficulty, of further betraying his country and bringing disaster on it in the subsequent loss of the American empire, belongs to Robert Spencer, earl of Sunderland. He had been a minister in the reign of Charles II. and part of that of James II., whom he had betrayed by the basest treachery to William of Orange.

“Since the Revolution (1688) Sunderland had striven to escape public observation in country retirement, but he came forward now with his plan for William”—

(1) History of the English People, Vol. IV, p. 152-3

Who felt that something must be done to appease the appetite of parliament, because parliament that had made him, contrary to the constitution, could unmake him in the said manner.

“His plan was to place all the power of the crown in parliament by choosing the ministers from the strongest faction in parliament.” From that date the government became not the government of the empire, of the king, but of a faction; from that date (1697) the power of the crown became the jack-pot for the play of political parties; from that date, by the plan of a renegade, the loyalty of the ministry is pledged not to the crown and empire, but to the faction from whom they are chosen, while their oath of office to crown and constitution remains a constant perjury on their lips. Green in his “History of the English People” shows that this class in power in England carried corruption on by excesses throughout the entire administration.

Now while the Anglo-American provinces made no great trouble over the change of dynasty, they refused to recognize in the slightest degree this participation of parliament in the government of the colonies,—even the best features of that government. And the worst features the provinces would not endure.

“The Southern colonies with those of New England shared the same fate of misrepresentation, abuse and invasion of their rights as British subjects. The flames of discontent were spread through all the colonies by a set of incompetent and reckless governors, the favorites and tools of perhaps the worst administration and the most corrupt that ever ruled in Great Britain.”¹

It is true the American colonies, especially the four New England colonies, had been protected by Great Britain during all the past wars with the French in Canada, into which Great Britain had been drawn on their account. For a period of seventy years the fleets and armies of England had been employed in the service of Massachusetts and her dependant off-shoots to save them from being “driven into the sea.” The debt of Great Britain, in consequence of these exertions, amounted in 1764 to £140,000,000 or \$700,000,000.

Ryerson's "Loyalists of America," Vol. I., p. 473.

Even in the struggle for their own preservation and security, what the colonies had contributed had been subject to the caprice of their legislatures. Some of the colonies had made exertions "so far beyond their quota" as to be able to demand a reimbursement from the national treasury, which was accorded them; the other colonies had paid only part of the debt long after it was due; and who could compel them, and how was that compulsion to be enforced in the future?

The solution of the problem by parliamentary interference led to disturbance and to the final separation of the American colonies from Great Britain. Even Mr. Pitt, so long the friend of America, told Dr. Franklin that

"When the war closed, if he should be in the ministry, he would take measures to prevent the colonies from having a power to refuse or delay the supplies that might be wanted for national purposes."

The first act of the British parliament to force the colonies to pay their part of the war debt was passed March 10, 1764. It levied heavy duties on all articles brought into the colonies from the French and other West Indian islands, and ordered that these duties must be paid into the treasury of London in specie. Another bill was brought into parliament in the same session to "Restrain the currency of paper money in the colonies." Popular meetings were held in the colonies, when the news of this reached them, to express indignation thereat. Associations resolved to abstain from the use of all articles imported on which duties were assessed, and to use only home-made goods.

But parliament when it discovered that, through evasion and the non-use of articles of foreign make, very little money was raised, began to devise other means, and these means effected the internal arrangements of the colonies, which the colonists felt were infringements of the rights of their own legislatures and of their own charters of self-government. The chief bill of this description was introduced into parliament by Mr. Grenville, March 10, 1765, to raise a revenue in the colonies by stamps which should be affixed to all newspapers, law papers, ship papers, property transfers, college diplomas and marriage

licenses. A fine of £10 was imposed for non-compliance with the act. Jurisdiction was taken away from the local courts by this act and confined to the courts of admiralty without juries, the officers of which were appointed by the London parliament, and who were paid fees out of fines imposed, the informer receiving one-half.

Thus, by this act, the colonies felt that, not only were the rights conferred on them by charter interfered with and their local courts debarred from exercising power, but that the London Parliament, contrary to the constitution, was usurping the prerogative of the crown in America. The legislative assembly of Massachusetts was dissolved by the royal governor Barnard because of its remonstrance, and also on account of a circular letter addressed by it to the other colonial legislatures. The Virginia house of burgesses was also dismissed by the royal governor, Lord Botetout.

The British parliament, however, in 1769, was brought to repeal 5s 6d of the duties on imported goods. But the next year, 1770, an affray occurred in the streets of Boston between some soldiers on duty and a mob of rioters who were creating a reign of terror. The British parliament then made the governor and judges independent of all colonial power. These actions on the part of the British parliament added to the hostility of the American colonists. It needed but a few more measures on both sides to change the latent hostility into strife.

In 1770 parliament allowed the East India Company of England to sell tea in the colonies free of duty, thereby depriving the American merchants of a share in the profits of that trade. The Americans throughout the years 1771, 1772 and 1773 contented themselves with forming associations pledging themselves not to use the tea imported. These were the conditions in all the colonies. But in September, 1774, a congress, composed of members sent by the citizens of all the colonies, met at Philadelphia to consider the state of affairs and what measures ought to be taken to correct them. An address was offered to the crown. It terminated with these words:—"Place us in the same situation that we were at the close of the late war, and our former harmony will be restored."

When the British parliament met in January, 1774, there were laid before it, not only the papers from the colonial congress, but a number of letters from the royal governors and revenue and military officers, testifying to the spirit of opposition existing in the colonies against the unconstitutional acts of the London parliament. The consequence was, that, instead of renouncing the tax on the colonies, recalling the troops sent to coerce them and restoring to their courts and legislatures their proper functions, the English parliament resolved to abate nothing of their vigor against the Americans until they yielded unconditionally. Moreover, parliament proceeded to pass an act to punish all of the New England colonies for their sympathy with Massachusetts, by restricting their trade with England and depriving them of Newfoundland fisheries.

In 1775 the general assembly of New York adopted a memorial to present to the king, begging him to restore the charter to Massachusetts, which had been taken away, and to open the port of Boston which had been closed. The petition of New York was rejected by the British ministry without a hearing. In the same year, 1775, the second continental congress met again at Philadelphia. All the colonies sent representatives but Georgia. The mission of this congress was to restore harmony in the colonies between the royal and local authorities and to obtain a redress of grievances.

A petition was framed by this congress and presented to the king. Like all similar colonial documents of the period, it abounded in expressions of loyalty and humbly prayed for just and constitutional usage such as was accorded them by their charters, whose rights were now infringed. The petition sent by the continental congress, asking that the restrictions be removed, was ignominiously disregarded by parliament, and the colonists were termed rebels for exercising this constitutional right of protest. The royal officers in the colonies were commanded to seize the cannon and ammunition and small arms of the colonists.

The attempt of General Gage, who commanded the British troops in Boston, to capture the stores of the colonists, thirty miles away, at Concord and Lexington, led to an engagement be-

tween the provincials and the king's troops, in which the stores were saved and lives were lost on both sides. Lord Dunmore, governor of Virginia for the king, performed a similar hostile act by seizing the stores at Williamsburg in that colony. He was driven, however, by the armed forces of the Virginians to seek shelter on a British ship of war.

It was during this state of feeling that the continental congress reassembled on May 10, 1776. The delegates to this congress were nerved to more determined action by the knowledge of what had taken place in Massachusetts and Virginia, and by the fact that parliament had, in the preceding December, passed an act to increase the army and navy, and had hired 17,000 Hessian and Hanoverian troops to aid in reducing the colonies to submission. But the colonists would not recede from their demands, which were these: 1, The right to tax themselves by their own elected representatives; 2, the right of providing for the support of their own civil government and its officers, and 3, non-interference of parliament with crown functions in the provinces. These rights they had already enjoyed, according to the privilege of British citizenship and the provisions of their own charters, until these privileges and charters were taken away. The colonists declared that they would defend these rights and oppose with arms the enforcement of whatever was contrary to them.

It had been the policy of the Stuarts, according to the feudal constitution, to create a confederacy—a federation of states—each independent of the others but in feudation to the king. England was but one of these states, although the principal one—the one in which was to be situated the general capital of the empire. In this system—which was the feudal system—the same on which rested the constitution of Britain and of all European states—the parliament of England had no more right to legislate for the province of Virginia, or Maryland, than the parliament of Virginia or Maryland had to legislate for the kingdom of England. In England the chief authority was the king and parliament; in Virginia it was the king and government of Virginia; in Massachusetts it was the king and government of Massachusetts, and likewise in each of the other provinces.

For furtherance of the plan of federating the various states and principalities of his empire, King James II. had ordered in 1688—the very year that the revolution in England prevented its execution—the confederation of the Northern colonies at Albany under the name of the “Dominion of New England.” May 1, 1690, a congress of their representatives did meet to consider means for a common defence against the Indians, the New York members being Jacob Leister and Peter de La Noy. Another congress met in Albany for the same purpose in 1722. But these meetings were inspired by the encouragements given by the former Stuart kings as means of building up centres of power on the outskirts of the empire as well as for local needs and protection. But after the revolution of 1688, when the London parliament usurped crown functions and extended its withering, jealous and illegitimate authority to every province, blighting provincial life and expansion for the benefit of its own narrow constituency, these provincial confederations were discouraged.

In 1754 seven governors assembled at Albany, in the province of New York, and signed a treaty of peace with the Iroquois Indians. At the same time they addressed the home government on the project of a federal union, whereby the force of several colonies might be employed to act against a common enemy. This proposed government was to consist of a president appointed by the crown, and a general council commissioned by the provincial authorities. The president was to have executive authority, appoint all civil and military officers and act with his council legislatively. This government was to have power to make war and peace in America, and impose taxes with approval of the crown. The project was rejected by the English parliament.

In 1778 Mr. Ogden, chief justice of New Jersey, suggested a government for America to have similar power, its composition to consist of a governor-general appointed by the crown, and a legislature to consist of a house of barons with hereditary privileges created by the crown for honorable and meritorious families in the colonies, and a house of assembly elected by the freeholders of the population. The political disturbances existing in the colonies at that time prevented the entertainment of Mr.

Ogdon's proposition, but it is likely that the English parliament would have viewed it with disfavor. David Ogden was at that time one of the board of delegates of the United Empire Loyalists and his proposition was advanced as a remedy for healing the wounds made by the English parliament in the Provincial understanding of constitutional government. The particular of his proposal provided that:

“The right of taxation of America by the British parliament be given up; that the several colonies be restored to their former constitutions and form of government. . . . that each colony have a governor and council appointed by the Crown, and a house of representatives elected by the free-holders inhabiting the several counties . . . who shall have power to make all necessary laws for the internal government and benefit of each colony that are not repugnant to the laws of Great Britain or the laws of the American parliament . . . that an American Parliament be established for all the English colonies on the continent to consist of a Lord-Lieutenant, Barons (to be created for the purpose), not to exceed for the present more than twelve nor less than eight from the principles of each colony. A House of Commons not to exceed twelve nor less than eight from each colony to be elected by the house of representatives of each colony . . . that this American Parliament have supervision and government of the several colleges in North America, most of which have been the great nurseries of the late rebellion, instilling into the tender minds of youth principles unfavorable to monarchical government and favorable to republican and other doctrine incompatible with the British constitution.”

But while the intelligent and conservative people were basing their opposition on an assertion of the constitution as a means of redress,—a constitution that the London parliament was knawing and eating into by those rats of jurisprudence, the “fictions” of the English law—the demagogues and liberals of the colonies were stirring up the lower classes with democratic intent, for separation from the empire, the plunder of the royalists and the institution of a republic. From the time of the earliest Puritan settlements there had been a strong democratic inclination among the lower orders of the population and the

extreme Congregationalists. This feeling, re-enforced by religious prejudice, was hostile to monarchical institutions—notwithstanding that the Bible favors monarchy and Heaven is represented as a Kingdom. In 1704 Chief-Justice Montperron of New York wrote to the earl of Nottingham that: “The inhabitants of Rhode Island conduct their affairs as though they were not of the British dominions.” About the same time Lord Cornbury wrote to the London Board of Trade that the people of Connecticut bore “a great hatred towards those who held allegiance to the sovereign.”

It is true that there were many arguments used to promote this feeling of hostility. Not the least of these were the restrictions placed by the London Parliament—since it had usurped royal functions in the colonies over barter and sale, commercial contracts and colonial manufactures. But the London parliament, representing the English trading classes alone, could not be expected to use the royal prerogative over the colonies but to restrict the actions of the American trading classes for the benefit of its own constituency. America was not the constituency of the London parliament, but was a fief of the crown.

It is true that the crown had a claim on all ship timber and on all mines of coal and ore, none of which might be taken without the sovereign's permission. But this permission was granted for the benefit of the people and withheld only from speculators and exploiters. The crown in this matter acts but as trustees for the people's lands, and it would be better for Canada were this trusteeship not so much rat-eaten by legal fictions—for, by the delegation of authority to a parliamentary ministry—responsible not to the crown—but to parliament—a corrupt party in power is continually robbing the real estate of the country—of the crown—to enrich itself.

The slighting of colonial petitions by the London Parliament from 1763 to 1775, which petitions were for constitutional observance in the government of the empire, and the difference manifested towards the people of the colonies by the partizans of the House of Hanover, raised a yet stronger feeling in the colonies against the home government. The more southern colonies

did not suffer directly as did those of the North by this action of the London parliament, although their charters were threatened but the Northern colonies, early attached to a Puritanical democracy, were studious to enflame resentment in the South, so the better to carry out the secret intent of revolution. These democrats in the North, anxious to "get rich quick" at some other person's expense, confused the position occupied by the honest and aristocratic who were attached to the constitution. Here was their method of procedure:

"They proposed in the legislature (of Massachusetts) various schemes for bolstering up the depreciated currency. . . . One of these was a Land Bank, which was actually established. About 800 people, among whom was the father of Sam. Adams, were incorporated with power to issue bills on security, chiefly of real estate" . . . (beginning of the scheme of Yankee capitalization frauds). "This enterprise made confusion worse confounded. The securities were usually of little value and the Land Bank bills were refused utterly by the better classes to the great wrath of the populace." . . . "In 1738 the paper money party in town-meeting proposed that Boston's representatives in the General Court be instructed to favor the emission of more paper money. Hutchinson (the Tory delegate) promptly refused to be bound by such a mandate. . . . When his house caught fire some of the people on the street shouted, "Curse him, let it burn." . . .

"In 1749 the English Parliament voted that a large sum of money should be paid the Massachusetts colony as compensation for its expenditures in the recent capture of Louisbourg. Hutchinson proposed that this money should be used to redeem and cancel the paper currency of the colony." . . . "By his force of argument Hutchinson carried the measure through the House against what had been a majority in favor of irredeemable paper money. The Governor and Council (Royalists) promptly approved of the measure and it became a law. All over the colony there was an outcry of wrath. Hutchinson was in danger of personal violence and was defeated for re-election. Within a year, however, the blessings of a fixed and stable currency and the consequent improvement of business became so obvious that Hutchinson's conduct was loudly praised and censure ceased

except among those who had hoped to turn a dishonest penny by the steady decrease in the values of paper money."²

The financial policy of the United States began here and was the oil on the fire of the Revolution. It is said that there is "nothing in a name." The lie is no more potently expressed than in the difference between honest, old-fashioned and legal "mortgage" and the dishonest, revolution-bred and illegitimate "capitalization." To work an estate, a man can by law mortgage it to others for two-thirds its value, so that the mortgages have a legitimate security. But several people are allowed to join their estates into a company and sell stock "capitalized" to the extent of ten and sometimes a hundred, yea, and in the United States often to a thousand times their value; and in the course of time "put their company into the hands of a receiver," fail up, and retire (limited) worth several millions each, leaving their creditors with the "capitalized stock," not worth a dollar. That there should be a law-decision that capitalized industries may be raised to but two-thirds of their actual value, like any other mortgaged estate, is evident—even if they are on a paying basis. And they are not on a paying basis until they monopolize the market by shutting out, through legislation, similar products. Then their per cent. payments are not due from their own industries but from the tribute of high prices wrung from the entire people by concurrence of a corrupt and purchased legislature. It was for the accomplishment of such things as these which the restraint of crown and aristocracy forbade in the colonies, that fostered the Revolutionary party.

"Hutchinson's hostility to a paper currency had fixed a deep gulf between him and the more democratic element among his neighbors. The chasm had been widened by his opposition in 1757 to the creation of Danvers as a separate township, principally because an increase of representatives would give the house (democratic) an undue influence in legislation."

"One of Hutchinson's first acts as chief-justice was destined to increase the alienation between him and the populace. He was called on to decide whether the superior court could issue

(2) From the sketch of *Thomas Hutchinson, the Tory Governor of Massachusetts*, by President Charles H. Levermore of Adelphi College, Brooklyn, in the February, 1902, number of the *New England Magazine*.

lawfully writs of assistance to customs officers in their search for smuggled goods." * * "Hutchinson (himself) was opposed to any close scrutiny by the British government into the trade of the colonies, but he decided this question, moderately, wisely and loyally in the only way in which a judge sworn to interpret and obey the law could decide it." * * * *

"Hutchinson wrote: 'This trial (about writs of assistance) and my pernicious principles about the currency have taken away a great number of friends and the House have not only reduced the allowance to the Superior Court, but have refused to make any allowance at all to me as chief-justice.'" . . .

"Against the enforcement of the Sugar Acts (of the London Parliament), which would destroy the New England trade with the West Indies, he had protested publicly and privately. His letters to English correspondents pleaded against that policy and against the Stamp Act." . . . "In spite of all this it was on Hutchinson that the worst violence of the Boston mob fell."

"That mob was the most thoroughly organized rabble in the Colonies. It consisted largely of the seamen and artisans who lived among the water front. Their immediate leader was a shoemaker named Mackintosh, a coarse and reckless fellow. The men who directed him and his lieutenants were Sam. Adams, William Cooper and other leading spirits of the far-famed Caucus Club. This club was the local Tammany. John Adams yields us a few glimpses of its operations as its members sat smoking and drinking in Adjutant Thomas Dawes's garret, parcelling out the local offices as a sort of nominating convention, and inculcating a strict obedience to what we would now call 'the machine.' To this compact body of workers, a background of respectability was furnished by the Merchants' Club, wherein men like Richard Dana, John Hancock (the smuggler), and James Otis, worked with Sam. Adams (the dishonest ex-tax collector). . . . These were the managers who were ultimately responsible for the destruction of Hutchinson's house. In that house were depositions against certain merchants of Boston who were accused of smuggling . . . and the records of the Admiralty Courts which had cognizance of such cases. Some of the usual leaders of the populace undoubtedly knew who had spread the false report that Hutchinson had favored the Stamp Act." . . .

"On Monday evening (26 Aug., 1765) Mackintosh collected his gang about a bon-fire on State Street. They had liquor to drink, but desiring further inspirations, they broke into the cellars belonging to two royal officers and consumed all the liquors therein. Thus fortified, these 'Sons of Liberty' betook themselves to Hutchinson's house in Garden Court Street. He and

his children had barely time to escape to a neighboring house. . .

. . . Hutchinson's letter describes this:—

“ ‘The hellish crew fell on my house with the rage of devils and in a moment split down the doors and entered. My son being in the great entry, heard them cry. ‘Damn him, he is upstairs; we’ll have him!’ . . . ‘Not content with tearing off all the wainscot and hangings, and splitting the doors to pieces, they beat in the partition walls . . . cut down the cupola . . . and began to take the slate and boards from the roof but were prevented by approaching daylight. . . . The garden house was laid flat and all my trees broken to the ground. . . . Besides my plate and family pictures household furniture of every kind, my own, my children’s and servants’ apparel, they carried off about £900 sterling and emptied the house of everything whatsoever. . . . They have scattered or destroyed all the MSS. and other papers I had been collecting for 30 years, besides a great number of public papers in my custody.’ ”

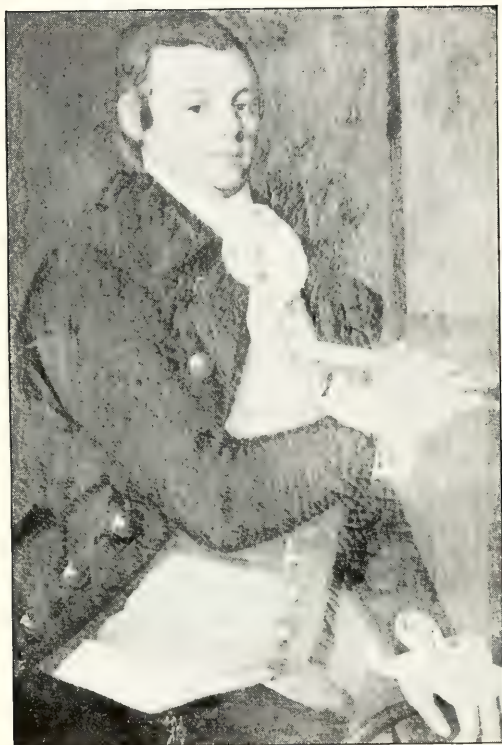
“During the riot one of the militia officers observed two men disguised, with long staves in their hands, who acted as directors. He ventured to say to them that the Lieutenant-Governor might not be the only one injured by the destruction of so many papers. Answer was made that it had been resolved to destroy everything in the house, and such would be carried out.” . . .

“For weeks and months the leaders of the democracy governed the town by a system of espionage and terrorism, boycotting tradesmen not favorable to them, mobbing the persons or houses or both of those who censured them, and maintaining a sort of Holy Inquisition into the daily business of counting-rooms and the daily contents of kitchens. Gov. Hutchinson doubted his right to call out the troops. . . . He exhorted the justices to act. They replied that the assemblies might be unwarrantable, but there were times when irregularities could not be restrained. Had either Barnard or Hutchinson used the regiments with proper vigor the Mackintoshes would never have dared to stain the cause of liberty and that conflict between the citizens and soldiers, miscalled the ‘Boston Massacre,’ would never have occurred.”

This mob and its leaders so well described by Levermore was the counterpart of other mobs existing in the colonies from whose organizations have sprung the government of the republic of the United States and its existing society. Samuel Adams, its leader, had been dismissed from the British civil service as a dishonest collector of taxes. And he has described John Hancock (the

smuggler) "as an ape, Robert Treat Paine as an ox, and Cushing as an ass." The entire scheme of these Sons of Liberty" was to liberate themselves from parliamentary authority for the sake of the plunder and proscription of the great provincial families. An United Empire Loyalist officer of Georgia said: "They are vermin who seek to drive out the old families." To accomplish this, their leaders, the "smartest rascals" in the colonies, seized on the justice of the cause, namely, that the provinces are not constituencies of the London Parliament, but are fiefs of the crown, over which parliament has no legal jurisdiction. They hoped after embroiling all the colonies to call in foreign aid by means of which the crown itself might be separated from its provincial fiefs, which would fall a prey to the democracy contrary to all the previous oaths of allegiance and spurious pretensions of its leaders.

(To be Continued.)



CAPTAIN JOHN O'BRIEN

CAPTAIN JOHN O'BRIEN

BY ANDREW M. SHERMAN

CAPTAIN JOHN O'BRIEN, the subject of this sketch, was the third eldest son of Morris O'Brien and Mary O'Brien, and was born in 1750, in Scarboro, on the Maine seacoast, about ten miles to the southwestward of Portland.

While John O'Brien was an infant in his mother's arms, an attack upon the English settlement at Scarboro by the Indians was threatened; and it was therefore resolved to flee for safety into the surrounding wilderness. Fearing that the crying of the infant would disclose to the savages the direction to be taken by the settlers in their flight, and also their chosen hiding-place, it was advised, and insisted that the mother leave her infant behind in the settlement. Against this she earnestly protested, assuring her neighbors that she could keep the infant quiet. She was therefore allowed to take the infant along. Folding him affectionately to her breast, and soothing him as only a fond mother could, she succeeded in keeping the infant quiet, not only during their hasty flight but during their sojourn in the depths of the wilderness.

This incident is related by the descendants of Captain O'Brien as a most impressive illustration of mother-love, which, indeed, it is. They congratulate themselves also upon the fact that an infant who, on reaching manhood, became so famous as he as a patriot and as a successful privateersman in connection with the Revolution; and so conspicuous in later years as a citizen and as a man of affairs, should have been thus providentially preserved in tender infancy from the hands of hostile Indians.

Of the boyhood of John O'Brien in Scarboro, little has been preserved; he must, however, have been different from other boys of his age, if he did not, living in such close proximity to

the water, acquire a fondness for it. This much is certainly known; that in the autumn of 1765, when the boy was about fifteen years of age, the entire family, comprising Mr. and Mrs. O'Brien and six sons and three daughters, removed to Machias, on the southeasterly coast of Maine; the father and two eldest sons having been down there on a prospecting trip, in a sailing vessel, during the previous year.

From the arrival of the lad, John O'Brien, in Machias, until the breaking out of the Revolution, little or nothing is certainly known concerning him. That he attended school, for a time, at least; and that he engaged in the usual sports of robust boyhood, including swimming, fishing and boating, may be safely inferred. Neither is it a far-fetched conclusion, that on attaining to a suitable age, he assisted his father and two eldest brothers in the sawmills erected by them in Dublin, as the southern village of Machias was early named.

The Machias River, which separates the northern and southern villages of Machias, empties into Machias Bay about four miles to the southeastward of the town; and the river, as far inland as Machias, is navigable for large vessels. Machias, therefore, was and is a seaport town; and vessels of various kinds were constantly arriving and leaving. Machias early became the shire-town of Lincoln County, now Washington County, and hence was a place of considerable importance. In the light of these facts it is not surprising that most of Morris O'Brien's "six strapping boys" were, in early life, at least, seafaring men; for from their peculiar environment they naturally acquired a taste for that sort of employment. John O'Brien, as will be seen, devoted himself, in later life, exclusively to commercial pursuits, with excellent success; indeed, had the acquisition of "filthy lucre" been his chief ambition, he might easily have become one of the wealthiest men of his time.

It is in connection with the outbreak of the Revolution that the subject of this sketch first comes into public notice as a citizen and ardent patriot; and as the war progressed, his fame as a privateersman increased. His achievements as a privateersman have never received the publicity they unquestionably deserve; and it will be the aim of this sketch to acquaint the American

reading people, so far as can be done in the limited space allowed with the story of the truly romantic career of this hitherto "unsung hero" of New England.

John O'Brien, at the outbreak of the Revolution, was about twenty-four years of age. He was fully six feet in height; and must have weighed at that time not far from one hundred and seventy-five pounds. That he was well endowed with force of character was amply demonstrated at the very opening of his public career; as an illustration of which it may be said that none was more resolutely opposed to or more fearlessly outspoken against the repeated acts of tyranny of the mother country than he. He was a member of the first Committee of Safety appointed in Machias, after the issuance of the proclamation of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, authorizing and requiring preparations and efforts to be made incident to a state of hostility.

At the first recorded gathering of the Machias patriots, held in the east room of the Burnham tavern,* a picture of which appears in connection with this sketch, John O'Brien was present, and gave his hearty assent to the proposition for the erection of a liberty pole in the village, as a symbol of the freedom for the achievement of which the people of that then isolated frontier town were willing, if need be, to sacrifice their fortunes and their lives. In procuring and afterward raising the liberty pole, young O'Brien played a unique and conspicuous part.

When Captain Moore, the gallant young Irishman commanding the British armed schooner "Margaretta," then lying at anchor in the Machias River, came on shore and demanded that the liberty pole be taken down, John O'Brien, on behalf of the inhabitants, defiantly refused to accede to the peremptory demand of the King's officer. The following conversation* is said to have taken place:

"Who erected this pole?" inquired Captain Moore, as he

*The Burnham tavern is still standing, and is said by local historians to have the same sash, glass, chimney and rooms as when built in 1770. The east room is the one on the first floor (front) farthest to the right. This famous Revolutionary building is now owned by the local organization of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and is the repository of relics of the Revolution.

*From "The Liberty Pole; A Tale of Machias."

came ashore from the "Margaretta;" to which the staunch Machias patriot, John O'Brien, replied:

"That pole, sir, was erected by the unanimous approval of the people of Machias."

"Well, sir," said Moore, "with or without their approval, it is my duty to declare it must come down!"

"Must come down!" repeated O'Brien with warmth. "Those words are very easily spoken, my friend. You will find, I apprehend, that it is easier to make them than it will be to enforce a demand of this kind."

"What! Am I to understand that resistance will be made? Will the people of Machias dare to disregard an order, not originating with me, but the government whose officer I am?"

"The people of Machias," replied O'Brien, "will dare do anything in maintenance of their principles and rights!"

"It is useless to bandy words," rejoined the officer, a little nettled at the determined spirit manifested around him; "my orders are peremptory, and must be obeyed. That liberty pole must be taken down, or it will be my painful duty to fire on the town!"

From that rash act, however, Moore was dissuaded by a mutual friend; and the liberty pole stood until it rotted down.

To John O'Brien belongs the honor of proposing, at a meeting of the Machias patriots, held in a private house soon after the notable gathering in the Burnham Tavern, that Captain Moore be seized while attending the village church on the following Sunday; after which, in accordance with the well-conceived plan there agreed upon, the "Margaretta" was to be captured, also. In compliance with young O'Brien's expressed wish, he was chosen to be the principal actor in the proposed seizure of Moore.

John O'Brien, as he subsequently stated, hid his gun under a board, before entering the church. He was expected, at a signal to be given by one of the patriots outside the church, to personally seize Captain Moore, when his compatriots were to come to his assistance. So far as young O'Brien was concerned, the preliminaries were well carried out. Because of the vigilance and prompt action of the British officer, however, the plan for

his seizure miscarried. Receiving timely warning of the trap into which he was being lured, he escaped from the church by way of a low, open window. On reaching his vessel, he was quickly assisted on board by an officer awaiting his arrival; and, after firing a few shots over the villagers' heads, for intimidation, he dropped down the river to a place of safety.

When it had been resolved by a few of the bolder spirits of Machias to attack and capture the "Margaretta," by pursuing and boarding her, John O'Brien and his five brothers, Jeremiah, Gideon, William, Dennis and Joseph, were among the party of about thirty-five who sailed down the Machias River in the lumber sloop "Unity" on that extremely hazardous undertaking. After the little American sloop had entered Machias Bay, and the "Margaretta" had been sighted, Jeremiah O'Brien was unanimously chosen to the command of the "Unity."

"The first man who boards her (the "Margaretta") shall be entitled to the palm of honor," said Captain Jeremiah O'Brien, soon after taking command of the "Unity."

After the "Margaretta" had been sighted in Machias Bay, where she was becalmed, the American sloop was brought along side of her. As the two vessels came together, the rigging of the "Unity" became entangled with that of the British vessel. The two vessels had no sooner touched, than John O'Brien, who was standing at the bow of the "Unity," leaped aboard the "Margaretta." Almost at the same moment, the American sloop having no grappling-irons, the vessels suddenly parted; and young O'Brien was left alone on the quarter-deck of the British schooner. Seven Britishers almost simultaneously fired at the intrepid Yankee boarder; but he was unhurt. The Britishers then charged upon O'Brien with their bayonets; and to save his life he jumped overboard and started to swim to the Yankee sloop, which had then drifted about seventy-five feet away.

On reaching the side of the American sloop, John O'Brien was promptly assisted on board. As he stepped upon the deck of the "Unity," his brother, Captain Jeremiah, grasped him by the hand, exclaiming as he did so:

"Brother John, you've won the palm:" and then addressing his men, he continued: "But man the sweeps, my hearties, and

lay us along side once more, and stand ready to fasten on to him when you reach him."

For the second time the two vessels came together; and this time, in accordance with the orders of the commander of the Yankee sloop, they were fastened together. The "Margaretta"* was boarded, and in an hour's time was captured, and was taken in triumph up the river to Machias, reaching the wharf at about sunset of the same day, which was the 12th of June, 1775. Captain Moore, the gallant British commander, was mortally wounded, and died next day in Machias.

John O'Brien, as a recognition of the conspicuous bravery exhibited by him in the capture of the "Margaretta," was sent by the Machias Committee of Safety to the Provincial Congress body of the capture of the "Margaretta," and to ask protection for the feeble settlements in eastern Maine, including Machias.

The news of the brilliant victory in Machias Bay spread rapidly through the Colonies, and everywhere the colonists were stirred with the ambition to emulate the splendid achievement.

The "Unity" was at once fitted out as a cruiser, the armament of the "Margaretta" being transferred to her. She was re-named the "Machias Liberty,"* and Captain Jeremiah O'Brien was appointed as her commander.

After the capture, in July, 1775, of the British armed vessels "Diligence" and "Tapnaquish," near Buck's harbor, in which captures John O'Brien, on his brother Jeremiah's vessel, took part, the former vessel was refitted as an American cruiser. Of the "Machias Liberty" (or "O'Brien"), Jeremiah O'Brien was continued as commander; and his younger brother William was appointed first Lieutenant. John Lambert was appointed to the command of the "Diligence," and John O'Brien was appointed as his first Lieutenant. The "Diligence" had a crew of forty men, and carried eight guns and twenty swivels.

For nearly a year, the "Machias Liberty" and the "Dili-

*For a detailed account of the armament of the "Margaretta," and of the engagement between her and the American sloop, see "Life of Captain Jeremiah O'Brien, Machias, Me.," by the writer of this sketch.

*According to at least one authority, the "Unity" was re-named the "O'Brien."



MODEL OF THE AMERICAN SLOOP "UNITY".

gence'', by order of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, cruised chiefly up and down the eastern coast, protecting American shipping, and capturing British prizes. John O'Brien contributed in no small measure to the success of the cruise. Sometime in the early part of 1776 the "Diligence" was laid up; but the "Machias Liberty" was continued in the Provincial service.

During the night following its capture, the "Margaretta" was taken up Middle River, a branch of the Machias River, a few miles, and there beached. "We cut down trees and bushes and enclosed her from view so much as we could and returned to Machias in season for a late breakfast'', said one who took an active part in the disposal of the British schooner.

Early in the autumn of 1776, John O'Brien and a few others, uncovered and floated the "Margaretta'', brought her down the Middle River and fitted her out as privateer. New sails were made, a few five-pounders were placed on board, and with a crew of about twenty men she set sail, under the command of John O'Brien, in search of British prizes.

It was late in September or early in October, 1776, that the "Margaretta'', re-named the "Machias Cruiser'', sailed from Machias, going westward. When in the vicinity of Mt. Desert, O'Brien espied in the offing what he supposed was a British merchant vessel going to the eastward. Upon drawing nearer to the vessel, with a view to giving her battle, O'Brien ascertained that she was a British warship. Crowding on all sail, he turned the prow of the "Machias Cruiser" away from the enemy, for which he knew his vessel was no match. He hoped to be able to reach Machias Bay, and there find harbor and shelter. The British warship was gaining rapidly on the American vessel; sending a shot now and then after O'Brien, whose vessel, however, remained unharmed. When off Sawyer's Cove, about forty miles to the eastward of Mt. Desert, O'Brien, who saw that he would be overtaken by his fleet pursuer, ran his vessel into the cove, beached her on the flats, and he and his men jumped into the shallow water and swam and waded ashore. They found shelter in half a dozen houses in the vicinity. This was the first and the last defeat John O'Brien, in his long career, ever suffered.

As near as can now be ascertained it was sometime during 1778

or early in 1779, that Captain John O'Brien removed to Newburyport, Massachusetts; and his brothers, Dennis and Joseph soon after followed him. The three brothers jointly engaged in commercial pursuits.

On the 21st of September, 1779, John O'Brien and Miss Hannah Tappan, daughter of Mr. Richard Tappan, were united in marriage. They had first met during a previous visit of Captain O'Brien to Newburyport. It is said that Miss Tappan was attracted to Captain O'Brien because of what she had heard of his highly meritorious connection with the capture of the "Margaretta"; in her eyes he was a hero.

In Newburyport, Captain and Mrs. O'Brien moved in the best society of the place; his reputation as a prominent man in connection with the Revolution, and his upright, manly character opening to him the avenues of entrance to society. As a full-dressed gentleman of the period he is said to have made a very fine appearance.

During the summer of 1780 Captain John O'Brien and his brother Joseph built in Newburyport a vessel intended for the service. She was named the "Hannibal," and was to carry twenty-four guns and a crew of one and thirty men. On her first cruise, to Domingo, she was commanded by Captain John O'Brien; he captured several important British prizes.

After the capture of the "Hannibal", under the command of Captain Jeremiah O'Brien, by the British, late in 1780 or early in 1781, Captain John O'Brien and a few others built at Newburyport another vessel for the privateer service, which was named the "Hibernia". She was a small vessel, but a splendid sailer. The "Hibernia" carried six three-pound guns. Of this vessel Captain John O'Brien took command. He inflicted great damage upon British shipping. On his first cruise, which lasted less than four weeks, he captured three brigs, a ship and two schooners from the enemy. During this cruise O'Brien met with a sixteen-gun British ship, with which he engaged in a fight lasting nearly two hours. From this unequal encounter he escaped with the loss of three killed and several wounded. One of the wounded men had an arm shattered by a cannon-shot from the enemy. The surgeon on board the "Hibernia," instead of pro-

ceeding to amputate the arm, stood trembling, afraid to undertake the work. The wounded man was rapidly bleeding to death. Captain O'Brien drew his pistol, and, pointing it at the surgeon, said: "Do your duty, sir, or I'll blow your brains out!" The arm was speedily amputated, and the man's life was thereby saved.

As a result of a subsequent cruise in the "Hibernia", Captain O'Brien brought into Newburyport eleven British merchant vessels, laden, out of a fleet of twelve with which he had fallen in off the mouth of the Narrows, below New York.

A few days after the remarkable captures just described, Captain O'Brien, while in the vicinity of New York, espied a large vessel which he supposed was a British merchantman; and he at once "bore down" upon the craft. Upon ascertaining that the vessel was a British man-of-war, O'Brien immediately crowded on all sail, and, suddenly altering the course of the "Hibernia", ran from the enemy's vessel. The British man-of-war pursued the "Hibernia", and as the former was the faster sailer, she was rapidly gaining on the American privateer. It was then nearly dusk. As soon as darkness settled down upon the water, O'Brien ballasted a hogshead, set firmly in one side of it a pole, at the top of which he placed a large, lighted lantern. Lowering the hogshead into the water, O'Brien at once altered the course of his vessel, and with a stiff breeze, was soon out of reach of the enemy. Reaching shallow water, O'Brien ordered an anchor cast; the fog, by this time being so dense that the "Hibernia" could not be discerned by the British man-of-war. The heavy muffled sound of booming cannon was soon heard on board the American privateer. It proved to be the enemy furiously bombarding the floating hogshead, which had been taken for the "Hibernia". At length silence reigned. When morning broke, the British man-of-war was nowhere to be seen; the commanding officer no doubt congratulating himself upon the destruction of O'Brien's vessel.

"It has been said, and is doubtless in the main true, that the proceeds of the sales of the vessels and cargoes captured by Captain John O'Brien during the Revolution, contributed to the

foundation of the fortunes of many of the residents of Newburyport, into which they were brought. Captain O'Brien, upon delivering the captured prizes at the wharves or out in the harbor, would say: 'Here, boys, you take care of these, and I'll go out for more'. He evidently did not care so much for money as he did for the opportunity of seeing the British flag come down."

"He had a heart as big as an ox", is the estimate of Captain O'Brien made by those well qualified to judge.

After the close of the Revolution, Captain O'Brien continued for several years to reside in Newburyport, where he engaged in mercantile pursuits. In command of his own vessels he visited many ports, American and foreign; including Philadelphia, the West Indies, Liverpool, London, France and Spain. During one of his visits in London, he purchased some long silk stockings, such as were worn by gentlemen at the time. On the voyage home he opened the package only to discover that he had paid for a lot of stocking legs, minus feet. Being in London a few months later, he made a second purchase of silk stockings in the same store where the first lot had been purchased. The merchant did not recognize him. The price asked by the dealer was very low for the quality of stockings offered. Taking advantage of the low price asked, Captain O'Brien made a large purchase, and laid the pay, in gold, on the counter. Upon seeing the dealer about to take the stockings away, ostensibly to wrap them, Captain O'Brien remarked: "Don't trouble yourself, I'll take them as they are"; and to the great disgust of the dealer, O'Brien at once left the store with his purchase. The London merchant was outwitted by the Yankee customer; for he intended to repeat the dishonesty of the first transaction.

Captain O'Brien was once challenged by a Frenchman to fight a duel; the Frenchman having for some reason taken offense. The challenge was accepted, and as the challenged party, O'Brien chose as his weapon a cannon; and in accordance with the rules of duelling, he was to have the first shot. Upon being informed of the weapon chosen by the visiting Yankee, the Frenchman, hitherto so brave, was terrified, and withdrew his challenge.

Having disposed of his cargo in a foreign port into which he had sailed, Captain O'Brien went on board his vessel with the proceeds of the sale, which was in gold. This he had placed in his capacious satin vest pockets. During his absence on shore the crew of his vessel had formed a plot to kill him when he came on board, and take from him, and divide among themselves, the large amount of money they knew he would have about his person. Captain O'Brien had no sooner stepped upon the deck of his vessel than one of the crew, chosen for the work, struck him on the head with a mauling spike. He fell, stunned, upon the deck. After taking from his vest pockets the gold, several of the crew threw the unconscious officer overboard. As he struck the water (this he subsequently related), he partially recovered consciousness; but down, down, down he went, until his feet touched bottom, when he gave an energetic spring upward, and soon reached the surface. Having fully recovered consciousness, he swam for his vessel, which was but a short distance away. While Captain O'Brien was in the water the crew had attempted to kill his brother William, the first mate; but he had escaped from his would-be murderers by seeking shelter. Unseen by the crew, Captain O'Brien reached the deck of his vessel, and immediately seizing a mauling spike, he rushed into the midst of the mutineers, swinging the heavy instrument to the right and left with tremendous vigor. Supposing Captain O'Brien to be an apparition, as they thought he had been drowned, the mutineers became so thoroughly affrighted that they tumbled almost headlong down the hatchway, hastily closing it after them. Captain O'Brien, with the assistance of the first mate, at once securely fastened the hatchway; and then went on shore and notified the civil authorities of the mutiny of the crew, and of their attempt upon his life and that of his first mate. The mutineers, twenty-five in number, were arrested, tried, convicted and sentenced to death. Through the intercession of Captain O'Brien, however, the sentence was changed to banishment to a desert island.

In the year 1817, Captain John O'Brien removed to Brunswick, Maine, where he had purchased about twenty acres of land. Upon a portion of this land he built a new house, said to have

been the finest in the place. Here, Captain O'Brien resolved to spend the remainder of his days in well-earned rest from a long, arduous and highly eventful public career.

During his residence in Brunswick, Captain O'Brien used occasionally to visit Machias, where his parents, and two brothers, Colonel Jeremiah, and Gideon, resided. On one of the visits to Machias a daughter accompanied him. As they were passing through a piece of dense, dark woods, many miles from a human habitation, a man climbed into the rear of the vehicle, for the purpose evidently, of robbing Captain O'Brien. Doubtless the would-be robber thought an aged man, such as Captain O'Brien seemed to be, would be an easy victim; but, as he soon ascertained, appearances are often deceiving. Placing the reins in the hands of his daughter, and instructing her to drive the horse at a rapid speed, he stood up in the vehicle, and, reaching round to the rear, he laid the whip on to the intruder with such great vigor that he jumped to the ground, and was soon left far behind.

While a resident of Brunswick, Captain O'Brien, through the intercession of Mr. Joseph Yheaton, a former Machias acquaintance, who then held a position under the government at Washington, was appointed postmaster.

A touching story is related concerning the burial of Captain O'Brien's wife, with whom he had lived happily for nearly fifty years. On the day of the funeral, held at his home, he was seen standing at the foot of the flight of the stairs, leading from their bed-room down into the front hallway, as if he was waiting for some one to come down. For several years it had been his custom, on Sunday morning, to thus stand, and wait for his wife to come down, to accompany him to the house of religious worship. For the moment, on the occasion above referred to, he seemed to have forgotten that his wife was to be buried, and was watching for her to come down stairs to go with him, as usual, to the village church. When he awoke to the fact that his beloved wife was that day to be buried, he was well-nigh overcome with grief. This was in the year 1826.

About six years later, on the 8th of May, 1832, Captain John O'Brien died. He was buried in Brunswick.

A NATIONAL ANTHEM.

NATION of nations, 'tis of thee,
Conceived in liberty and free,
America we sing.
Thy children love thy glorious name,
Pilgrim and stranger own thy fame,
Thy halls with honor ring.

Up through the toil and strife of years,
Blood of the life, in smiles and tears
Writ on thine ensign see.
Devotion's heritage is thine,
Dominion over palm and pine,
Gem of the earth and sea.

Called to a leadership divine,
Resource of hill, of vale and mine
City and homeland glen.
Rivers and seas and woodland tell
Thy bounteous power to compel
Freedom and peace to men.

With reverent voices here we raise
Our hearts in full, exultant praise,
To God who made us free.
Thy sons and daughters here prolong,
Children and stranger join the song
Our father's God to Thee.

J. E. HOLDEN.

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EDITORIAL

IF we have a right to vaunt ourselves on any good national trait it is our capacity to "see the other side of the question." Perhaps the long, severe controversies our forefathers used to delight in made easy and natural to their children the habit of argument. It is certain that when an American asserts any important principle or fact he rather expects to be contradicted; he anticipates a wordy combat, and is disappointed if he does not get it. It almost seems that he is never quite sure of his position until he has been over the whole ground with some one who differs from him, and quiet security in his opinions must be gained by a term of skirmishing that may be held as convincing proof of his mental suppleness. We confess to a certain admiration for the argumentative nature; it is not so dogmatical, not so tyrannic as the English phlegm which answers doubt with an eye glass only. There is a charming familiarity in the "See now," "Don't you believe?" and the "How do you make that out?" When one reasons with us he assumes our equality, and admits our right to be respected. Perhaps that, after all, is the secret of our love of talking everything over; not so much to give another the opportunity of chasing us from an opinion which we will not abandon, in any case until we are tired of it, as the pleasant flattery of attention. People often argue over things they do not care in the least about, merely to make themselves of importance; a

childish vanity which scarcely deserves the punishment of indifference. But the keeping matters in view, the turning around to the light of obscure questions, has unquestionably the advantage of making us recognize at all times the possibility of other truths than those with which we are acquainted. If Americans have fewer fixed ideas than other nations it may be laid to our habit of free argument.

One of the ways of foreigners that might be called nettling, is the pertinacity with which they ignore our right to European kinship in blood, and thrust us off in a kind of western barbarism, as if we could not, by any possibility, be more than four hundred years old! "But if you are American, then you must be descended from the Indians?" It is of no use to explain that we "came over;" they then say that we are either

FAMILY

PRIDE

German, French or English, as the case may be; nothing belongs to the soil, in their esteem, that has not germinated there. And yet, we have our little pride of family as we have our national pride, and the exasperation is that we can never make them understand it. They find it inconsistent, too, in people whose motto is "liberty, equality and fraternity" to be unwilling to sit down at all times with "the great unwashed." In just one detail they are right; we are not, as a people, consistent. How could we be, in a land where the strong and ever growing feeling of personal independence is checked and worried by the ambition for importance as an empire? We are called on constantly, to sacrifice personal pride to pride of country; it is almost the same thing as pride of family, and in the end will lead to a more distinct recognition of that. If any sort of pride is justiable, is it not faithfulness toward our "clan?" The last things one should ever give up are his old family portraits, and spoons with the thin edges and worn initials. It is casting off all the romance of the past and being thrust solitary and unprotected, into the foreground of life, like a child without a guardian. There is heroism in carving out our own career, unaided by family influence; but there is loneliness too. And every one has his moments of weakness, when he would barter all his own

achievements for the delicious security of family environment. We decry what we cannot attain, and the parvenu mocks at an escutcheon, saying with the cynic poet:

“If we must look to ancestry for fame
 Let us at least, deal justly with mankind;
 Why rake the ashes of the dead for honors only?
 Why conceal their crimes?”

But the first purchase the newly made millionaire longs to make—how often vainly!—is an honorable lineage.

The French have a saying which is more sensible than the old Norman “noblesse oblige;” it is, “bon sang ne ment pas,” and we are tempted to apply it to the careers of the several noted Americans whose centennial occurs this year. A man may apparently come up from the log cabin and the dust of hard daily toil, rising by his genius to high position and the pre-eminence of the single notable creature of his name and race; but it is not unusual, in “raking the ashes of the dead” to find an ancestor in whose soul there breathed a loftier spirit than others in the family could lay claim to; some inherited pride and strength of purpose that came down—who knows from where?—Perhaps from the long ago when the men and women of that degenerated stock were of importance to the world, and in our modern slang, “made good” their end. Energy is Nature’s Aristocrat; by it she pushes into the front rank her favorites. As Bulwer said: “Fortune is said to be blind, but her favorites never are. Ambition has the eye of the eagle, Prudence that of the lynx; the first looks through the air, the last along the ground.” These things are gifts, but not gifts made out of nothing; the stuff is in the blood, or else it would require a special miracle every time a man had capacity to think and feel deeper than his fellow men. We Americans are sure that we have race back of us; it breathes in our high, undaunted spirit, in our generosity, our power of quick thinking; and if we take the trouble to trace to its source a sudden gush of enterprise and

bravery in one of our citizens, it will result that we discover, back of the tangled wood of stunted spruce that lies along his path, a clear stream of crystal water, outflowed from a noble life, some forebear long forgotten. And, "bon sang ne ment pas."

In our dear, great country we do not make history rapidly. We are free from the petty tumults and eternal wars with foreign enemies that write pages in the archives of all our cousins across the deep water. When we were at school—and we refuse to give the year of that last look we took at our Barnes and Montgomery—we found

MATERIAL FOR
HISTORY.

American history far less interesting than the history of older countries, where more had happened. Why, after all the talk about Columbus and the settling of the colonies, there were but four or five wars to read about! And the story of the "little hatchet", even when wreathed about with all the flowers of patriotism, compared but poorly with the wonderful adventures of all the Edwards, Richards, and Charlies of our English mother country; to say nothing of the bewildering, brilliant recitals of France and Spain. In those dull days we used to sigh for more fullness in our national life, as Hawthorne sighed for "atmosphere" in the new land. But riper years have brought if not wisdom, at least appreciation of the blessing of an unwritten history. May it long be that our country remains the least romantic and exciting in its historical tales of all the nations of the earth; there is still enough to stir the blood and move the deepest feeling in the little space we occupy in chronicles of war and disaster. And interest is not lacking, either, in what may be called the side issues of national history. Biography, which is, after all, the secret history of a country, is as full of vitality and significance in America as in any land on earth. It may be that it is more full, for there is a strange and wonderful mingling of forces here that exists nowhere else; there are variety and opposition of character that inspire lively expectation, an immense talent, an extraordinary diversity of temperament, all of which furnish rich material for romance as well as for scientific speculation. We may say that in every true American there resides the material

for war, tumult, strategem, discovery and greatness. We are not then, lacking in the stuff of which to make history. It is an immensely interesting field, and we are glad to be in it. What a scope has a magazine of American history and biography! If the past is short, all the future is before us, and we have a dim idea that if we are sufficiently alert and swift, we may even seize the present, as it flies.

LITERATURE

The Struggle for American Independence. By Sidney George Fisher. Illustrated. Two Vols. Price, net, \$4.00. J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia.

A philosophical history, and one which on account of its careful observance of the principles of evolution, makes delightfully easy reading, is here presented. The author strikes the key note in the first paragraph of his work, without any long and stilted preamble. "It (the Revolution) was really a long continued political and economic movement, gradually creating among our people a political party which, against great odds and by persistent endeavor, established on this continent ideas and principles which are not yet entirely accepted in Europe." From this interesting premise Mr. Fisher goes on in a manner that recalls John Fiske, to establish his position by a series of narrations and events and pen-portraits of the leaders in them which carry the reader along swiftly and pleasantly, arousing new ideas and refreshing our old knowledge at every point. From the first chapter we feel confidence in our author; he tells us at once that he intends to treat us as grown up persons, not as children, to whom history must be given in scraps suited to their understanding. He is frank, he conceals nothing, and yet, which is far more important, he endeavors to be entirely impartial. It is not possible that he should have kept his own personality altogether in the background, for we feel that his sympathy with the movement for freedom is the very motive force of the book. If the writer had not believed in human liberty the volumes would never have been written. This is saying that it comes from his heart as well as from his brain, and doubtless it is this that makes the work fascinating. But a notable fact is that he is extremely just to the Loyalists, or Tories, as they are called in most histories written by Americans. In truth, some

of the recitals of Cleveland's barbarities against these foes of his own household arouse our indignation, and compel us to realize that the patriots were by no means the suffering angels they are generally represented, but fierce and desperate partisans, pushed by instinct to the use of awful means to help on the great march of human liberty. In the even measurement of justice we find that the Britains themselves may be looked at from more than one point of view. Cornwallis was not altogether a coward nor Tarleton a fiend. Especially, George of England is not to be made solely responsible for the War of Independence. Conciliation after conciliation was made by England, and disdained by the Americans. Concerning the Stamp Act, Mr. Fisher remarks: "It would be difficult to find in all history another instance of such complete and thorough disobedience to a law which one of the most powerful nations of the world had debated and enacted with the most careful consideration, and which was intended to be put in operation in the kindest and gentlest manner." But the quarrel and rupture were fore-ordained. There was a revolutionary spirit among the Americans, and nothing would satisfy it short of absolute separation from the mother country. They had outgrown their home, and must be apart. Not so much tyranny from without pushed them as the tyranny of an instinct for self rule. With this idea always before us it is not difficult to understand that obnoxious as were the men sent over to govern them, to their own sensitive pride, the men themselves might have been far from brutal or unreasonable. Nowhere is our historian more admirable than in his clear pen portraits of the enemy. All through the work these striking pictures occur, making illustration superfluous. Where, for example, does one find anything better than this?—"The common statement in some books that Governor Hutchinson was malignant, treacherous, or the vacillating and cowardly agent of of tyranny, are utterly without foundation. He was a man of learning, ability, and refinement, a native of the colony, a graduate of Harvard College, a collector of historical material, and the author of an excellent history of Massachusetts; but like some other Americans, his tastes and feelings were with Europe and his intellect was overawed by English culture. He never

could bring himself to see the slightest advantage in American nationality. He was now sixty-two years old, and had been a useful public man in Massachusetts. He had had a long career as a member of the legislature, as member of the council, as judge and as lieutenant-governor; and all the best citizens were grateful to him for his services. He had supported for years, at the sacrifice of popularity a sound specie currency, had fought the land-banks and paper-money schemes, and had largely contributed to save the province from bankruptcy. The charge that he opposed the patriot party in expectation of a high position in England as a reward for his loyalism does not seem to be sustained because he was offered a baronetcy and declined it. His opinions were entirely sincere and honest, but they were not American. He seems to have really loved New England, but only as a subject province and dependency of Great Britain. . . . Looked at from the point of view of history he was doing what every colonial governor in an empire is bound to do. If the British system of empire was right, Hutchinson was right, and was an ideal governor. He found his duties congenial; for he was completely devoted to colonialism by tastes, feelings, and convictions as any loyalist that ever lived." This is a sane, fair summing up from a historian who makes you feel nevertheless, that he does not think "the British system of empire" right, in any sense; it is only one of the many fine character delineations these volumes contain, and if we have given it at some length, we have given less than we desired; but perhaps enough to show the mastery of Mr. Fisher over his subject, his self-restraint, and easy narrative style. Among many more pretentious works, we single out this history of American Independence, as the most lucid, reasonable, and interesting treatment of the subject that has come before us for a very long time.

HISTORIC MORRISTOWN: NEW JERSEY—The Story of its First Century by Andrew M. Sherman.

This book will be found interesting by the student of history for the many sidelights it throws on our development from the

colonial period to the close of the Revolutionary War.* The book should be of much import to those who delve into geneology and to the lawyer seeking to unravel a chain of title and the surveyor for the many past and present residents of Morristown it mentions by name and the minute description of the more important places. The very complete index of the names mentioned and wide margins on each page for the purpose of notes add to the attractiveness of the work.

Morristown was settled as far back as 1685. The iron industry was a great factor in that section at the time. The first forge was erected on what is now known as Flagler's Mill and by some as Darling's Mill, situated a little to the north of the present Water Street. The remains of one of the iron forges may be seen on the northern bank of the Whippanong nearly opposite the site of the present new round house of the Lackawanna Railroad Company.

The houses of the first settlers were built of logs near the intersection of the present Water and Spring Streets. The first church was built in 1817. It was a small, square structure covered on all four sides and on the roof with shingles. There was no cupola or spire. It was first Congregational, later Presbyterian. The communicants came from Morristown, Chatham, Madison, Parsifanny and other surrounding hamlets. Its first pastor was Reverend Nathan Hubbell, a Yale graduate.

Morristown played no minor part in the great struggle between the King and the Colonies. The twenty-nine laws restricting Colonial industries which the British Parliament enacted effected this settlement seriously. This was especially the case with those prohibiting the use of water falls, of the setting up of machinery for manufacturing purposes, such as looms and spindles and of the working of iron and wood in certain forms specified. No sooner did the news of Lexington reach New Jersey than the raising of recruits began. One famous company was known as The Light Horse whose captain was Thomas Kinney. The Morristown soldiers underwent their early baptism of fire when the British after the victory on Long Island sent a force

*The inspiration was an historical sermon delivered by the author on the sixty-fourth anniversary of the dedication of his church in Morris County, which was subsequently published in pamphlet form.

under General Leslie to blow up Ford's Powder Mill. The attempt was thwarted by the militia under Colonel Jacob Fort.

Much that is interesting appears on the stay of Washington and his army at Morristown during the winter of 1777. The tree under which the great general partook of The Lord's Supper is still standing and one of the many illustrations that the interesting work contains.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

With this issue *AMERICANA* becomes a monthly magazine; a departure which is warranted by the increasing interest in its worthy parent, *THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, a bi-monthly.

We are now enabled to offer to our readers at more frequent intervals, a collection of interesting and attractive articles on subjects valued by the student of history, and also, papers treating of phases more distinctly literary, but not the less touching upon topics of import to everyone who cares to extend his knowledge of American life and character. It is the intention of the management to make each number of *AMERICANA* better than the preceding one; an ambitious project, that can only be realized through the co-operation of our readers. It will be essential that we understand their tastes and wishes, if we are to successfully cater to them. So, we shall be deeply grateful for every suggestion, or criticism that is made with the design of helping us to this knowledge. Perhaps it may not be out of order also, to say that when there is anything to praise, a word or so of appreciation may be of decided aid, too; encouragement has a wonderfully stimulating power. For the August number we have, in a way, raked the western continent to secure excellent material. The following papers will appear:

The leading article, by James Cooper Wheeler, is on "A Hudson Bay Company's Hog." The promise of singularity contained in the title is amply borne out by the strange, true history of a transaction that is now given to the world for the first time, and that had vast bearing upon the attachment of the great tract of land once known as Oregon Territory.

"Before the Walls of Tripoli," by Dr. William S. Birge, tells a thrilling tale of the siege laid to that obstinate fortress by the gallant Commodore Preble.

Entirely different is the second chapter of a most important

series written for us by Mr. Roberts, on the "History of the Mormon Church." As dealing with the foundations of thought and life of a large and important class of American citizens, but little known hitherto, and perhaps on that account much misjudged by their eastern brethren, this group of articles has a weight that will probably secure for it serious attention. Fine steel plate illustrations add to the value of this series.

Mr. Henry Waterman, of Provincetown, Mass., is so well convinced that his native place has been rather slighted of its rights, by the rivalry of the better chronicled Plymouth, that he draws our regard in a well written, short paper called "The Birth-place of American Liberty."

The author of a charming article on "Belle Isle" that was admired in the May number of this magazine, now gives us something of a very unlike character in her "Representative Southern Literature." The re-production of southern dialect is so naturally done, that even the most adverse critic will scarcely find fault with its fidelity.

The Rev. Andrew M. Sherman, an old favorite with our readers, will still write for us, and we are much pleased to have the privilege of giving his fine article, "The Old Morris Court House," in this number. It is profusely illustrated.

How far removed from the foregoing is the next paper on the list, may be quickly seen from the title, "Outlook of the Socialist Party in America." Mr. Milton Baker may strike some of our readers as being a partisan, rather than a historian. The field is open. We shall be glad to have the other side of the question, later on.

From the arena to the land of romance is a journey easily made by turning to the next paper, a vivid New Mexico sketch, by Francis Meade, entitled "La Mesilla." Some excellent illustrations give a graphic touch to the article.

One of the prettiest things in the number, according to our view, is "An Ancient Virginia House and its Ghost Story," quaintly told by Mr. T. D. Pendleton, himself, evidently, a Virginian of the old type.

Then, pressing close for attention, is a serious, thoughtful paper entitled "The Education of Successful Men," written by

Mr. William J. Loomis, of Illinois. Whether or not, one agrees with his argument, it must be admitted that it is well put.

Mrs. Corra Bacon Foster is a friend who will doubtless be too warmly greeted to need any introduction here. She gives us a fine paper under the title, "Chatelaines of the British Legation."

Mrs. Sallie R. McLean furnishes another instalment of her valued series of articles on "The History of Slavery."

Now, the reader can judge whether the August number will be worth his perusal! If not, then we will try to make our September number richer still.

AUGUST, 1909

AMERICANA

FLORENCE HULL WINTERBURN, Editor

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MRS. ERSKINE

AMERICANA

August, 1909

A HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY HOG

BY JAMES COOPER WHEELER

THE acquisition of Oregon Territory, since subdivided into the states of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho, is marked by history possessing vivid interest to American students, and abounds in romantic incidents.

From 1812 to 1872 our Pacific Coast possessions hung in the balance. They were coveted by the far-sighted English, and under-valued by the inhabitants of the eastern states who conceived their interests to be bounded by the Great Lakes. The relations between the United States and Great Britain were often dangerously strained during this time by, according to Sir Robert Peel in the House of Commons, "differences which, unless speedily terminated, must probably involve both countries in the necessity of an appeal to arms."

On one occasion the 'appeal to arms' was so close a contingency that a fleet of British war ships and a force of American regulars actually faced each other, and nothing but the indomitable resolution and stern courage of captain George E. Pickett averted a bloody war at the very time that the struggle with the seceding states of the South was impending.

On the 17th of July, 1846, a treaty between Great Britain and the United States was ratified establishing our northeastern boundary line as follows:

"from the point on the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, where the boundary laid down in existing treaties

“and conventions between Great Britain and the United States terminates, the line of boundary between the territories of the United States, and those of Her Britannic Majesty shall be continued westward along the said forty-ninth parallel of north latitude to the middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver Island, and thence southerly thro’ the middle of said channel, and of Fuca’s straits to the Pacific Ocean; Provided, however, that the navigation of the whole of the said channel and straits, south of the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, remain free and open to both parties.”

The situation was at this time an embarrassing one that strained diplomatic relations between the two countries to attenuation. The Hudson Bay Company, that formidable monopoly which had been to North America what the British East India Company was to India, and The British South African Company to Africa—the relentless foe to progress other than that which conserved its own commercial interests—stood like a Colossus with closed legs in the way of occupation by the Americans. With a policy that had already held back Civilization on the northwestern coast for a hundred years, the Company directors barred the path to us, and by their political weight brought to bear upon the government in England, caused endless delay, and interposed many obstacles to American occupation and development. Evidences of the pressure of this huge octopus of a chartered and continental monopoly upon the English Ministry were quickly seen in the interpretation sought to be placed on the conditions of the treaty. The object of the Company was of course to force the line to include as much of its possessions as possible within the territory of the Crown where its charter would still hold sway. Sullenly yielding its holdings in Oregon proper to the Americans—although forcing them to pay an immense price for alleged improvements—it sought by diplomatic chicanery to interpret the reading of the first article of the Treaty to carry the meaning that the channel separating the continent and the island of Vancouver should be the Rosario

straits instead of the Canal De Haro, the obvious waterway between the two points. The aim of this attempted diversion was to include the San Juan archipelago, and particularly San Juan island, a large and fertile island which had been appropriated by the Hudson Bay Company as a sheep ranch and fishing station.

It was not however until eleven years later, in 1857, that a boundary commission was appointed. The commissioners were Archibald Campbell, esquire, for the United States, and "our trusty and well-beloved James Charles Prevost, esquire, a captain in our Royal Navy," on the part of the British Government. The complexity of islands and channels in the San Juan archipelago was well suited to a diplomacy that sought an end by indirection, and therefore delighted in sinuosities and ambiguities. 'Trusty and well-beloved' Captain Prevost was instructed by Lord Russell—whose views seem to have been swayed by Hudson Bay influence—that Her Majesty's Government must, under any circumstances, maintain the right of the British Crown to the island of San Juan. In addition to this declaration—after the treaty establishing the line of boundary, be it noted—Governor Douglas of Vancouver's island, whose son-in-law Mr. A. C. Dallas was president of the Council of the Hudson Bay Company in America, made the following proclamation:

"The sovereignty of the island of San Juan, of the whole
"of the Haro (San Juan) archipelago has always been
"undeviatingly claimed to be in the Crown of Great
"Britain. Therefore, I, James Douglas, do hereby for-
"mally and solemnly protest against the occupation of the
"said island, or any part of the said archipelago, by any
"person whatsoever, for, or in behalf of any other
"power; hereby protesting, and declaring that the sov-
"ereignty thereof by right now is, and always has been,
"in Her Majesty, Queen Victoria, and her predecessors,
"kings of Great Britain."

The extract printed below is from the instructions of General W. S. Harney commanding the department of Oregon, to Cap-

tain George E. Pickett, and evidences room for a difference of opinion on the subject of the Crown's title to San Juan island:

“Third. Under the organic act of the Congress of the United States for the establishment of the territorial government of Washington, the first legislative assembly in 1854 passed an act including the island of San Juan as a part of Whatcom county; this act was duly submitted to Congress, and has not been disapproved; it is, therefore, the law of the land; you will be obliged consequently to acknowledge and respect the civil jurisdiction of Washington Territory in the discharge of your duties on San Juan.....”

Such was to some extent the situation on San Juan. The British claimed it apparently because the Hudson Bay Company had a sheep ranch on it. At the same time some thirty Americans had taken up homesteads there according to the provisions of United States laws. Captain Pickett, in reporting to his commander-in-chief from camp Pickett describes the condition of the island, owing to the joint claims of the English and Americans, and the consequent absence of civil authority as something frightful. He says:

“Desperadoes of all countries have flocked hither. This has become a depot for murderers, robbers, whiskey-sellers—in a word, for refugees from justice. They declare openly and boldly there is no civil law here.”

It was during this chaotic condition of affairs that the historical incident occurred which came within a hair breadth of plunging the United States and England in a third war.

Among the Americans alluded to as living on San Juan island was one Lyman A. Cutler. He was a man in the prime of life, and industrious and enterprising as behooved a pioneer. By resolute hard work he had succeeded in getting a portion of his hundred and sixty acres under the plow. In those days when a man had labored arduously to create a home in the wilderness

—a Titanic task, almost incomprehensible in our easier conditions of life at the present day—he was apt to acquire a sense of property in his hardly-earned belongings that made him determined and even belligerent in maintaining his rights to his possessions. Cutler, his contemporaries say was such a man, a stern, unflinching character to whom attempted coercion was like brandishing a red flag in the face of an angry bull. He was an enthusiastic husbandman, and had fenced in his cleared ground in the primitive style of the time and country with a brush fence, and expended much toil in the spring of the year 1859. June had come in soft and balmy and his peas and beans, and cabbages and onions, and early potatoes grew apace. He pointed them out to his neighbors with pride, and probably boasted about his growing crops after the universal practise of agriculturists—and other creators.

On the morning of the fourteenth day of June he awoke to find his pea vines trampled down, cabbages devoured, and the potato patch rooted up. Unctuous gruntings from the neighboring forest satisfied him that a hog belonging to Charles Henry Griffin, the Chief Trader and Agent of the Hudson Bay Company on San Juan island, was the malefactor. The company sheep ranch of which Griffin was in charge was located half a mile distant on a hill near San Juan harbor. As the hog had destroyed a section of the fence in forcing his way to the vegetables, Cutler strode over to Griffin's headquarters to protest against the trespass. Griffin was a typical Briton who had been so long in the employ of the chartered monopoly that he had grown arbitrary, and accustomed to consider all other rights except those of the Hudson Bay Company as of light consequence.

No one seems to have been present at the interview between the two, but it may readily be inferred that when two such positive characters met, there was much electricity generated. At any rate it culminated by Cutler warning the Chief Trader that he would make 'pork of his pig' if the offense were repeated, and Griffin declined to take precautions to prevent it.

The very next day, the 15th of June, the Trader's hog made another raid. Cutler had repaired the fence, and grimly with

gun in hand watched the animal pry the brush apart and force an entrance. As the marauder seized a mouthful of green stuff and raised his head in a grunt of satisfaction, the American shot him through the heart.

Cutler immediately went to the Hudson Bay station and notified Griffin of his action. The Chief Trader was greatly enraged and told the American he must pay a hundred dollars to the company to indemnify them for the loss of the boar. Cutler, who seems to have been essentially a law-abiding citizen and who probably felt at this period of the controversy that he had perhaps gone to extremes, but would not hear of peace at so fancy a figure as a hundred dollars. He returned home determined to stand the consequences of his act.

It happened that A. G. Dallas the head Hudson Bay official in America came to inspect the sheep station on that same day, and the agent at once laid his complaint before him. Dallas, following the high-handed way in which Hudson Bay affairs were apparently conducted, accompanied him to Cutler's farm. He summoned Cutler and told him peremptorily that he must at once pay the hundred dollars, or he would take him by force to Victoria on Vancouver island, and try him for the offence of killing the hog under British laws.

The threat aroused Cutler. Defying consequences he sprang inside his door and seizing his gun, swore he would kill Dallas in his tracks if he laid a finger on him. The Englishman, unaccustomed to such prompt and determined resistance, retired precipitately to the sheep ranch and summoned the captain of the sloop-of-war *Satellite*, which had brought Mr. Dallas from the British side, to a consultation. This official was Captain Prevost, the English boundary commissioner.

In the meantime Cutler had taken counsel with his American neighbors. They armed themselves and prepared to resist aggression to the death. At the same time, however, apparently at the suggestion of Paul K. Hubbs, the U. S. Inspector of Customs living on the island, they did a very sensible thing. A memorial—addressed to General Harney—was forwarded detailing the attempt on Cutler's liberty, and other oppressive interference of the Hudson Bay Company authorities with their

rights as American citizens. This paper petitioned that a military force be stationed upon the island for their protection.

General Harney than whom no more loyal American ever lived, sent Captain Pickett of Company D, Ninth Infantry, to the scene with the following orders:

“You are directed to establish your company on Bellevue or San Juan island, in some suitable position.
“.....”

“A serious and important duty will devolve upon you
“in the occupation of San Juan island, arising from the
“conflicting interests of the American citizens, and the
“Hudson’s Bay establishment at that point. This duty
“is to afford adequate protection to the American citizens in their rights as such, and to resist all attempts at
“interference by the British authorities residing in Vancouver island, by intimidation or force, in the controversies of the above-mentioned parties.”

“This protection has been called for in consequence of the
“Chief Factor of the Hudson’s Bay Company, Mr. Dallas, having recently visited San Juan island with a
“British sloop-of-war, and threatened to take an American by force to Victoria for trial by British laws.....
“..... To insure the safety of our citizens,
“the general commanding directs you to meet the authorities from Victoria at once, on a second arrival, and
“inform them they cannot be permitted to interfere with
“our citizens in any way.”

The military steam transport Massachusetts carried Captain Pickett, his command, stores, etc., to a spot on San Juan island about two miles south of the present county seat, Friday Harbor. British ships were watching, but a fortunate fog permitted the American officer to land his forces without a collision at Argyle, or San Juan, as the place was known in the ‘sixties.’ Low rounded hills here command the little bay on the right and left, while at the foot the ground is level. On the southern bluff Cap-

tain Pickett entrenched himself, fortifying his position as strongly as possible.

The next development was a note from Griffin the agent to the American soldier. This told Pickett that the island on which his camp was pitched was the property, and in the occupation of the Hudson's Bay Company, and requested that he, and the whole of his party who had landed from American vessels, would immediately cease to occupy the same; if Pickett should be unwilling to comply with this request, he, Griffin, would feel bound to apply to the civil authorities. The captain answered that he did not acknowledge the right of the Hudson's Bay Company to dictate his course of action, and being there by the order of his government, would remain until recalled by the same authority.

Nevertheless the American officer thought best to report to General Harney on the third of August in the following words:

"The British ships *Tribune*, *Plumper*, and *Satellite* are lying here in a menacing attitude. I have been warned off by the Hudson's Bay Agent. Then a summons was sent to me to appear before a Mr. De Courcy, an official of her *Britanic Majesty*. They have a force so much superior to mine that it will be merely a mouthful for them. The excitement here and in Victoria is tremendous. I suppose some five hundred people have visited us. I have had to use a great deal of my peace-making disposition in order to restrain some of the sovereigns."

Captain G. Phipps Hornby of the *Tribune* was in command of the British squadron. In the early stages of the negotiation which ensued, he assumed an arrogant tone in his communications with the American officer. He threatened in so many words to drive Pickett away by force. The latter, however, stood firm as a rock and faced the English martinet sternly and composedly.

"If you land one British soldier on this shore" he is reported as having replied, "I shall open fire on the British flag. We may be driven from our intrenchments, but we'll take to the woods, and continue the fight as long as one of us remains alive. Should

the collision occur, you will have been the aggressor, and the cause of war between the United States and Great Britain.”

Hornby had met a sterner and more invincible spirit than his own. At the time the knightly Pickett delivered this ultimatum he had under his command 451 troops, eight thirty-two pounders, one six pounder, and five mountain howitzers. The British had an armament of over a hundred guns, and 1,200 men.

As soon as he could do so with decency Hornby sailed back to Esquimalt harbor in British waters.

Pickett who only a few years later led the gallant charge at Gettysburg fighting against the north, had done his country one of the greatest services ever rendered by a subordinate officer of the American army.

The Boundary Commission failed to agree, the “trusty” Prevost interposing so many objections to the obvious wording of the terms of the treaty with the purpose of defining Rosario straits to be the waterway leading to Vancouver’s Island, and thus including the archipelago among the British Possessions, that the matter was forced to be left to arbitration. The Emperor William of Germany was agreed upon as mediator, and on the eighth day of May, 1871, he named the Canal De Haro as the dividing line between the “continent and Vancouver’s Island.”

This decision threw not only San Juan island, but the entire archipelago on the American side of the boundary, and into the territory of the United States.

BEFORE THE WALLS OF TRIPOLI

BY WILLIAM S. BIRGE, M. D.

ALL through the summer of 1804 the United States squadron under Commodore Preble had been actively engaged before the walls of Tripoli. When September came the fortifications of the city had been weakened by the season's work, but the pirate fleet was as defiant as ever. They had remained safely out of danger, and were ready to sail out again to plunder and destroy as soon as their enemies should leave them free. The Americans knew that the approaching stormy season would soon check operations and drive them from the coast; but they determined to make a final attempt to reach and cripple the naval force which lay so snugly within the inner harbor. The plan was nothing less bold than to explode a floating mine in the very midst of the enemy. The bold stroke would accomplish great destruction if successful, but it was full of danger. There was the risk of being discovered and shot down before they reached the desired position; or all might be blown up by a premature explosion; or the pirates might capture them before they could escape from the harbor, and capture would mean long imprisonment, if nothing worse. Yet volunteers were not lacking, and thirteen undertook the enterprise; they were three young officers—Captain Richard Somers, Lieutenants Henry Wardsworth and Joseph Israel—and ten seamen. For their expedition they employed a ketch which had been captured from the Tripolitans and renamed the *Intrepid*. Her Barbary rig and general appearance, they hoped might deceive the guards into thinking her one of their own vessels, and so enable her to pass unmolested. Upon the deck were placed a hundred and fifty loaded shells; directly underneath them a hundred barrels of gunpowder were stored in the hold, and con-

nected by fuze and trains of powder with the cabin, which was filled with combustible matter. This great tinder-box was to be ignited, to make the Tripolitans think that the craft was no more than a fire-raft, until too late for them to escape.

When preparations had been completed, all waited for a favorable night. The evening of the fourth of September came down in deep darkness, and seemed to give the desired opportunity. So the *Intrepid* stole silently into the harbor, taking with her two of the swiftest row-boats in the squardon, that the party might row rapidly away as soon as they had set fire to the combustibles and train of powder. One of the smaller of the American vessels also stood in near the mouth of the harbor to receive them on their return.

Straining their eyes and ears to catch some trace of their comrades, the party at the harbor's entrance waited. Hours never seemed so long, but no sound came out of the darkness. Then the sharp report of the sentry's gun showed that the attempt had been discovered, and that the hope for secrecy was dispelled. The cannon on every side took up the work, and the darkness was illumined with the flashes of a hundred guns, all directed against the little craft. The watchers held their breaths, for they knew that a single spark could destroy everything. Yet like a racing yacht the *Intrepid* rushed on, straight toward the Barbary fleet. She seemed undaunted, although the Tripolitans were pouring fire and missiles around her, and were bearing down to attack with their largest vessels.

Suddenly the anxious spectators saw a bright speck moving upon the *Intrepid* as if a man was running along her deck with a lighted torch. It disappeared, and a moment later a blinding flash shot up and kindled the whole heavens. Every detail of harbor and town could be seen, and the hills behind the city were outlined in sharp relief against the midnight sky. There followed a mighty roar, which swallowed up the lesser noise of cannonading, and seemed to shake the earth and sea. Shells exploded in every direction, and from the town went up a terrible yelling and shrieking of pain and fright. After that, darkness and silence unbroken.

Not a gun disturbed the intense stillness that lasted the rest

of the night. Eagerly those at the harbor's mouth waited now. As the hours passed, one would say: "I thought that I heard them." Then all would look and listen, only to be disappointed. So the time dragged on until morning dawned. At daylight they had to hasten back to the squadron; but as they went they could see the effects of the explosion. The enemy's largest vessel was missing, and two others badly damaged, were being drawn ashore for repairs.

But no tidings came from the thirteen Americans, though the squadron waited day after day, until orders had to be given to sail away. Then the officers recalled Captain Somers' declaration: "I'll set fire to the powder with my own hand and blow us all up together before I'll fall into the power of those Barbary fiends." And all believed that he had fulfilled his intention.

A year later, when peace was made, Bainbridge came out from his long confinement in a Tripoli prison, and brought news of the fate of his countrymen. The morning after the explosion, his jailer had led him down to the shore, where thirteen bodies lay upon the sand. Burned and blackened and bruised beyond recognition, they were unquestionably the remains of Americans; and the body that most resembled Somers had been found in the bottom of the *Intrepid*, where the magazine had been.

If you ever get the opportunity to visit the Longfellow House on Congress street, in Portland, Maine, you may see among the family portraits which adorn the old hallway a painting that represents a boyish face and form, in naval uniform, and standing against a background of burning vessels and flying shells. You will learn that it is the poet's uncle, Lieutenant Henry Wadsworth, who perished in the harbor of Tripoli, when he was only twenty-one years old. It was for him that the poet received his name, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.

And in the old Eastern Cemetery in Portland, near the spot where the captains of the Boxer-Enterprise fight (1815) lie, you can see a simple little monument to Lieutenant Wadsworth. On one side are cut these words:

"An honor to his country and an example to all excellent youth."



ENG. BY E. B. HALL

LUCY SMITH

HISTORY OF THE MORMON CHURCH

BY BRIGHAM H. ROBERTS, Assistant Historian of the Church

CHAPTER III

THE BOYHOOD OF JOSEPH SMITH

THE birth of Joseph Smith on the twenty-third of December, 1805, in Sharon, Windsor county, Vermont, has already been noted. During his early childhood there were removals of the family from Sharon to Tunbridge, and thence to Royalton; but nevertheless these were years of prosperity. In 1811 the family settled in Lebanon, Grafton county, New Hampshire, just over the Vermont line, in the beautiful valley of the Connecticut river. Here the parents hoped for even larger prosperity than had come from their labors in the past. "Here we settled ourselves down," says Lucy Smith, "and began to contemplate with joy and satisfaction the prosperity which had attended our recent exertions; and we doubled our diligence, in order to obtain more of this world's goods, with a view of assisting our children when they should need it; and, as is quite natural, we looked forward to the decline of life and were providing for its wants as well as striving to procure those things which contribute much to the comfort of old age."¹

Hyrum Smith, the second son, was sent to an academy in Hanover, a few miles north from Lebanon; and the other children of sufficient age, to the nearer common school in Lebanon. The affairs of the family were in this happy condition when an epidemic of typhus fever passed over the neighborhood. The Smiths were sorely afflicted by the fever. Hyrum was stricken

1. "History of the Prophet Joseph," by Lucy Smith, ch. xv.

while in school in Hanover, and brought home; and all the children one after the other fell victims to the scourge. Sophronia, a daughter, narrowly escaped dying; the mother attributes her recovery to the blessing of God obtained through prayer.² Joseph recovered from the fever, but some two weeks after his recovery was suddenly seized with a severe pain in his shoulder. A wrong diagnosis by the physician attributed the trouble to a sprain, when in reality there had been none; but after two weeks of suffering there developed between the breast and shoulder a fever sore which, on being lanced, discharged large quantities of puss. The pain then shifted into the leg, causing great suffering; and so continued from bad to worse despite the efforts of physicians, until finally amputation was decided upon by the surgeons, and was only avoided by the protests and determination of the lad himself and the mother. An operation was performed, a large piece of one of the bones between the knee and ankle being removed. Of course the operation was performed with the crude instruments of the times, without the use of anesthetics; and as the boy refused to take stimulants or to be tied down to the bed, the manner in which he passed through the trying ordeal was a rare exhibition of pluck and power of endurance. After the operation the lad quickly recovered, and was sent to Salem, Massachusetts, to the home of his uncle, Jesse Smith, in the hope that the sea air would help in his restoration to perfect health, a hope that was not disappointed.³

Something like a year of sickness played havoc with the fortunes of the family of Joseph Smith, Sen., and they removed to Norwich in the State of Vermont—just over the State line, and some ten or twelve miles distant from Lebanon. Here three successive crop failures still further reduced the fortunes of the family. Meantime, Joseph Smith, Sen., having heard of the richer lands and milder climate of western New York, deter-

2. Ibid, ch. xv.

3. "History of the Prophet Joseph," by Lucy Smith, ch. xvi. The fever sore in shoulder and leg, requiring the painful surgical operation alluded to in the text, is called the "ancestral ulceration," by Riley in his "Founder of Mormonism," p. 65, for which remark, neither in his own collection of "ancestral ailments," attributed to the Smith and Macks, or elsewhere, is there any justification. The immediate cause for the gathering in shoulder and leg is found in the effect of the typhus fever upon the lad's system; and this, I am assured by medical authority, is not unusual.

mined upon removing to that State. After negotiating a settlement of his financial affairs between his debtors and creditors, he departed, in company with a Mr. Howard, for Palmyra, New York. In due time a team was sent back to Norwich for his wife Lucy and the family of children, now numbering eight. On the eve of the family's departure some creditors, refusing to abide by the settlement arranged before the father left Vermont, came forward now and presented their claims, which Lucy Smith, by extraordinary exertions succeeded in satisfying. After a painful separation from her mother at Royalton—the former Lydia Gates so tenderly praised by Solomon Mack—Lucy Smith and her family made their way to Palmyra, New York, where they were welcomed by the father, and all rejoiced in the reunion of the family.

It was a serious condition that confronted this family on its arrival in Palmyra. More than a year of sickness, followed by three successive crop failures—not because of idleness or lack of skill in husbandry, but through drought or frosts, causes beyond their control—together with the necessary expense of removing from New Hampshire to Palmyra, a distance of some three hundred miles, had exhausted all their resources, and they were penniless. It need create no special wonderment that the elder Smith at this period is described as being “of guant and haggard visage,” and wearing “rusty clothes.”⁴ A family consultation resulted in the determination to unite their efforts in purchasing a tract of one hundred acres of land some two miles south of Palmyra, on the north border of Manchester township, belonging to minor heirs of the Everson estate, whose agent resided at Canandaigua, Ontario county. “In a year,”⁵ says Lucy Smith, “we made nearly all of the first payment, erected a log house, and commenced clearing. I believe something like thirty acres of land were made ready for cultivation the first year.”⁵ Meanwhile, to meet the immediate necessities of the family, the male members engaged in occasional day's

4. “Rusty clothes of a vagabond,” is the full language of Riley; which he justifies on the authority of W. D. Purple's editorial in the *Norwich, New York, Union*, April 28, 1877, who claims to have taken notes on an alleged trial of Joseph Smith, Sen., for vagrancy before Albert Nelly, J. P. “Founder of Mormonism,” p. 26.

5. “History of the Prophet Joseph,” by Lucy Smith, ch. xvii.

work among the neighboring farmers or in the town; while the mother, skilled in hand-painting oil-cloth covers for tables and stands, etc., met a large part of the family expenses.

Finally the family moved from the town of Palmyra, to the new log house on the farm,⁶ in Manchester township, and though the house was a humble one—consisting of two rooms on the ground floor and a like number in an attic, to which there was soon afterwards added a bedroom-wing of sawed slabs—the family was able to resume the conditions of independent methods of life to which it had been accustomed. In a very few years a more commodious frame house was planned and the erection of it begun. This enterprise was more especially the conception of Alvin, the oldest son of the family, then about twenty-five years of age. To the neighbors who watched the progress of the new house, he often said: “I am going to have a nice, pleasant room for father and mother to sit in, and everything arranged for their comfort. They shall not work any more as they have done.” But Alvin never lived to see the house completed. In the middle of November, 1824, he was taken ill and died, not of bilious colic of which he was stricken down, but of an over-dose of calomel which lodged in the upper intestines, gangrened, and produced death, despite the efforts of four physicians called to attend the case.⁷ In after years in speaking of

6. Some confusion exists as to the length of time before the family moved from the town of Palmyra to the home on the farm. From Lucy Smith's account “History of the Prophet Joseph,” ch. xvii, it would be in the second year after their arrival from Vermont; according to the “Origin, Rise and Progress of Mormonism,” by Pomeroy Tucker-Appleton and Co., N. Y., 1867, p. 12, “two and a half years;” according to Linns “The Story of the Mormons,” p. 11, “three and a half years;” Joseph Smith, the Prophet, in his autobiographical journal puts the time of removal as being about four years after his father's arrival in Palmyra; “History of the Church,” vol. I., p. 2. (This last mentioned work is a documentary history, five volumes, of which are now published. It will probably be a work of eight volumes of between five and six hundred pages each, when completed. Six volumes will be required to bring the work to the close of Joseph Smith's life). It is uncertain by how much time the senior Joseph Smith preceded his family to Palmyra; doubtless it was several months. The Prophet speaks of the time between the arrival at Palmyra and the removal to Manchester township indefinitely; and Tucker writes of it as a recollection after an elapse of fifty years. Lucy Smith's statement is likely to be the most accurate.

7. “History of the Prophet Joseph,” ch. xix. The above facts were disclosed by an autopsy on the body, permitted by the family at the desire of the four attendant physicians. An anti-Mormon writer in Littell's *Living Age* (Vol. 30, p. 429), refers to this sad experience of the Smith family in these terms: “Alvah [Alvin], however spiritual he may have been, had a carnal appetite; ate too many green turnips, sickened, and died.”

his brother, Alvin, the Prophet referred to him "as a very handsome man, and of great strength."⁸ The mother speaks of him as "A youth of singular goodness of disposition, kind and aimable."⁹

The new house was finally completed and the family took possession of it. The amount of cleared land gradually increased from thirty to sixty acres, and there were from twelve to fifteen hundred sugar trees on the place from which sap was gathered in the spring and converted into molasses and sugar.¹⁰ The farm thus redeemed from a wilderness and a commodious house built upon it, attracted the attention of the covetous. All the payments as agreed upon with the agents of the Everson estate, except the last, had been made, when a change of agents took place. To the new agent misrepresentations were made as to the movements and intention of the Smiths. The departure of Joseph Smith, Sen., and his son Joseph from home in order to raise the money for the payment of the last installment—having made arrangements with a Mr. Josiah Stool and a Mr. Joseph Knight for the sale of their wheat crop, with that end in view—was converted into a "running away;" while Hyrum was accused of cutting down the sugar orchard, hauling away the rails, burning them, and doing no end of mischief to the farm. Under these circumstances the place was sold outright by the new agent to other parties—one of them a Mr. Stoddard, who had been the chief carpenter in building the new house for the Smiths—and a deed given for the same. These would-be purchasers, however, did not altogether succeed in their designs, since by the exertions of the Smith family the unjust purchase was canceled and the title lodged with the high sheriff of the county, a Mr. Durfee. The Smiths continued to occupy the home and cultivate the farm until they removed to Ohio, in 1831; but they never completed the title to the property.

During the five years, however, that this commodious house, still in a good state of preservation, as will be seen by the engraving of it accompanying this chapter, made from a photograph

8. "History of the Church," vol. v., p. 247.

9. "History of the Prophet Joseph," by Lucy Smith, ch. xx.

10. Statement of William Smith, brother of the Prophet, *Zion's Ensign*, Independence, Mo., copied into *Deseret News*, of January 20. 1894.

recently taken—sheltered the Smiths, it was the home of a Christian family, as also was the more humble log house first erected on the Smith farm, although none of the family formed any connection with the sectarian churches about them until 1820. The question “which of the sects shall we join,” had been a problem in the Smith household even before their removal from Vermont. Lucy Smith was baptized in that state by a minister who was willing to leave to her the question of choosing the sect she would join, and to a time subsequent to her baptism. During the family’s residence in Tunbridge, Lucy’s desire to be identified with some one or other of the churches became acute; but, owing to the disagreeable feelings such a step seemed likely to engender among their friends, and especially with the eldest brother of Joseph Smith, Sen,—Jesse Smith,—she abandoned for the time being her desire. In 1820, however, when the religious revival that swept through the Western Reserve and New York state reached Palmyra, she determined upon membership in the Presbyterian Church, and in this was followed by her sons Hyrum and Samuel Harrison, and by her daughter Sophronia. Joseph Smith, the future Prophet of Mormonism, inclined to the Methodist persuasion, but did not join their church. The father held aloof from formal connection with any of the sects, but was none the less a staunch, Christian man. “Were your folks religiously inclined before Joseph saw the angel,” inquired one of William Smith, brother of the Prophet. This in 1893, when William Smith was a very aged man. “Yes,” he answered, “We always had family prayers since I can remember. I well remember father used to carry his spectacles in his vest pocket, and when we boys saw him feel for his specs, we knew that was a signal to get ready for prayer, and if we did not notice it mother would say, ‘William,’ or whoever was the negligent one, ‘get ready for prayers.’ After the prayer we had a song we would sing; I remember part of it yet.

‘Another day has passed and gone,
We lay our garments by.’ ”¹¹

11. Interview with Wm. Smith, *Zion's Ensign*, Independence, Mo., copied into the *Deseret News* of January 20, 1894.

It was this circumstance of Bible reading in the home which doubtless led one who was for some years neighbor to the Smiths, —Dr. John Stafford, of Rochester, New York,—to say that Joseph Smith, Jun., was quite illiterate until after the Smiths “began to have school at their house;” and then “he improved greatly.” “Did they have school in their own house,” Doctor Stafford was asked. “Yes, sir,” he answered, “they had school in their house and studied the Bible.” “Who was their teacher?” the Doctor was asked. “They did not have any teacher; they taught themselves.”¹²

It was in these places, Palmyra and Manchester, and in the midst of these family struggles for existence and these sorrows, that the boyhood of Joseph Smith, the Prophet, was spent. Western and much even of central New York was a wilderness in those years. Rochester, some twenty miles to the northwest of Palmyra, in 1815, consisted of but two or three log houses. The region was known as “the western wilderness,” and two years before the arrival of the Smiths the Indians had “desolated the whole Niagara frontier.”¹³ Educational advantages were meagre. Up to the revision of the state constitution in 1822, each school district had but twenty dollars *per annum* from the state, and it was with some difficulty that a three months term of the common schools could be run by state and local taxation.¹⁴ Moreover, the affairs of the family in the early years of its residence at Palmyra, required the services of even the lad Joseph to assist in its maintenance, so that he was largely deprived even of the small opportunities afforded by the school system of the state; and books, as already noted, were few and difficult to obtain. Small need of wonder, then, if the book-learning of young Smith was limited. Still he learned to read passing well, he could write and had some knowledge of numbers; it is confessed by his mother that he was less inclined to the perusal of books, than the other children of the family, but “was more given to deep study and meditation.”¹⁵

12. “Interviews with Old Palmyra and Manchester Residents with Reference to the Character of the Smith family,” by E. L. and Wm. H. Kelley, published in *The Saints Herald*, Plano, Ill., June 1, 1881.

13. “Founder of Mormonism,” p. 39-40.

14. “Early Common Schools in New York, Report of Commissioner of Education,” 1897, p. 224.

15. “History of the Prophet Joseph,” by Lucy Smith, ch. xix.

A number of anti-Mormon writers unconsciously corroborate this view of his being given to deep study and meditation. Tucker, who perhaps has written the most prejudiced account of the Prophet's boyhood days, says: "Taciturnity was among his characteristic idiosyncracies, and he seldom spoke to any one outside of his intimate associates except when first addressed by another. . . . He nevertheless evidenced the rapid development of a thinking, plodding, evil-brewing mental composition."¹⁶ Of his reading Tucker also remarks: "Joseph, moreover, as he grew in years had learned to read comprehensively, in which qualification he was far in advance of his elder brother and even his father."¹⁷ As this comparison is made as to his brother Alvin, who died in 1824, it gives us a view of the Prophet in his later "teens," from seventeen to nineteen. Tucker also adds: "He was, however, proverbially good natured, very rarely if ever indulging in any combative spirit toward any one, whatever might be the provocation, and yet was never known to laugh."¹⁸ Another anti-Mormon writer speaking of the Prophet's boyhood, says: "His mind was retentive; he was possessed of a rude eloquence of speech, and had that rare power of expression that to the stranger or the simple would seem the outward form of a sincere belief within."¹⁹

Leaving out the visions and revelations received by Joseph Smith in his youth—beginning in his fifteenth year, and which are reserved for separate treatment—his boyhood was commonplace enough, and his life very similar to the lives of thousands of American boys of that generation, reared in the borders of an ever expanding frontier.

16. "Origin, Rise and Progress of Mormonism," p. 16.

17. "Origin, Rise and Progress of Mormonism," p. 17.

18. Ibid, pp. 16, 17. This view scarcely agrees with another anti-Mormon writer, who claims personal knowledge of the Prophet in those early days, viz.: Daniel Hendrix, who says: "Yet Joe had a jovial, easy, don't care way about him that made him a lot of warm friends;" see letter to the *St. Louis Globe Democrat*, February 2, 1897, quoted by Linn in his "Story of the Mormons," p. 13. This agrees admirably with what the Prophet has said of himself as pertaining to those days: "I was guilty of levity, and sometimes associated with jovial company. * * * But this will not seem very strange to any one who recollects my youth, and is acquainted with my native, cheery temperament;" see "History of the Church," vol. I., pp. 9, 10. This scarcely is the description of a boy who was "never known to laugh."

19. "Early Days of Mormonism," Kennedy, p. 15.



CHAPTER IV

THE SMITH FAMILY AT PALMYRA AND MANCHESTER

The Smith family while living in Palmyra and Manchester are said (1) to have been lazy, shiftless, intemperate and untruthful;¹ (2) to have opened a "shop" in Palmyra where they sold cakes, pies, rootbeer, and the like; and that on public occasions, such as the Fourth of July, militia training days, and election days, the elder Smith would load a rude hand-cart, made by himself, with these wares and sally forth to find such patronage as might come to hand;² (3) to have been dishonest and guilty of stealing from their neighbors.³

Joseph Smith, the Prophet, states that shortly after obtaining the plates from which he translated the Book of Mormon, "Rumor with her thousand tongues was all the time employed in circulating falsehoods about my father's family, and myself. If I were to relate a thousandth part of them, it would fill up volumes."⁴ A statement one can readily believe when he considers the mass of such rumors that have even found their way into print.

When a very aged man, eighty-two, the Prophet's younger brother, William Smith, in an interview given out about two weeks before his death,⁵ answered the following questions:

Question. "It is said that Joseph and the rest of the family were lazy and indolent."

Answer. "We never heard of such a thing until after Joseph told his vision, and not then, by our friends. Whenever the neighbors wanted a good day's work done they knew where they

1. See affidavits in E. D. Howe's "Mormonism Unveiled," 1834, where the statement is frequently repeated, ch. xvii; also Tucker's "Origin, Rise and Progress of Mormonism," p. 16, and after them nearly all anti-Mormon writers, who repeat their fulminations *ad nauseam*.

2. Tucker was the first to put out this view of the Smith family, 1867; see "Origin, Rise and Progress of Mormonism," pp. 12, 14; and after him Kennedy, Linn and others have repeated it. Even Alexander Stevens in so dignified a work as his "History of the United States," 1883, p. 548, following Tucker, repeats in substance what Tucker and Kennedy have published on this subject.

3. Tucker, 1867, "Origin, Rise and Progress of Mormonism," p. 15. Also Kennedy, following Tucker, "Early Days of Mormonism," pp. 10, 11.

4. "History of the Church," vol. I, p. 19.

5. He died, November 13, 1893, at Osterdock, Iowa; *Saints Herald*, vol. 40, p. 787.

could get a good hand and they were not particular to take any of the other boys before Joseph either. We cleared sixty acres of the heaviest timber I ever saw. We had a good place. We also had on it from twelve to fifteen hundred sugar trees, and to gather the sap and make sugar and molasses from that number of trees was no lazy job. We worked hard to clear our place and the neighbors were a little jealous. If you will figure up how much work it would take to clear sixty acres of heavy timber land, heavier than any here, trees you could not conveniently cut down, you can tell whether we were lazy or not, and Joseph did his share of the work with the rest of the boys. We never knew we were bad folks until Joseph told his vision. We were considered respectable till then, but at once people began to circulate falsehoods and stories in a wonderful way.”⁶

Question. “Did not you doubt Joseph’s testimony (about the Book of Mormon) sometimes?”

Answer. “No; we all had the most implicit confidence in what he said. He was a truthful boy. Father and mother believed him, why should not the children? I suppose if he had told crooked stories about other things we might have doubted his word about the plates, but Joseph was a truthful boy. That father and mother believed his report and suffered persecution for that belief shows that he was truthful. No, sir, we never doubted his word for one minute.”⁷

The evidence relied upon to support the charge of being lazy, shiftless, intemperate and unreliable as to speaking the truth, is a collection of affidavits made in Palmyra, and Manchester, New York; and in Harmony, Pennsylvania, in the closing months of 1833, and published in E. D. Howe’s “Mormonism Unveiled,” 1834. Since then they have been revamped⁸ from time to time by

6. *Zion’s Ensign*, Independence, Missouri, copied into *Deseret News*, January 20, 1894.

7. *Ibid.*

8. Riley, in his “Founder of Mormonism,” p. 66, discredits them, saying: “No reliance is to be placed in the multiplied affidavits of jealous neighbors, who swore on oath that there was much intoxication among the Smiths; people in those days had the affidavit habit.” Riley, however, claims to believe the charge of intemperance on other grounds. Even Kennedy balks a little at some of the rawness of these affidavits. Commenting on a conjoint affidavit signed by sixty-two residents of Palmyra, which he quotes at second hand from Kidder’s “Mormonism and the Mormons,” in which the statement is made that Joseph Smith, Sen., and his son Joseph were, in particular, considered entirely destitute of moral character, and addicted to vicious habits,—he says: “Some portion of this may have been dictated by envy, malice, or that form of righteousness which controls men at times when their neighbors have been more successful than themselves, but the allegations had a foundation in fact;” “Early Days of Mormonism,” p. 17.

nearly every anti-Mormon writer who has taken in hand the task of enlightening the world respecting Mormon origins.

These affidavits were collected by one "Doctor" Philastus Hurlburt, under the following circumstances. Hurlburt had been expelled from the Mormon Church in Kirtland, in June, 1833, for immoralities;⁹ and because he had threatened to take the life of Joseph Smith, Jun., he was placed under bonds "to keep the peace and be of good behavior to all the citizens of the state of Ohio, generally, and to the said Joseph Smith, Jun., in particular."¹⁰

Hurlburt between these two events,—his excommunication and his trial for threatening the life of Joseph Smith, Jun.,—was sent as the special agent of the anti-Mormon party in and about Kirtland, to gather up all that report had to say about the Prophet and his family both in Palmyra, New York, and in Harmony, Pennsylvania. The collection of affidavits in Howe's "Mormonism Unveiled" was the result. It was simply a matter of "muck raking" on Hurlburt's part. Every idle story, every dark insinuation which at that time could be thought of and unearthed was pressed into service to gratify this man's personal desire for revenge, and to aid the enemies of the Prophet in their attempt to destroy his influence and overthrow the institution then in process of such remarkable development. If the vindictiveness of sectarian hate be taken into account; if the unreliability of even well-meaning persons be remembered when under the influence of prejudice and contending for what they may regard as orthodoxy in religion, neither the character nor the mass of these affidavits against the Smith family need occasion any surprise. The most trifling circumstance under prejudice and hate is expanded into immense proportions. A single mis-step is converted into a confirmed evil habit. Things indifferent or innocent in themselves are garbed in sinister vestments, and made to appear inexpressibly vile.

Against this large collection of evil report and false interpretation of the character of the Smiths while at Palmyra, prompted as it was by Prejudice and collected by Malice, the evidence of

9. "History of the Church," vol. I, pp. 352, 355, and note.

10. Ibid, vol. II, pp. 47, 49 and note. The trial was held before Mr. Birchard, J. P., in Chardon, Ohio, in April, 1834.

accomplished fact, and the subsequent lives of the family may be opposed. Take for example the achievements of the family during the few years of their residence in Palmyra. They arrived there penniless, as all admit, with nothing but their bare hands with which to help themselves. Yet in a few years they built two homes in the wilderness; they cleared sixty acres of heavy timber land, and converted it into a tillable farm; in addition to their farming and gardening, they had a sugar orchard of from twelve to fifteen hundred maple trees, from which they gathered the sap and converted it into syrup or sugar; to aid in making the annual payments upon their farm, as well as to help sustain the family until the farm could be made productive, they took an occasional day's work among the neighboring farmers or the Palmyra village folk, sometimes engaged to dig a well, or harvest a field of grain. It is conceded, in the main, that they did all this; and one marvels in the face of it that the charge of laziness and thriftlessness should be made. But the wonder grows when to all this is to be added the stories of the affidavits about the Smith's "money digging" enterprises. "They .

. . . spent much of their time in digging for money which they pretended was hid in the earth, and to this day large excavations may be seen in the earth not far from their residence, where they used to spend their time digging for hidden treasures."¹¹ Truly if the half of what is told in the affidavits about these exploits, usually carried on at night, is to be believed, then it would be utterly impossible to believe the Smiths to be idle.

As to the charge of intemperance, one may not be altogether sure what act may have given some color for this accusation. It was a time when drinking hard cider and even spirits was quite general in that locality, and accounted no great harm except when malice prompted some spiteful allusion to a practice so common. But of this one may be assured, that the evil never ripened into habits with the Smith family; for intemperance never claimed a victim among the Smiths, either the father or any of his sons; and within two years after leaving Palmyra, viz., in 1833, it was

11. Conjoint affidavit of fifty-three citizens of Palmyra and vicinity, Howe's "Mormonism Unveiled," first edition, p. 261-2.

Joseph Smith, Jun., who gave to the Church of the Latter-day Saints, and to the world, a temperance law that has been the admiration of all who have become acquainted with it. It has rescued thousands from the evils of intemperance, and restrained tens of thousands from contracting intemperate habits, because it enjoins upon the membership of the Church, as the law of God, total abstinence from wines and strong drinks.¹² This is not likely to be the product of a man or a family given to habitual intemperance

Charges of exaggeration and untruthfulness are so easy to make, especially when associated with the announcement of spiritual experiences and religious truths that the world considers unorthodox, that one scarcely need stop to ascertain the grounds of them. It will be enough here to say that the Smith family spent many years with the people gathered together by the ministry of their son Joseph and his associates; and everywhere as a family they won and held the esteem of their people, and this through evil and good report. This is not done by people who are untruthful, who exaggerate, or who are insincere. The well known industry, frugality, honesty, charity, integrity, sobriety and truthfulness, of the Smith family through all their subsequent career, after leaving Palmyra, and of which thousands were witnesses, and which has crystalized into a tradition in the Church, is a complete refutation of the idle rumors and trumped up charges of envious neighbors in and about Manchester and Palmyra.

The second charge against the Smiths is that while at Pal-

12. The law is known as the "Word of Wisdom," and was given in February, 1833. The part of the revelation bearing upon the use of strong drinks and tobacco is as follows:

"Behold, verily, thus saith the Lord unto you, in consequence of evils and designs which do and will exist in the hearts of conspiring men in the last days, I have warned you, and forewarn you, by giving unto you this word of wisdom by revelation.

That inasmuch as any man drinketh wine or strong drink among you, behold it is not good, neither meet in the sight of your Father, only in assembling yourselves together to offer up your sacraments before him.

And, behold, this should be wine, yea, pure wine of the grape of the vine, of your own make.

And again, strong drinks are not for the belly, but for the washing of your bodies.

And again, tobacco is not for the body, neither for the belly, and is not good for man, but is an herb for bruises and all sick cattle, to be used with judgment and skill. Doctrine and Covenants, section 89.

myra "they opened a small shop" and sold cakes, pies, root-beer and the like; and that on certain public occasions the elder Smith peddled such wares in the streets from a hard-cart. There is nothing dishonorable in itself in this, even had they engaged in such an occupation. Still it was put forth with the evident intention of making the family appear contemptible by representing that its occupations were petty and mean.

"It can never be," said one of old, "that your spirit is generous and noble while you are engaged in petty, mean employments; no more than you can be abject and mean-spirited while your actions are honorable and glorious. Whatever be the pursuits of men, their sentiments must necessarily be similar." One may see a conscious recognition of this truth in the thought of those who would make it appear that the Smiths engaged in petty, mean employments.

Inventive malice also adds the detail that the clerkship of the line of trade above described was assigned to Joseph Smith, Jun.; that here he "learned his first lessons in commercial and monetary science;" and that the boys of Palmyra delighted in "obtaining the valuable goods entrusted to Joseph's clerkship, in exchange for worthless pewter imitation two shilling pieces!"¹³ Inquiry among descendants of the Smith family, and wide knowledge of that which is published in relation to them, besides access to letters and papers and personal journals that have never been published, bearing upon their lives and character, fails to disclose any scrap of evidence that the Smiths at Palmyra or elsewhere ever engaged in or followed any such petty, mean employment as is here described; and had it been part of the family's experience in the days of their misfortunes, it is not likely that it would have escaped mention; especially when it is remembered how frank the members of the family have ever been in detailing their experiences, as well those that relate to their misfortunes and humility, as those that would be esteemed as being to their advantage.

Pomeroy Tucker was the first to put forth this charge; and his work was published in 1867. He pretends to speak from per-

13. Tucker, "Origin, Rise and Progress of Mormonism," p. 14.

sonal knowledge of the matter, being a resident of Palmyra while the Smiths lived in that vicinity; and an employee on the *Wayne Signal* during the time the Book of Mormon was being printed in the job department of that publishing establishment, thus frequently being thrown in contact with the Smiths. One thing, however, very seriously mitigates against the probability of Mr. Tucker's story, besides the absolute silence of the Smith family. It has already been recounted in these pages that in 1833 a large collection of affidavits was made by "Doctor" Philastus Hurlburt as the agent of an anti-Mormon party in Kirtland, Ohio, that was intensely bitter in its hatred of all things Mormon, and was determined to destroy both Joseph Smith and the Church. Hurlburt was a worthy agent of such principals, and all that malice could suggest or hatred invent was combined in that effort to scrape together everything derogatory to the character of the Smith family. This was only two years after the departure of the Smiths from the neighborhood of Palmyra, when very many were living there who could remember every circumstance and detail derogatory to their character, injurious to their reputation, or humiliating in their career. Yet in all the 15 separate and independent affidavits collected in Palmyra in 1833 by Hurlburt, and in the affidavit signed conjointly by 68 people of Palmyra and vicinity, derogatory to the Smiths, not a syllable is uttered respecting the "cake and beer shop," or the peddling of such wares in the street on public occasions mentioned with such pomp of circumstance by Pomeroy Tucker. The silence of all the affidavits collected in 1833, and of all the anti-Mormon writers up to Tucker in 1867, throws strong suspicion of improbability upon his pretended statement of fact. Malice invented the story, and sectarian prejudice accepted the falsehood for truth.

The third charge, viz., that the Smith family was dishonest and preyed upon their neighbors by stealing from them is not only malicious, but he who first promulgated the charge gives evidence by the very manner in which he sets forth the accusation that he is conscious that the charge was not true. Tucker was the first to make the allegation, and he does it in the following terms:

“Existing as they did from year to year in this thriftless manner, with seemingly inadequate visible means or habits of profitable industry for their respectable livelihood, it is not at all to be wondered at that the suspicions of some good people in the community were apt to be turned toward them, especially in view of the frequently occurring nocturnal depredations and thefts in the neighborhood. On these accounts the inhabitants came to observe more than their former vigilance in the care of their sheepfolds, hencoops, smoke-houses, pork-barrels, and the like domestic interests; though it is not within the remembrance of the writer, who in this designedly impartial narrative would “nothing extenuate nor ought set down in malice,” if the popular inferences in this matter were ever sustained by judicial investigation. It is appropriate to remark, however, that the truth of history, no less than proper deference to the recollections of many living witnesses in Palmyra and its vicinity, demand that these reminiscences should be given, intimately blended as they are with the purpose in hand, to present before the public a candid and authentic account of the origin, rise, and progress of Mormonism, from its first foundation.”¹⁴

There is nothing more cowardly than a vicious insinuation. It is the character-assassins’ readiest and deadliest weapon. It can be used in the absence of proof, and be made to calumniate as readily the innocent as the guilty. It can allie itself so easily with hypocrisy, as it does in the above quotation from Tucker, and pretend to act from the purest of motives, in the interest even of impartial narrative, that “would nothing set down in malice!”

It is here invoked by Tucker in the interest of the “truth of history,” the most sacred altar upon which truth’s incense burns! But “it is not within the remembrance of the writer (Tucker) . . . if the popular inference in this matter were ever sustained by judicial investigation.” That is, the Smiths were never charged with the petty thefts insinuated by Tucker. Notwithstanding all the vigilance of a neighborhood deeply prejudiced against them, and disposed to magnify every peculiarity of temperament or error of conduct, and amid “frequently occurring nocturnal depredations and thefts in the neighborhood”—yet the people of Palmyra prejudiced and watchful as

14. “Origin and Progress of Mormonism,” By Pomeroy Tucker, p. 15.

they were, could never find justification for even making a charge against the Smiths that went to "judicial investigation!" Then why is the charge made against them in a pretended historical treatise that boasts itself "a candid and authentic account of the origin, rise, and progress of Mormonism?"

It is justified on the ground "that the truth of history, no less than proper deference to the recollection of many living witnesses in Palmyra and its vicinity, demanded that these reminiscences should be given, intimately blended as they are with the purpose in hand, to present before the public a candid account of the origin, rise and progress of Mormonism." But the "truth of history," even as represented by Tucker, raised this charge against the Smith family no higher than "popular inferences." And he is extremely unfortunate in his "deference to the recollections of many living witnesses in Palmyra" on the subject, since, when in 1833 those people were appealed to by Hurlburt, and they made so many affidavits against the Smiths singly and conjointly, some eighty in all, there was not one word said about the Smiths being petty thieves, or of "popular inferences" in relation to such a matter. The fact of silence in the affidavits renders very improbable the vile insinuation of Tucker. And strange to say, on a preceding page, to the one just quoted, Tucker himself gives the Smith family credit for creating the understanding that by means of their "shop" and the "day's works" on the part of the father and elder sons among the "farming people," the elder Smith "was understood to secure *a scanty but honest living!*"¹⁵

The charge of petty thieving launched by Tucker is repeated with increasing assurance by many writers who follow him; but it has no force beyond what Tucker's authority gives it. Bring ever so many mirrors into a room where a farthing rush light is burning, you shall not increase the light—you merely reflect what is already there—a single farthing rush light, you make it no more, though you reflect it an hundred times.

(To be continued.)

15. "Origin, Rise and Progress of Mormonism," by Pomeroy Tucker, p. 12.

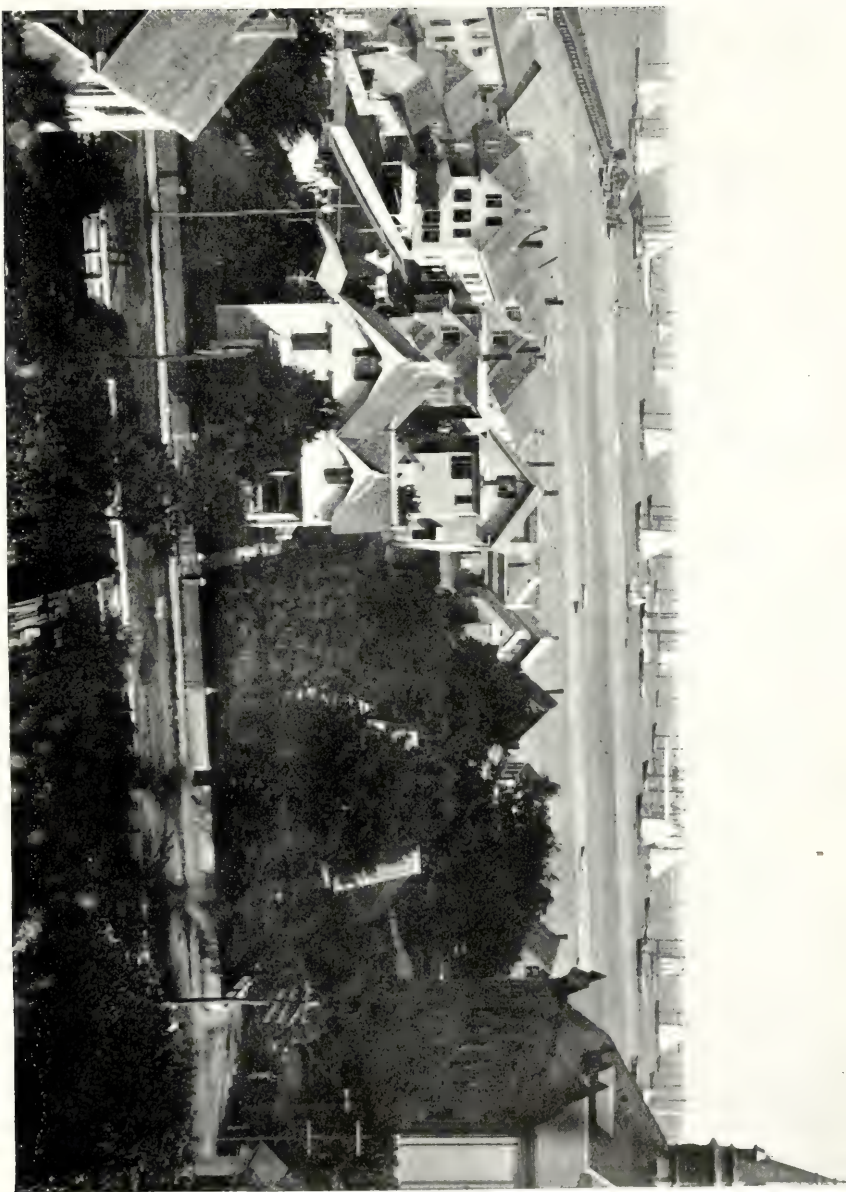
THE BIRTHPLACE OF AMERICAN LIBERTY

BY HENRY WATERMAN

WHILE Plymouth is commonly associated with the Pilgrim Fathers the historic Mayflower dropped anchor in Provincetown harbor a full month prior to the day observed as Forefather's Day. On the lawn of Provincetown town-house is a flagstaff near the top of which is a semi-circular sign reading: The Birthplace of American Liberty. Nearby is a granite slab bearing on its face a bronze tablet inscribed: "This memorial stone is erected by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to commemorate the Compact or Constitution of government signed by the Pilgrims on board the Mayflower in Provincetown Harbor, Nov. 11, 1620, old style." On the reverse side another bronze tablet bears the words of the compact and the names of the signers, among them Bradford, Winslow, Carver, and Myles Standish.

The signing of the compact is, of course, the great central fact linking Provincetown and the Pilgrims, but there are minor incidents of no little interest. Governor Bradford's wife lost her life by drowning in Provincetown harbor and at Provincetown was born Peregrine White, the first child of English parentage to be born on New England soil. Myles Standish drilled his gallant army of sixteen men at Provincetown, and from there they marched up the Cape to what is now Wellfleet, thirsting for the Red Man's blood, but returning with nothing more warlike than a supply of corn, which, tradition says, was kept for seed and saved the colony from complete annihilation at Plymouth.

It is a fact that there was a strong sentiment among the Pilgrims in favor of remaining at Provincetown, and after Plymouth was finally decided upon as the permanent settlement the Pilgrims were in the habit of going across the bay to Province-



PROVINCETOWN, MASS
The Birthplace of American Liberty.

town to take advantage of the fishing and always claimed the fishing privileges as their own. Now and then they let out these privileges, but they always maintained that the region was theirs by right of prior occupancy.

The continual disregard of Provincetown by authorities on the Pilgrims at length led to the formation of the Cape Cod Pilgrim Memorial Association, having as its object the erection at Provincetown of a suitable monument, and on August 20, 1907, President Roosevelt laid the corner stone of a shaft which now rises to a height of 164 feet and when completed will be 250 feet high. The monument stands on one of the highest points of land on the Cape and its apex will be 350 feet above the sea level.

Provincetown is a unique place and well worth seeing, regardless of its eventual fame as one of the historic towns of America. It straggles along a narrow strip of reclaimed land for about three miles, the beautiful harbor visible from nearly every point. Dwellings and shops appear to have been dropped haphazard; there is no evidence of any desire to satisfy the ideas of a precisionist and the result is naturally out of the ordinary. Practically the town is laid out along one long street skirting the shore. Here and there is a house rather more pretentious than its neighbors, but on the whole the builder's art has hardly been taxed to its utmost. There are a few bungalows and a fair sprinkling of summer cottages, for Provincetown is a shore resort and in the summer has its share of vacationists.

Among these latter are several artists who carry on schools of art, and people with an eye for the beautiful are numerous during July and August. Several persons known to the literary world find Provincetown an agreeable summer home, among them Mary Heaton Vorse and Viola Roseberry. The mayor of Boston has had a cottage at Provincetown for two seasons and there has been talk of President Taft making it the summer capital of the nation.

Provincetown is the only community on Cape Cod with any reasonable claim to the title of city, its year-round population being about 5,000, and the settlement extremely compact. As a matter of fact, however, the municipal affairs are administered in accordance with the traditional forms of New England town

government and the annual town-meeting still obtains. Fully one-half the population are of Western Islands Portuguese extraction; the first of these dark-hued people came in whale ships that put into the Islands to replenish their stores and to recruit their crews.

The Nova Scotia and Cape Breton type will not escape the practised eye, and last in numbers come the genuine Cape Codders, who do not make up more than a third of the sum total. Such an admixture of types presents the anomaly of a decidedly foreign community inhabiting the birthplace of American liberty but the result is at least picturesque. In a general way the men may be classed as toilers of the sea. In the old days whaling was the chief line of activity and was carried on directly off shore. Right whales made no bones of coming into the harbor but their reception being hardly hospitable, these monsters soon took to distant waters. Then vessels began to fit out and the whaling industry grew until more than half a hundred barques, brigs, and schooners hailed from the port.

As whaling declined the Grand Banks fishing grew and thousands of cod were brought to Provincetown, spread out to dry on light wooden frames called "flakes," and sent to all parts of the country. But Grand Banking had its day and fresh fishing became the chief source of revenue. At the present time gasoline dories are the principal craft in use and they bring in great hauls which are largely turned over to the cold-storage plants, of which there are three in town. There the fish are stored against the periods of famine, when they are sent to market and sold at prices that cause the stockholders in the plants to chuckle with glee. It is an actual fact that in a recent year one of the plants declared a dividend of over seventy per cent.

Provincetown still maintains that ancient institution, the town-crier, although there are two weekly papers, and his announcements, always prefaced with the time-honored "No-tice," never fail to bring the people to doors and windows that they may learn what wonderful thing has happened. To tell the truth, a desire for knowledge is characteristic of the people, though it must be confessed that under the term—"knowledge"—are included a great many things that are not so.

Parlor philosophers may not flourish, but there is plenty of back-shop discussion of matters that have puzzled wise men from time immemorial and are likely to excite differences of opinion for ages to come.

There are no trolley cars, but there are electric lights, and the absence of the former is atoned for by a line of carriages locally known as "accommodations." These vehicles are true to their name so far as those who wish to get in are concerned, for they will wait for prospective passengers who are anywhere within hailing distance. In the summer the "accommodations" are well patronized—it is not a question of rapid transit, but of getting as many aboard as possible, a condition of affairs not unlike that in the cities.

Provincetown town hall is a building in which the people justly take pride, for it is a good piece of workmanship. The land was given to the town by a native, Rev. William Henry Ryder, and the structure cost something like \$50,000. The auditorium seats about 1,200 and the stage is frequently the scene of melodramatic performances that stir the pulse like a trumpet call. The talent is usually local and the audiences are very sympathetic. Those who yearn for the more esthetic may have it at the "theatre" up the street, where moving pictures and illustrated songs nightly tell their tales of domestic pandemonium and unrequited love.

If one likes old ocean it spreads before him at Highland Light, seven miles away. The cliffs are perhaps 140 feet high and from them one looks upon a scene that proves that Byron's apostrophe to the ocean is not overdrawn. The lighthouse, immortalized by Thoreau, is one of the oldest on the coast. The lantern is a Fresnal lens imported from France at a cost of \$40,000. There is a fog-horn operated by an engine—there are two engines, so that there is little chance of the horn not being available at any time.

Back of Provincetown lie the so-called Province Lands, title to which vests in the state, which triennially appropriates \$10,000 toward reclaiming them from the ravages of the elements. Great sand hills, or dunes, and long wastes of white sand produce an effect that is unlike any to be found elsewhere in New England.

Looking in one direction one sees miles of surf-washed shore; another way he looks upon Provincetown and its harbor. It is a scene of surpassing grandeur.

There are people around the town who are quite sure that it has seen its best days, but so pessimistic a view hardly accords with fact, for the chances are that it will share in the general trend toward Cape Cod as a summer resort, a trend that was foretold years ago by Henry Thoreau, who said, in effect that this region would some day become one of the most popular resorts in the country. Daniel Webster is on record as saying that one's education is incomplete without a visit to Cape Cod. On this assumption a trip to Provincetown is an essential to culture.

CHATELAINES OF THE BRITISH LEGATION IN WASHINGTON

BY CORRA BACON FOSTER

MR. ANTHONY MERRY was the first British envoy to the United States to reside in Washington. He came in 1803 accompanied by his wife and a large retinue of servants; it is related that Congress took official notice of the great amount of house furnishings he brought. There were at that time few desirable residences in the new city but he was fortunate in securing for the legation one of the two handsome dwellings that Col. Peter had built some years previously for his sons. In the one occupied by the legation President Washington had been frequently entertained during his visits to the "Federal City," Mrs. Peter being a grand-daughter of Mrs. Washington.

Mr. Merry was a good, fairly bright sort of man, rather stolid even for an Englishman, and punctilious to a degree, but was considered "safe" by his government. The wife whom he had recently married was a woman of wealth and intelligence, fully aware of the social requirements of her position. President Jefferson's drastic application of his social code of "pele-mele" on her first appearance in Washington society greatly displeased her and being fearless she had not hesitated to freely express her opinion of the "boorishness of the entire official outfit." So outspoken was she that she soon became persona non grata to the administration; the president so far forgetting the dignity of his position as to write Minister Munroe to complain of her demeanor to the Foreign Office, which Munroe hesitated to do as his own wife had been subjected to some social affronts in London.

Notwithstanding all this Mrs. Merry was a fine woman with a superior mind unusually well cultivated. She soon discovered

the gulf between the two political parties and attracted to the legation the leaders of the opposition in the Federal party. Her weekly drawing rooms were far more elegant than anything hitherto attempted in the little city; it is a matter of regret that her generous hospitality should have been shamefully abused by many of the uncouth legislators who accepted the lavish entertainment. Invitations to her dinners were eagerly sought by the cultivated gentlemen from the eastern districts. Judge Plumer, Dr. Mitchell, Aaron Burr, Abraham Baldwin and the Rev. Manasseh Cutler were especial favorites with the accomplished hostess. Cutler repeatedly refers to Mrs. Merry in his letters and diary; both being enthusiastic botanists, they exchanged books and specimens. Tom Moore was the guest of the legation in 1805. This association may account in part for the tone of his American descriptions.

In 1805 Aaron Burr and his brilliant daughter, Theodosia Alston, became very intimate with the British minister and his wife; the ladies were mutually attracted by their congenial tastes, while our worthy vice-president ingratiated himself into the good graces of His British Majesty's representative by making him a confidant of his ambitious plans for founding a southwestern empire. Burr was a consummate artist as well as a man of great ability, gifted with unusual powers of fascination; his arrangement of the old senate chamber with added galleries and private boxes draped in crimson and blue hangings for the impeachment trial of Judge Chase must have been decidedly impressive for the time. Burr presided ably and with great dignity,—could there have been in his mind any premonition of another trial scene in which he should appear at the bar? Mrs. Merry occupied a seat in his daughter's box, an interested auditor. Society turned out *en masse* and patiently sat through the long sessions of the trial, merrily lunching in the galleries during the intermissions, for restaurants had not then been introduced into the Capitol.

Mr. Merry was at last cajoled into intimating to his government that Burr's scheme was feasible and would be for the benefit of the British colony of West Florida, hence should be encouraged; but the ministry, distant from the adroit, plausible

“man of destiny” did not approve either of the chimerical schemes or of their envoy’s interest in treasonable projects, and it so happened that Mr. Merry was advised that “his request for a transfer would be granted and that upon the arrival of his successor he might return to Europe.” He and his wife had grown quite accustomed to American life, had learned to more than half like it and were mortified by the manner of the recall, but in vain did he protest that he had not desired any change; he was no longer regarded as “safe.”

Mrs. Merry had formed few intimate friendships among Washington women, though a frequent guest in the Federalist homes in Georgetown and Virginia; Mrs. Madison she could not tolerate, Mrs. Barlow avoided the legation and the Marquesa de Yrujo, wife of the Spanish minister, whom she admired had not been in Washington after the spring of 1804. The Federalist members of Congress for whom there had always been a cordial welcome at the legation greatly deplored the departure of the Merrys.

Meanwhile there had been a change in the British government, the liberal party having secured control. In compliment to the great Scotch orator, Erskine, his son David Montagu, a young man of much promise, was selected for the American position. Erskine was a handsome young man, vigorous, alert and imbued with enthusiasm for his mission to effect a reconciliation between Great Britain and the United States, for on account of the “Chesapeake” outrage and trade difficulties there existed much hard feeling in America. Having an American mother and an American wife he naturally would be much in sympathy with the young republic.

While attached to the legation in Philadelphia he had loved and married his kinswoman, Fanny Cadwalader, considered one of the most beautiful women in the world, to which the portraits of Stuart and St. Memin still bear mute witness. She is described and pictured as tall, slight and graceful, with a proudly poised head crowned with an unusual wealth of golden brown hair, with piquant features lighted by laughing dark eyes and a dancing dimple in either cheek, and a perfect complexion; these natural charms were emphasized by an elegant taste in dress. Her man-

ner was unaffectedly cordial and simple, albeit a trifle reserved with all but intimate friends. Her character was declared to be as lovely as her person. No American chronicler has given her more than passing notice, perhaps because so much of her life was spent in foreign countries, and possibly, too, because of the proud reserves of her family. European writers on the contrary have been lavish in praises of her beauty and attractions. The Erskines retained the house vacated by the Merrys, furnishing with great elegance; it now echoed with the prattle of childish voices.

Through the wise advice of Mrs. Joel Barlow, tactfully given, President Jefferson resumed his ordinary dress, dropped his "pele-mele" social code and greeted the dainty wife of the British Minister as her husband's office and her own social position demanded. Judge Plumer, a senator from Vermont, a Federalist, wrote home that "the President has laid aside the old slippers, red waistcoat and soiled corduroy small clothes and dresses all in black with clean linen and powdered hair."

As advised, Mrs. Erskine held one drawing room, but shocked by the ill breeding manifested by some of her guests she could never be induced to repeat it, thereafter restricting her entertainments to small dinners and evening parties. Politically she disapproved of the Federal policy of obstruction and socially of the uncouth manners of the Democrats. Her circle of associates was necessarily small and she longed for a return to the elegant life in Philadelphia and London. Mrs. Madison she had never met in her girlhood days and neither lady admired the other; in Mrs. Barlow and a small coterie of resident ladies she alone found congenial companionship. She was not inclined to intellectual pursuits, but preferred social and domestic pleasures.

Erskine earnestly sought to compose the grave international difficulties and in his zeal dared to read between the lines of his instructions, and pledge his government to a great concession, although he was aware that the Grenville ministry to whom he owed his appointment had given place to the conservative and narrow policies of Canning. A great fleet of heavily laden American merchant ships at once spread their sails for foreign



DAVID MONTAGUE ERSKINE

markets. Erskine was promptly recalled with a severe reprimand. The household effects were offered at public sale, as we learn from an advertisement in the "National Intelligencer" and the family repaired to Philadelphia to await the arrival of his successor.

In August Erskine came from Philadelphia and Mr. Robert Smith, secretary of state, from Baltimore, to meet the new minister, the Honorable Francis James Jackson, who had arrived from Annapolis with family, servants, coaches and various articles most needed to make life endurable in a half savage country. The new envoy was a man different in type from either of his predecessors; he was an Englishman of the most pronounced stamp; tall, lean, energetic, matter-of-fact, he would never vary from the letter of his instructions. He had formerly been connected with the legation in Berlin where he had met and married a large blonde countess who never learned to speak her husband's language fluently. Jackson had also conducted the negotiations which led to the bombardment of Copenhagen and his sovereign's remark on his methods "that he was surprised he had not been kicked down stairs by the Dutch Regent." But he was on the whole honest and intelligent, anxious to improve every opportunity to study America and the people.

James Madison had succeeded to the presidency, the first inaugural ball had been given and had proved an ovation to the "First lady of the country," the "Queen of all hearts," an old chronicler declared. Diplomatic relations between the United States and Great Britain were greatly strained, partly because of Erskine's mistake, nor was the situation with Napoleon any easier; the alternative of fighting one or both was squarely up to the administration, coupled with the possibility of the dismemberment of the Union either by loss of the New England states or of Kentucky. Could an incompetent administration pledged to fantastic ideals be confronted with a more serious dilemma? President Madison determined to be very captious with the new minister from the Court of St. James.

Of course in August, then as now, when Jackson appeared upon the scene all Washington was elsewhere, but he found, it seems, comfortable accommodations at the new Union Hotel,

kept by a socially ambitious landlord. The president was at his Virginia home; would not return to the city before October; the Honorable Mr. Jackson might visit him at Montpelier, where he would doubtless meet a cordial welcome; or he might go to some northern city to wait the passing of the heated season; but he decided to remain in Washington and set about finding diversion. Profiting by the disagreeable social experiences of the Merrys, of which it seems he had been fully informed, the Jacksons evidently determined not to be over punctilious, but to take in good part the situation as they should find it; so when the Countess understood she was expected to return the morning visit of the wife of the landlord of the inn she did so, and even accepted an invitation to a "tea" given by the same lady in her honor.

Good horses were procured for coach and saddle. Jackson evidently appreciated the great natural beauty of the surrounding country;—"Elizabeth and I have been riding in all directions around this place whenever the weather has been cool enough. The country has a beautifully picturesque appearance, and I have nowhere seen finer scenery than is composed by the Potomac and the woods and hills about it, yet it has a wild and desolate air, reminding me of Hampstead Heath," he wrote his mother. He followed Erskine in the Peter house, of which he wrote, "Erskine has let it go to such a state of ruin and dirt that it will be several weeks before we can attempt to move into it—a Scotchman with an American wife, who would be a fine lady, are not the best people to succeed on such an occasion," this allusion to Gen. Cadwalader's daughter, than whom no finer lady could be found in all Europe reveals the characteristic ignorance and arrogance of the average Englishman of the period. He fell heir to Erskine's secretary, Oakley, who was desperately inamored of Jerome Bonaparte's discarded wife, Betsey Patterson of Baltimore,—a matter of regret. The three children were the wonder and envy of the Americans, who could not comprehend that so much flesh and rosy color could be natural. Till the president should return he occupied himself with Erskine's correspondence and wrote again; "It is but justice to say I have met with nothing but the utmost civility and with none of the

hardships and difficulties of which the Merrys so bitterly complained—I am also to be congratulated that none of Erskine's intimates have intruded themselves upon us," which probably referred to the fact that Joel Barlow and his wife had not tendered the hospitality of Kalorama to the newly arrived minister.

Jackson was received by the president early in October; the interview is best described by himself; "Madison, the president, is a plain and rather mean looking little man of great simplicity of manner and an inveterate enemy to form and ceremony, so much so that I was officially informed that my introduction to him was to be considered as nothing more than the reception of one gentleman by another and that no particular dress was to be worn on the occasion. All which I was very willing to acquiesce in. Accordingly I went in an afternoon frock, and found the president in similar attire. The president asked me to take a chair; while we were talking a negro servant brought in some glasses of punch and seed cakes;" provided by the thoughtful courtesy of Mrs. Madison, doubtless. Three weeks later he and his countess were invited to dine with the president. To resume the story written to his mother; "I do not know that I ever had more civility and attention shown me; I was treated with a distinction not lately accorded to a British minister in this country"—Erskine's experiences did not seem to count with him—"A foolish question of precedence which ever since Merry's time has been unsettled and has occasioned some heart burnings among the ladies, was also decided then by the president departing from his customary indifference to ceremony and etiquette and taking Elizabeth in to dinner, while I conducted Mrs. Madison." He paid his respects to Mrs. Madison thus; "The president's wife is fat and forty—but not fair. She must however have been a comely person when she served out the liquor at the bar of her father's tavern in Virginia. When I was told of her origin I understood why she and Mrs. Merry so scorned and looked down upon each other." Such a tale could only have originated in the servant quarters of the legation and must have been repeated by Oakley, the secretary. The countess complained that Mrs. Madison copied her toilettes, which was

probably justified, for the transit of fashion was tantallizingly slow and the fair Dolly loved a variety in dress.

The course of the honorable minister's diplomacy did not run smoothly and within a month he was informed that no farther communication would be received from him, so accompanied by his family he left the city and announced his headquarters in New York. Before accepting the appointment he had stipulated with the government that he might remain one year at least—doubtless anticipating difficulties. He travelled much through the northeastern states, receiving distinguished attentions from prominent Federalists, in Philadelphia, New York and Boston. When in Albany however, he had an experience that must have given him quite a shock. There were many Democrats in the surrounding country and learning of his presence the neighboring farmers planned to make a demonstration of their sentiments; appearing before his hotel with a rude band of music they set to work to erect a platform, upon which they placed an effigy labeled "Jackson;" while the band played an unmelodious dirge, a hangman in black mask set fire to the effigy, which was entirely consumed before the visitors disappeared.

In the summer, from his villa on the Hudson, he watched Fulton's steamboat as it passed to and from Albany and wrote humorous accounts of the queer craft to his mother in England, while the countess wrote of her gratification in the prospect of a speedy departure from such a "savage land."

THE OUTLOOK FOR THE SOCIALIST PARTY IN THE UNITED STATES

BY MILTON BAKER

HISTORY records nothing more dramatic or ominous than the story of Socialism's persistent struggle for recognition. Born among the working class of Germany, depending for its support upon those who have little means and less leisure to devote to the upbuilding of a party, it has forced its way into the greatest legislative bodies of Europe.

Until a few years ago, Socialism was almost unknown in the United States, and many of our public men were totally ignorant of its strength as a world power. While Jaures and Bebel were stirring Europe with their oratory, Americans complacently smiled when the word Socialism was mentioned, and probably would comment that they had little fear of "anarchy" gaining any foothold in a free country.

Now a continent is awake to the presence of a mighty political and economic organization. Every month hundreds of "propaganda" meetings are held in various parts of the country. There are few persons beneath whose eyes some enthusiastic Socialist has not thrust a copy of the "Appeal to Reason." The larger cities have their Socialist dailies; and even the literary magazines are filled with favorable articles on Socialism.

It is not always from choice that editors accept such material. When one remembers that George Allen England, Eugene Wood, Upton Sinclair, Charles Edward Russel, Jack London, Charlotte Perkins Gillman, Earnest Poole and Edwin Markham are active members of the Socialist Party, it becomes apparent that editors are "at the mercy" of these writers, since their number includes the flower of American genius.

Lyceum and Chautauqua lecture courses have Socialist speeches

by Eugene V. Debs, Walter Thomas Mills, Jack London and Luella Twining—a Colorado woman who fell under the limelight by her activity in behalf of William D. Haywood, during his incarceration in the Ada County (Idaho) Jail.

There is no evading the fact: Socialism is the real issue of the day. Besides it the tariff becomes a toy for the amusement of politicians—in fact, that is about all it is anyhow.

Some time ago, Thomas Nelson Page announced (New York Times, October 31, 1908) his literary departure from strictly Southern themes, that he might deal with the “sterner questions of the day,” which he defines as the antagonistic forces of capital and labor. “It is to the treatment of subjects of this kind,” continues Dixie’s distinguished litterateur, “that the fiction of the day is undoubtedly tending.”

Ex-President Roosevelt has announced his intention of studying Socialism with the view of writing about it.

Not long before his death, John Lord, America’s greatest historical critic, became deeply interested in the struggle between capital and labor; and expressed a belief that it would prove the greatest question ever forced upon civilization for solution.

Lincoln Steffens, in the report of his interview with Debs, in *Everybody’s Magazine*, explains the proletarian drift toward Socialism. “Slowly, reluctantly, but naturally, they (the workers) turn to the agitator on the street corner. He says he knows, and he makes it all plain; too plain, perhaps; but at least he understands the troubles of all those that are weary and heavy-laden, and he says he will give them rest. Is it any wonder they go to him, as they do?”

Mr. Steffens, himself, seems to have “slowly, reluctantly,” yielded to the Socialist argument; though he disclaimed being a Socialist, shortly after the Debs interview, he issued a card, asking the voters of New York to support the Socialist candidates.

After the last national election, many leading newspapers gave prominence to the statement that the cause of Socialism in the United States was declining. A vote of 421,745, it was believed, did not compare favorably with the 402,283 of four years earlier.

The Socialists, who felt absolutely certain that their party

would poll not less than a million votes, were disappointed, but not disheartened.

Their cause is suffering—perhaps from a relative, but—from no actual decline. When a party is insignificant as to the number of its followers, it may double and quadruple its vote, without making a ripple on the political waters; but when it reaches the stage of a “third party” every slight increase is a menace to the dominating powers.

One element that helped deplete the Socialist vote is illustrated by the following: During an interview with an Oklahoma lawyer, who was making speeches for the Nebraskan orator, he explained: “I am more or less of a Socialist, but I shall vote for Bryan, because his program will be a step toward Socialism; when that is accomplished I shall be with the party or candidate that is striving for the next evolutionary development toward collectivism.”

Since the peerless failure of the Peerless Leader, it is exceedingly probable that most of these Bryan Socialists will line up with the Socialist Party in 1912.

Another favorable omen for Socialism is its growth in the agricultural sections of the country. Not so very long ago, the most serious problem with the agitators was how to appeal to the farmers. This barrier has been successfully met and overcome, and the party, today, is concerned, not with how to appeal to a certain portion of the population, but with the larger problem of how to send representatives to Congress in 1910.

Indeed, in the last election, Morris Hilquitt, the brilliant New York lawyer, and Socialist candidate for congress in the ninth district of New York, was only defeated by the Republicans, with but few exceptions, supporting the Democratic candidate.

Studied by any viewpoint, Socialism is gaining strength in the United States. In every part of the nation, the working class is gathering under the crimson folds of the revolutionary banner. Every sun sets on a stronger and more virulent Socialist Party. Its growth is the greatest phenomenon in history.

Silently, almost imperceptibly, it is marching on, certain of ultimate triumph. Every gun pointed at it, it turns against its enemy.

LA MESILLA

BY FRANCIS MEADE

THE first view of this queer old village is interesting. The low, flat-roofed adobe buildings surrounded with real mud walls over which the low shrubbery leans and catches the dust of the narrow streets, and the natives sitting on the ground in the shade and smoking cigarettes and the little brown skinned babes rolling in the dust, all these are interesting to the stranger, but the real interest in the place comes when one learns of the history of this once famous but now decayed village.

This was once the home of the now Honorable Stephen B. Elkins, United States senator from Virginia, and son-in-law of Hon. Gassoway Davis, who was Democratic candidate for vice president four years ago. It was here that Mr. Elkins began the practice of law and had as a partner Mr. F. B. Catrous, now of Sante Fe, New Mexico. Here the people elected Mr. Elkins to represent Dona Ana county in the territorial legislature in 1861 and later he was elected as the territorial delegate to Congress.

This was once the home of Hon. Albert J. Fountain, Sr., who came here from California in the early sixties and opened a law office and for many years he was one of the most successful prosecutors of the bad men of this section. Cattle thieves, horse thieves, Indians and bad men in general had a horror of him and it was while he was doing his duty in 1895 that he lost his life. He was in the Jurilla Mountains with his seven year old son and had evidence enough to convict some of the cattle thieves that were in prison. He started home with his son, driving a double team, but that was a fatal ride. Neither he nor the son was ever seen or heard of, and to this day the mystery is unsolved. Today his eldest son lives in La Mesilla. He has spent a fortune in looking for his father, but has never found any trace of him.



A FAMOUS MEXICAN HOUSE IN LA MESILLA

Old Geronimo and his Apache warriors have often visited this place and traded under a flag of truce and then a few hours later stolen the horses and cattle from some ranchman near. There was a company of fifty organized to protect the city from the Indians and rustlers and at one time they chased the foxy old Geronimo and his band of braves into the Black range of mountains and then followed them for two weeks. Once the company was so near to the Indians that they saw the last braves disappearing around a cliff. They found the smouldering camp-fire and much mule meat which had been left in the hasty retreat, but while they fired a parting salute at the retreating savages they never caught the band and it remained for Colonel Lawton to ensnare the shrewd old leader.

La Mesilla is situated upon the old Santa Fe trail and it was here that the first Concord coach to make the trip from California was to meet the one which had started from Kansas City on the same date; as a matter of fact the one from Kansas City was only about 40 miles away when the first one entered Mesilla and they met below La Mesilla. This great race was attracting the attention of the entire country from Kansas City to San Francisco and crowds of rough riders followed them and couriers were sent out to report their progress. When this coach entered La Mesilla the crowd carried the driver away and even attempted to carry the horses into a nearby saloon, and if the driver had accepted only a small fraction of the drinks he was offered he would have been unable to proceed. He proceeded while the entire village was in a state of excitement and swarmed out like bees to an alfalfa ranch.

Previously this trip had been made only under the greatest difficulties. Water was scarce, Indians plentiful and hostile and it often happened that entire trading companies were robbed and they were fortunate if they escaped with their lives. There is a record of one company that followed this trail and suffered the most horrible tortures from thirst. It finally became unbearable and they cut off the ears of the mules and sucked the blood.

La Mesilla now has the ruins of a famous jail which once held Billy the Kid, a famous outlaw and bad gun man. He was

only a boy, but one of the most daring and dangerous men that roved over this wild and rough country. Billy was brought from Lincoln county for safe keeping and when he came he was taken into a blacksmith shop near by and the rude shackles cut from his wrists. A little later he was convicted of murder and in the same shop he was lifted upon the anvil and handcuffs riveted upon his wrists. Billy was the jolliest one in the crowd. "Hit them hard, boys," said he, "they'll not be there when I die," and he gave a coarse laugh. But his words proved true. He was taken to Sante Fe to the territorial penitentiary to await execution and escaped, after he had shot two guards. This made more than twenty victims and he was then hunted as an animal and one evening United States Marshal Patrick Garrett shot him as he was entering a room, where he was going to spend the night.

La Mesilla was the scene of many a conflict. Early after the civil war had begun a company of Texas soldiers took possession of the place and later were driven out by the Federal troops. Once there was a company of cow boys who were painting the town red and the civil authorities called out the Mexican troops, but the cow boys anticipated the movement and before the company could be formed they dispersed the militia and went on coloring the town a vermilion hue.

Cabeza DeVaca was the first white man to cross this country and he spent about two years in this section of the southwest. Two things that he mentions in his writings make it quite evident that he was near this section. The pinons that he describes are still eaten here today by the natives and counted one of the delicacies of the southwest. Then only a few miles away the Pueblos are still following the primitive method that he described of killing rabbits with a club used as a boomerang. Many of his descendants live here today; a relative of the original DeVaca was for many years a parish priest in La Mesilla, but in 1873 when there was a great political riot he went with a large company of natives to Asuncion, Mexico, from whence he never returned. However Atilano DeVaca, a direct descendant



OLD CHURCH IN LA MESILLA

It was here that DeVaca, a descendant of the great explorer, was parish priest.

of the famous explorer and wanderer now lives in La Mesilla, and is in his one hundredth year.

Here in 1873 took place one of the famous political riots of our country. Republicans and Democrats had each been having a public demonstration and a company of militia had been present to preserve order during the day. The company had gone to the barracks and the opposing parties had fallen into line and were marching around the little square. They met on the west side of the square and John Lemon, a Republican leader was hit over the head with a club and killed. This was the signal for a general outbreak and shots were fired promiscuously into the crowd. When the crowd had dispersed and the smoke cleared away nine men were dead and many more were wounded.

La Mesilla was at one time the capital of Arizona. When this territory was ceded to the United States those who owned land came in as citizens, but if they did not care to become citizens they had one year in which to leave for Mexico. The land records do not show any perceptible exodus at this time. When the final transfer was made the government officials came from Santa Fe and the final arrangements were made. In the open plaza patriotic speeches were made and the advantages of being a citizen of the United States was elucidated. A company of American soldiers represented our government while a company of Mexican soldiers represented the Mexican government. Everybody seemed pleased at the change except a notorious gambler who cursed Uncle Sam and lauded the former government. This was too much for the soldiers and the Mexican company took him and tied him to a cottonwood tree, raised the stars and stripes above him and let him blister under the tropical sun while patriotic speeches rattled upon his tympanum.

This queer adobe village with many of its buildings now in ruins and the mud walls crumbling with age was once a bustling southern city with two mills, a newspaper and hustling merchants, and it controlled the trade of this section of the southwest, but when the Santa Fe railroad magnates visited this section in order to secure the support of the people for the new road, the leading merchants opposed the road because they had a monopoly on transportation and were getting exorbitant rates. The road

ran a few miles east of La Mesilla and as new places sprung up on the railroad it became a dead city with a past history.

It was from La Mesilla that a company of Mexicans started in 1830 to find the lost placer mine that Spanish tradition located in the Jurillo mountains, and they wandered around for some time and found much silver which they washed from the sands, but as water was scarce they took claims and came home, and the next year they hauled water, made a road, and took a large company of Mexicans to their claims in the Jurillo range. Here they worked until 1888 when the price of silver went down, and all abandoned their claims except Albert J. Fountain, Jr. He continued to do his assessment work until 1895, and after the mysterious disappearance of his father Mr. Fountain could not bear the thought of going again to this territory and sold his claim for \$5,000.00. On this claim is now located the most famous mine in the present town of Orograndie.

At one time there was a famous military organization in La Mesilla composed of 50 men whose duty it was to be ready at all times to protect the community from the rustlers, cattle thieves and Indians. Each man was given the use of a turano of land for his service in the company, and if he chose to leave a new recruit was given the land and the strength of the company was thus kept up. This company was so successful in its raids against the Indians that it is said to have terrorized the savages. Recent visitors to the Mescalero reservation say the old warriors still remember this famous military organization.

But the glory of La Mesilla has passed away. It lost the golden opportunity when it allowed the Santa Fe railroad to leave it to the west, and today it is only interesting because of its ruins and its history.



TUCKAHOE HOUSE
One of the Most Ancient Colonial Mansions of Virginia.

AN ANCIENT VIRGINIA HOUSE AND ITS GHOST STORY

BY T. D. PENDLETON

IN Virginia, true colonial houses are not rare, but Tuckahoe, built by Thomas Randolph early in 1700, has a charm distinctly its own.

Disdaining the effete civilization of the lower James—then nearly a century old—this pioneer built his home as far west as he might, on the frontier, fifteen miles west of Richmond. To a degree the house is an expression of its master's spirit. Sturdy, simple in line, it has endured the storms of two hundred years.

There is a subtle flavor of domesticity about Tuckahoe, too, from the garden where old time herbs still exist to the ancient kitchen with cavernous fireplace. One pictures the mistress as a true colonial dame—a housewife—one who was “not afraid of the snow for her household for all her household were clothed in scarlet.”

Tuckahoe House is in the form of the letter H, being composed of two ells joined by a covered passage. The ends of the lower ell are of English brick which gives the house a quaintness not to be found elsewhere in all Virginia.

The stairway is a beautiful specimen of hand carving done entirely with penknives, and the hall is solidly pannelled with age-black oak. Narrow slits of windows with tiny panes let in shafts of sunlight that fall on this somber black panneling tenderly.

Not the least interesting of features is the old slave quarter. Standing nearer to the “big house” than was usual, its occupants and those of the mansion were near enough for mutual protection against Indians. The quarter is in perfect preservation, even its window panes being intact.

The family burying ground was, according to the tender

colonial custom, near the house. The enclosing wall is of the most durable type and measures thirty-six feet from base to coping. The trees in the enclosure were very old and one of them bore a complete record of the burials, the record having been made by flints driven into the bark. But alas! some years ago a man charged with the care of the grounds cut down every one of the monarchs. For the act of vandalism he was sued in the courts and made to pay five hundred dollars, which sum was applied to a fund for the perpetual care of the grave yard.

Countless marriages of cousins have made of the Randolph genealogy a labyrinth as intricate as the box maze still extant in Tuckahoe's garden, yet the fibre of their brain seemed to defy natural law; there were no idiots, no men of feeble mind. Such men as Thomas Jefferson, John Marshall, John Randolph of Roanoke, Edmund Randolph were of this blood.

Tuckahoe was the childhood home of Thomas Jefferson and the little plantation schoolhouse where he learned to read still stands in the grounds.

Of course there is a ghost story, and it is the prettiest one that pertains to any Virginia house, its action involving: a step-mother, a beautiful orphan—true heiress of the Randolph name—a satin-breeched, shoe-buckled lover, a wicked stepsister (angular and ugly of course in the good oldtime story way) and The Fairy Godmother, who appears in the most delightful guise she has ever assumed in the centuries of her service, that of an old black nurse called "Mammy Mahala".

The story begins in the orthodox way. The beautiful, good Randolph maiden, true heiress of Tuckahoe and all its lands and appurtenances, the stepmother and her wicked daughter are seated in the library. Here also sits Mammy Mahala, ostensibly absorbed with her knitting, but really with her weather eye wide open. The conversation is somewhat warm. The beautiful, good Randolph maiden (true heiress) is making the first protest she has ever made in all her fifteen years of life. The step-mother, by misrepresentation, assiduous rousing and padding, and other heinous crimes of a number sufficient to keep her soul forever in purgatory, has succeeded in attracting to her own daughter the aforesaid satin-breeched and shoe-buckled lover.

The Randolph maiden, with characteristic gentleness, has yielded up the satin-breeched and shoe-buckled one, but the wicked stepmother now proposes to go a step further. She has planned to disregard a sacred tradition of the house: *that none but one of the true Randolph blood may be married in the oak-paneled room*. The stepmother is undoubtedly somewhat impressed by the arguments of the Randolph maiden—true astonishment at the protest of a sheep might make the most callous defer the knife thrust—but here the wicked daughter of the stepmother, who has heretofore been only a puppet, gets into the game. She says she will be wed in no other room but the oak-paneled room. Mammy Mahala sits in the background with the sunlight falling through the tiny-paned window in a golden shaft on her white turban and trembling black hands. The Randolph maiden yields at last, with a gentle sigh.

The story runs along: the gentle Randolph maiden (true heiress) succumbs to the cruel treatment of the stepmother and wicked daughter and goes into a “decline,” of which she soon dies; and she is buried in the family burying ground in the corner of the garden. The wicked prosper. * * * It is the eve before the wedding. The guests are in the dining-room partaking of hot waffles, broiled venison, scalloped oysters, boiled custard, pound cake and a few other trifles, all forgetful of the gentle girl who lies in her new grave; in truth the wicked are flourishing at a two-forty gait. Of a sudden fear blanches the faces of the revelers—even the usurper shows white under her thick coat of rouge—and all is consternation.

“Fire!”

Smoke issues from the oak-paneled room. Recovering themselves the males rush heroically, and even the groom, egged by his bride-to-be, and seemingly forgetful of his pink satin breeches (the wedding breeches were white and the “second day” breeches baby blue, it is a pity he didn’t scorch them too, the traitor!) assists in quenching the fire.

But sad havoc had been wrought in the oak-paneled room. Everything in the room was destroyed, hangings, furniture, ornaments. Nothing remained of the furnishings but a single picture, which lay face down on the floor. When it was lifted

it was found to be quite unharmed by the fire. How had it alone escaped the flames? It was a portrait of the dead Randolph girl. Gradually the significance of the thing dawned on those guilty wretches, the stepmother and her usurping daughter. Little shivers ran up and down the spines of the guests. The girl of the portrait simpered on just as she had always done, but to the guilty the simper seemed a deadly menacing smile. Came then the voice of Mammy Mahala from the shadows:

“I wuz lookin’ out’n de window ub de quatah when I seed a white shape ub my deah young mistuss rize fum de grabeyahd an’ flote in de ayah todes de big house an’ right in at de window ub de oak-panneled room, through glass an’ all jes de same as if deah wuzn’ no glass ’tall. Den I seed de room break out in a light blaze, an’ I kivered my eyes an’ didn’ look no moah.”

The shivers of the guests became shakes. The stepmother tried to brazen it out with the immemorial manner of her species, but the bride-to-be sobbed outright. Needless to tell no wedding took place in the oak-panneled room. The next day the marriage was consummated at the schedule time, but the ceremony was performed in the drawing-room where (it is to be hoped) the background of pale yellow brocade walls was not so becoming to the bride as would have been the oak panneling lit up by wax candles.

Here is the end of the story they tell at Tuckahoe, but one does not need to be told of how a carelessly drawn curtain left a convenient peephole for Mammy Mahala and of how she, viewing the proceedings surreptitiously, sniffed:

“Well, bof ub yuh am gittin’ yuh deserts, sence yuh am gittin’ each uddah. An’ anyhow dey ain’ no weddin’ in de oak-panneled room dis night an’ dey ain’ nebbah gwine toh be none deah ’tell a true Randolph stan’s deah takin’ de vows.”

Dear Mammy! Your crime is a capital offense in the state of Virginia, but who dares say that the end does not ofttimes justify the means?

THE EDUCATION OF SUCCESSFUL MEN

BY WILLIAM W. LOOMIS

IS a college education the best preparation for a young man who expects to enter business? This question is asked by the father who is anxious to give his son every possible advantage; it is asked by the ambitious young man; it is asked by the employer looking for capable help, and it is being asked more and more by progressive educational institutions. The discussion of the question would fill many volumes—for the most part individual opinions and theories. On the one hand are educators who insist that a college course is the best possible preparation for any career; on the other hand are practical men of affairs represented by Henry Clews who will not employ a college graduate in his banking house in any capacity. But individual opinions, however interesting, are not conclusive, and there has been no census of successful men to give the complete information necessary for establishing definite principles.

The most valuable data available are found in the various "Who's Who" publications, and while these books are by no means exhaustive they are sufficiently complete to justify a careful study. Because of the cosmopolitan character of Chicago and the influence of such a city on the industrial and educational life of the country, an analysis of the "Red Book of Chicagoans" furnishes an interesting side-light on the relation of college-trained to non-college-trained men among those "who control the activities . . . in all important avenues of public, private, business and intellectual endeavor."

In an analysis of "Who's Who" made by the author of that publication several years ago, no distinction was made between business and professional men. This is really essential, for it does not follow that the best preparation for a professional career is the most desirable training for a business life. A

classification is somewhat arbitrary as there is no accepted definition of "profession" and not infrequently a lawyer, a physician, or some other professional man is, at the same time, identified with business enterprises. But the men (and women) sketched in the "Red Book" may be classified with fair accuracy, as 2,144 representatives of the professions and 3,578 who are identified with commercial life.

After eliminating 27 professional men and 371 business men who give no information as to their schooling, or whose statements are indefinite, the following facts in reference to educational qualifications are ascertained:

PROFESSIONAL MEN

College (or university) training.....	1,849
Common or high school.....	144
Technical schools	58
Academies or institutes.....	28
Private schools (or tutors).....	23
Both private and public schools.....	8
Military academies	3
Business colleges	4
— —	
Total.....	2,117

Classing the technical and military schools with the colleges, the analysis shows 1,910 trained by higher education, and 207 who had nothing more than a high school education or its equivalent.

According to this record there is but one non-college educated man who makes a conspicuous success in the professions, to 9.2 men who have had special training. The showing is so favorable for the college educated man that there can be no doubt as to the desirability of such a preparation. At the same time the men without college training are sufficiently in evidence to offer the greatest encouragement to the ambitious young men who have not enjoyed such advantages. They should find reassurance in the knowledge that there are a large number of eminently suc-

successful men—especially lawyers, engineers and writers—who have won the widest recognition in their respective fields without the aid of collegiate training.*

BUSINESS MEN

Common or high school education.....	1,846
College (or university).....	731
Academies, institutes or seminaries.....	212
Business colleges and common schools.....	166
Both private and public schools.....	86
Private schools (or tutors).....	52
Technical schools	72
Military schools	34
Parochial schools	8
— — —	
Total.....	3,207

Classing the technical and military schools with the colleges, the analysis shows 837 who have some form of higher education compared to 2,370 with nothing more than a common school training or its equivalent.

Further study shows that many who attended college—approximately 20 per cent.—left school before completing a course. Some of the so-called colleges and most of the military academies and normal schools (all classed as colleges) would not rank with the modern high school and graduates therefrom cannot be said to have a “higher education” as that term is commonly understood. Furthermore, allowance should be made for the fact that while these men are all in business, it was not always their conspicuous business success that led to their recognition in the “Red Book.” Many mediocre business men have become prominent through their political influence, social position, philanthropic work, civic betterment movements or other activities in which the world is interested.

*The record of successful attorneys is especially remarkable. The author of “Who’s Who” found that 40 per cent. of the leading lawyers of the United States had not attended either a college or a law school.

With these facts as a basis it is impossible to arrive at the conclusion that a college course is the best preparation for a business life. On the other hand, the record does not warrant the sweeping assertion, frequently heard, that a college training is a detriment and unfits a man for business.

It must be admitted that there is a good deal of prejudice in the business world against college graduates, exception being made to engineering students and those who have made special preparation for some particular line of work. This prejudice has not been sufficiently considered, for in many places it is so strong that the young graduate does not have a fair chance to learn a business. The men in stores, offices and factories who have worked their way up are apt to be antagonistic to college graduates—sometimes because of jealousy and sometimes because of a narrow view that associates all college men with freakishly dressed Rah-Rah boys and night-shirt parades. Many who are above such prejudices are firmly convinced that college courses are impractical and the busy man of affairs generally feels that he has nothing to learn from professors who write ponderous articles on the “concatenation of industrial processes.” Another thing that works to the disadvantage of the young graduate is that college men are looked upon as “all of a kind,” and when one makes a failure every subsequent applicant finds a prejudice against him for which he is in nowise responsible.

So much for the handicap that the graduate, no matter how deserving, must expect to meet. It is true that in recent years there has been a constant demand for college trained men for special lines of work, notably for electrical, mechanical, civil and mining engineers. This is due largely to the marvelous development of these fields and to the further fact that most of the engineering and polytechnical schools are doing very excellent work. But many graduates who had several jobs awaiting them upon finishing their course later discovered the fly in the ointment, for it is the deliberate policy of certain large concerns to employ a great many college men every summer, hiring them at low wages by bearing down heavily on the argument that in such a big institution there are wonderful opportunities for

advancement, but the majority become dissatisfied and quit before the end of the year, or are laid off to make way for the next class of unsophisticated graduates. But at the worst, their lot is a "flowery bed of ease" compared to the young man who has nothing but a "B.A." or a "B.PH." to commend him to the business world.

A prominent business man voiced a sentiment that is widespread when he said, "We would be glad to hire more college men if we could start them in any place where they would be profitable to us. They are naturally unwilling to start in the manufacturing department with the boys of fifteen on a four years' apprenticeship; in the office they have no knowledge of accounting or business correspondence and we can't afford to teach them as long as we can find experienced men. We employ some of them in the sales department and find that their college experience has usually taught them to read human nature and meet men in an easy way, but at the best this is a very limited field compared to the number of graduates."

A successful wholesale merchant expressed himself as follows, "I cannot understand why the colleges are so reluctant to introduce practical studies. For instance, I do not know of any college that pretends to teach shorthand or typewriting and yet a few months devoted to these subjects during a four years' course would not lower the standard nor interfere with more pretentious studies, but it would be invaluable in getting a young man started in business. I don't mean to say that a college boy should spend all his days pounding a typewriter, but if he knew how to handle a machine it would enable him to earn his salt while learning the business and it would warrant the house in taking him on and in developing him for a higher position in the department or line for which he is best qualified."

A railroad man at the head of a large system said, "In the engineering departments we want college men, for we find their training can be used to good advantage. In the general offices the college man has nothing that we need. He has no knowledge or experience that will relieve the department heads of details or responsibilities. The boy who begins by opening mail, copying letters, filing reports, etc., is preferred every time."

These views are given because they are typical and because they show wherein the business world feels that the colleges are lacking. The belief is prevalent that a college training is valuable when it has been supplemented with some practical knowledge of business usages. One of the largest industrial concerns in the United States has adopted a rule to give preference always to college graduates, but under no circumstances to hire a man until he has been out of school at least two years. All the theoretical arguments ever advanced will not weigh against such a rule.

These things are referred to, not so much for the purpose of criticising the colleges as to call attention to some of the discouraging situations that the college graduate must face. The opposition is not sufficient to discourage the young man of determination, but it shows the fallacy of the opinion, all too prevalent, that if a boy can manage to get through college his future is assured.

In considering the successful man of the country, attention is too apt to be centered on those Captains of Industry whose names have become household words. A writer recently pointed out that Morgan, Clews, Rockefeller, Carnegie, Gould, Field, Hopkins, Wanamaker, Palmer, Leiter, Vanderbilt, Peabody, Sibley, Armour, Girard, Sage, Mitchell, Gage, Corcoran and Cornell all entered business before they were seventeen; not one was a college graduate, and but two attended college. The assertion follows that twenty men of equal business prominence could not be found among the ranks of college graduates. This is granted—to the credit of the colleges, for it should be counted among their greatest achievements that they have been able to impress upon the minds of their students a conception of a “successful life” that is not expressed by the sign of the dollar. There are an increasing number of people who refuse to recognize in the multi-millionaire our highest type of citizenship, and with all due respect to the commercial conquests of the gentlemen named above, it is quite possible that our country would be just as well off today if some of these men had made fewer millions and fewer socialists.

Several of these Captains of Industry have gone out of their

way to bespeak their prejudice against college graduates, but it is significant that they have sent their own children to the best universities, and some of them have given millions to the cause of higher education. The names of Girard, Armour, Hopkins, Cornell and Rockefeller are associated with well known educational institutions, and some of these men were among the first to recognize the possibilities of applied economics and the need of technical knowledge and skill in the business world.

Certain school men have long insisted that colleges are to train the mind, not to give practical instruction, and they resent the intrusion of the "bread and butter" idea of education. But it has been clearly demonstrated that useful knowledge and practical courses do not make undue sacrifices to the "demands of culture and liberal education." Expert business training in the colleges is not to be expected, but the young man who gives four years of his life to the college has a right to insist that it shall take him a little further on the roadway to success. He will have to take a post graduate course in the school of practical experience, but the length of that course should be shortened by some knowledge of the fundamentals of business.

The new ideas in education are not intended to supplant the "Sacred Tripes," but the demand is made that the useful arts and applied sciences be given equal prominence with the classics. Education may be an end in itself, but it is an exploded theory that it is less desirable because it has some practical application. In the activities of the Twentieth Century life the man who has nothing to offer the world but culture is a negative quantity. The demand of the times is not classical ornamentation but practical training; not abstract knowledge but efficiency. The struggle of the coming years, it has been remarked, will not be for the conquest of lands, but for the control of the forces of nature. Scientific knowledge is the basis of every great industry, and the business world is crying out for trained men. It is as useless for the educators of the "Old School" to oppose this demand as it was for King Canute to command the waves to recede.

But while some of the colleges are persistently marking time, many of them are recognizing their larger opportunities and

their larger responsibilities. Every year they are becoming more and more influential factors in world affairs, but what of the young men, who, under existing conditions, cannot hope to secure a college training? At the best only 20 per cent. of the young men of the country can enjoy these privileges—what of the remaining 80 per cent.? Are the gates to the higher stations in life closed to them? Is their handicap too great? Assuredly not. The message of the “Red Book” should be an inspiration to the great army of young men who are precluded, under the present organization of society, from securing a college education. They should find courage in the thought that 84 per cent. of the business men in the United States today are without college training, and 90 per cent. of the “bosses”—the men at the head of the great industrial, commercial and financial institutions of the country—started in minor positions with nothing more than a common school education and worked their way to the front.

While a college education may be desirable, according to the records of the “Red Book,” it is by no means indispensable; it does not assure success. The colleges are coming to be more and more influential in all industrial affairs, but it is safe to predict that for many years to come the dominant factors in the business world will be the men who work their way up from the ranks, and it is the glory of our country that the men who start out with the greatest handicaps are constantly winning the highest honors in both professional and business life.

HISTORY OF SLAVERY

BY SALLIE R. MC LEAN

HISTORIANS agree that in Asia was the cradle of the human race. Early emigrations to the banks of the Nile, where conditions were most favorable for sustaining life and inducing permanent habitation, gave to Egypt the earliest authentic and continuous history of its peoples as an independent nation. The relations of the Egyptians with the Jews, as recounted in the Bible, in connection with the remains of their monuments and habitations have made for them the first place in the history of the ancient world. However, nearly contemporaneous with Egyptian history have been brought to the results of scholarly research and comparison the records of the most ancient nations of Asia.

All history emphasizes the fact that the beginnings of community existence were in the valleys of great rivers. As on the banks of the Nile, so in the regions bordering the Tigris and the Euphrates, and in another ancient center, the valley of the Indus, were first in Asia gathered the different races in numbers sufficient to be called nations. As in Egypt, in the valley of these rivers have been discovered the ruins of many great cities; there also we find the imperishable evidences of a great and wonderful civilization; there also great kings have depicted on indestructible bricks, polished marble and rough hewn stone, either in picture representation or cunieform inscription, the marvelous records of their conquests, and their achievements in building up great cities, and in enriching their countries by gigantic public works. From the buried ruins of these great cities and the remains of these public works, as well as from the records found there, historians have been enabled to unravel the history of their ancient inhabitants to that definiteness and completeness which challenge the wonder and excite the imagination.

Comparison with these sources of history with the accounts of these regions given in Holy Writ has but added the proof of their mutual verity and completeness.

To the twilight of distant centuries before the Christian era, have been traced the beginnings of the tribes and peoples of these regions of Asia. The settlement of a nomadic tribe in a fertile and favorable region would bring the cultivation of land about a fixed center which would become the abiding place of the ruler. When for purposes of protection against the inroads of other nomadic tribes, this center was walled in, towers placed at intervals and the best habitation then possible erected for the chief or king, and to enable all to worship unmolested, the gods they had chosen, a temple was raised near the king's abode, then and there were the beginnings of a walled and towered capital city. In later ages these contained palaces of great magnificence, temples of costly construction and lavish ornamentation, which then became the principal abiding places of an absolute ruler of a monarchy of great extent.

When reaching out to absorb more territory, the predatory chief of a small tribe would come upon another chief, who would dispute his advance and the contest resulting in the victory of one and the defeat of the other and the subjugation of the weaker tribe to the stronger led to this energetic tribal leader becoming the forerunner of great conquerors, and his contests the first of aggressive enterprises which later became highly organized and stupendous undertakings for the conquests of many countries, and the subjugation of rulers and people of far distant regions.

When the stronger people, led by ambitious and successful rulers were victorious, then that people became the dominant race and their king ruled over a widening extent of territory, and was even the overlord of other long-established kingdoms. With the periods of peace came in those widening relations of different nations which resulted in increasing knowledge and a diffusion of better conditions of living expressed in the term civilization.

Back in ages more or less remote began the history of each one of the countries of Asia, and although during many centuries they had a parallel existence, yet there were long periods of

time when one particular country was the great and overshadowing power of Asia. So extended became the dominion of this one monarch and one country that even over Egypt and among the Greek isles of the Mediterranean did different conquering kings stretch their dominion and rule over millions of subjects. Five great monarchies are given whose imperial power differ in duration of time and number of conquered regions, but whose domination during those periods of time and over that number of conquered countries made the history of those periods of time and of those countries. Those five great kingdoms were Chaldaea, Assyria, Media, Babylonia and Persia.

Not only those five countries, but other smaller kingdoms and tribal communities had a separate and partly contemporaneous existence before they became the conquered provinces of a great monarchy. Although often pushing their conquests to regions inhabited by nomadic tribes, it was into countries more or less civilized that the warlike conquerors of Asia preferred to lead their armies; into regions where the flocks and herds of the thrifty husbandmen could be driven hence, where the fields of ripened grain could be harvested for the invading hosts, and where above all, the great cities that yielded to siege and assault, furnished rich booty to the victors, and where from the vanquished inhabitants, they could secure countless captives. A great moving army of those ancient times surely must have been a marvellous spectacle, especially in those later ages when the dominions of the king going to war were already stretched over different countries, whence he gathered his invading hosts. The long lines of horsemen, seated on the finest steeds of Arabia, both horse and rider in dazzling panoply of defense, the serried ranks of the infantry uniformed in the picturesque costumes and carrying the arms of many different countries, the chariots of dazzling colors and gleaming with spiked and bladed wheels, the trains of pack asses and mules bearing food for the men and even fodder for the horses; all these stretching out for miles even before the center of the advancing host was seen. There the canopied litters held the king and the richly robed priests grouped about the arks containing the idols or at least the altars of the gods. Other chariots and other gorgeous litters bore the

wives and concubines, not only of the king but of the great nobles and generals. All these, as they swept through a country must have formed a spectacle of an imposing sense of power and magnificence unrivalled and even unapproached in later ages of the world's wars and conquests. The litters and chariots containing the women of the seraglios and their own small army of attendants, when the battles began or the sieges were opened, must have formed an embarrassing addition to the impedimenta, about which in a later age, Caesar writes so constantly in his Conquest of Gaul.

It is not in place here to follow the waves of conquest as they swept first from one center and then from another, and spread over regions more or less extended; not to give long lists of the high sounding, sonorous names of the kings of different monarchies, who are yet renowned in the history of the world as among its greatest military leaders and administrators of the government of vast region, as well as builders of marvellous cities. Nor is it in place here definitely to fix the centuries when the capital city of the most powerful of these Asiatic despots was Ur or Babylon, Susa or Ecbatana, Ninevah or Pesagardae, nor, interesting as such accounts would be, to recount the times each was besieged, captured, partially destroyed, and then rebuilt.

Depending primarily on the sort of defeat endured by the conquered and the ensuing terms of peace, it is not possible to give in full the subsequent relation of the conquerors and the conquered. It would take many volumes to give them in full. The more barbarous conditions of the early ages left the status of the conquered one of complete subjugation. After a successful war came the periods of extending and beautifying the capital cities, advances in the sciences and arts of civilization, and the differentiation of the occupations which produced trade and commerce. Then to the dominant race came the disintegrating effects of indulgence in unlimited power and luxury. From another center within the conquered province or neighboring unsubdued nations, another people, yet unspoiled by great power and uncorrupted by indulgence in luxury, would be led by another ambitious and war-like leader, and after other wars the center of

overshadowing power in Asia would move to another kingdom, another great city would be the capital, another king would become the mighty one, another people the dominant race. Therefore, later on with advancing civilization and an approximation to equality in fighting strength and the greater possibilities of reconquest of independent existence, the vast dominions held at different periods by these five great monarchies are best described as a "congeries of kingdoms." In some cases, as with Assyria and Babylonia during a long period, their relations would be best expressed by the term "allied kingdoms." Especially was this true, when through an intermarriage of members of two reigning families which usually followed on a war not overwhelmingly successful on either side—the people of each capital thought they were still governed by a native ruler. These facts fully set forth are of great interest, but they belong to general history, not to an inquiry on a particular subject.

Yet in writing on slavery in any country or group of countries, it becomes necessary to give first some information concerning the dominant people, those who held their fellow creatures in bondage. In a consideration of the different kingdoms of Asia in the order of their relative age and the extent of their domination, the first place must be given to ancient Chaldea.

The Chaldeans were Cushite in origin. It is claimed for them that in the time of their highest development they possessed great knowledge of agriculture and of architecture. Their monuments and palaces were built of bricks alone. These were made so perfect that those which were baked are still hard and perfect, and they were therefore as building material a complete substitute for stone. The remains of their structures prove that they had knowledge of the arch and also understood the principles and construction of drains. Their implements, utensils and ornaments, though crude in comparison with those of later ages, show an advance in those arts which tend to comfort in living. The Chaldeans were among the most ancient of maritime peoples, and considering the knowledge of ship building in those times, their commerce was extended. It is claimed for them that their astronomical calculations were later accepted by astronomers and the permanence and far reaching recognition of

their astronomical knowledge are further proved by the fact that under the Roman emperors the astronomers and astrologers were called Chaldeans. Their systems of notations and of writing bring them to the rank of the early Egyptians; in religion they were polytheists, and as in all polytheistic systems their rites were many and often terrible, and their beliefs later led to idolatry. The different dynasties which during centuries governed Chaldea were of kindred race and produced no change in the language, religion and customs of the people.

All the information that historians give concerning slavery in ancient Chaldea is that it has been deciphered in some of their records that certain kings went to war with neighboring tribes in order to secure slaves, whose labor would enable them to complete some projected public work.

Assyria, the second of the five great monarchies of Asia, had many centuries of existence as an independent, powerful kingdom, before striving for universal dominion in Asia and Egypt. To imperial Assyria belonged many of the greatest conquerors of the Asiatic continent and the influence the Assyrians asserted over the other peoples of Asia was greater in extent of time and permeating effects than that of any other dominant race.

To the family of races known as Semitic belonged the Assyrians. This family includes the Isaelites or Hebrews, the Aramaeans or Syrians and the Juktanian Arabs. In the Assyrian dynasties we find many of the mighty conquerors and great builders of ancient Asia and even when another adjacent kingdom became the ruling monarchy of Asia, the Assyrian cities became the favorite capitals of the conquerors. Assyrian customs and manners were adopted by them and it was the corrupting influence of Assyrian luxury, which in turn became their own undoing and compelled them to give place as the leading power in Asia to a conqueror from one of their own provinces. As architects and builders of both palaces, temples, and public works, as artists who covered the walls of their imposing structures with real and symbolic figures, erected colossal statuary of real and imaginary creatures both human and animal, and wrote their history in pictured epics, the Assyrians are given rank higher in realistic and artistic achievements than that

accorded to the Egyptians. The art of the Egyptians never gave any idea of life or motion to the human or animal figures represented, but the remains of Assyrian art are today considered as stirring in their suggestion of life and motion, as they doubtless were thought when completed by their artists thousands of years ago. Under one of the greatest of the kings so marvellous are considered the remains of the sculpture of that period it has been written: "To judge by the advance over previous works which we observe in the sculptures of the son of Esarhaddon, it would seem that if Assyria had not been assailed by barbaric enemies about this time, she would have anticipated by above a century the finished excellence of the Greeks."

However, of the remains of their manufactured articles there is no certainty that they were all Assyrian. Their conquered provinces included so many and distant regions that plunder, tribute, and commerce served to bring to Nineveh, the capital city, the choicest products of all civilized countries. However, if it be reasonable to suppose that the bulk of manufactured goods consumed in a country are of home manufacture, it is fair to assume that the vases, jars, bronzes, glass bottles, carved ornaments in ivory and mother of pearl, engraved gems, bells, dishes, earrings, arms, armor, and working implements which have been found at Nimrod, Khorsabad and Koyunjik are mainly of Assyrian manufacture.

It is more probable that the garments represented as worn by Assyrian kings came from Babylon, which city, during many centuries was renowned for its tissues. All the remains of these manufactured objects show considerable knowledge of metallurgy and refined taste, and also even prove the use of inventions until comparatively recently supposed to be entirely modern. The knowledge of the Assyrians of mechanical contrivances as aids to moving and raising heavy weights was ahead of that of the Egyptians. The religion of the Assyrians is called the worship of Asshur, and was allied to that of the Chaldeans. Although Asshur was the principal god worshipped and always the titular deity of Nineveh, the Assyrian religion became polytheistic. Bel, or Beltis, was the principal god of the Babylon-

ians. At the height of the power of the Assyrians the priestly class was powerful and religious ceremonies idolatrous.

Before considering the next great monarchy of Asia, Media, a great fact of history which effected not only Assyria, but all the provinces of that powerful kingdom, all the smaller countries which possessed a complete or semi-independence must be referred to. That was the invasion of the Scyths. These barbarous tribes swept down from the Steppe country of the Caucasus and carried slaughter and destruction through all the cultivated, civilized portions of Asia, going as far as Palestine and Syria, and leaving in their triumphant march through all these countries, a trail of blood and devastation. At that time the people of the kingdom of Media, then a tributary province of Assyria, were not only warlike, but were uncorrupted by Assyrian luxury. The richer countries of Asia suffered more by the destruction of their crops and the sack of their cities by the Scythian hords, than did Media. It was therefore that country which first made peace with the invading Scyths, and then started on a series of conquests to annex the rich but recently plundered provinces of other kingdoms. Thus aided by those Scythic hordes, whose bravery and knowledge of warfare in later centuries gave to the victorious Roman legions their most difficult and most bloody victories, it came to pass that the kingdom of Media grew to imperial power, and absorbed Assyria and its chief province of Babylonia, extended her authority with more or less advantage in submission and tribute to other portions of Asia and became the third of the five great, imperial monarchies of that continent. Assyria had rounded out a thousand years of history when the rise of the Median kingdom deprived her of imperial power, if not of foremost influence in Asia.

The Medes belonged to the Arian or Iranic branch of the human family, a leading sub-division of the great Indo-European race. "The tie of a common language, common manners and customs and to a great extent a common belief in ancient time united all the dominant tribes of the great plateau of Asia. Persians, Medes, Sogartians, Chorasmians, Bactrians, Sogdeans, Hyrcanians, Saragians, Gandarians, and Sanskritic Indians belonged all to a single stock, differing from one another prob-

ably not much more than now differ the various subdivisions of the Teutonic or Slavonic race."

With the exception of the Scythians, as conquerors the Medes were the most savage and cruel of any of those, who at different times swept over Asia. In the early part of their career they were simple and manly. It was because they were braver and simpler, and therefore stronger, that they were able to dispossess the Assyrians, but in their case, as in that of all the other conquerors, power brought on that indulgence in luxury which in turn made them a prey to the stronger. The Medes endeavored to imitate the Assyrians, and did attain a certain degree of civilization and refinement not greatly inferior. To understand the religion which they brought into their enlarged kingdom, which had a great subsequent influence on the history of Asia, a general survey of the religious question now becomes necessary.

Before the Arian race was separated into the two branches and the Easterns and Westerns had not yet adopted the conflicting creeds of Zoroastranism and Brahmanism, there was prevailing a polytheistic nature worship with rites directed by a priestly class. The rise of the Iranic-Median or Persian system was a revolt from the sensuous and superficial nature worship, and brings a recognition of spiritual intelligences. These intelligences were later divided into good and bad, pure and impure, benignant and malevolent. Then follows the belief that in a certain sense asserts monothelism. "At the head of good intelligences is a single great Intelligence, Ahuro-Magdao, the true Creator, Preserver, and Governor of the universe. Although Ahuro-Magdao is less awful and less spiritual than Jehovah," still considering the general failure of unassisted reason to mount up to the true notion of a spiritual God, this doctrine of the early Arians is very remarkable. This belief was at first also held by the Medes.

It was the contact with the Scythic tribes who were worshippers of the elements, fire, earth and water, which corrupted the purer religion of the Medes, and made them accept Magism. On the altars of these nature worshippers the fire was never quenched and the power of their priests, the Magi, was not only fully acknowledged, but in succeeding ages that power brought

on far reaching political consequences. Although during their imperial power the prevailing religion of the Medes was Magism, they were tolerant of other religions in their dependencies, and even in their capital. It was at that period when Persia was a province of Media, that there the purer religion of Arian faith took refuge. In later centuries, when to them, as the stronger, more warlike people, dominion passed to the Persians, they became the active and effective enemies of all forms of idolatry.

The principal city of the fourth Monarchy, Babylonia, was the former capital of the most ancient of the monarchies, Chaldea. It was therefore in the nature of a return to power of the people and country which had ranked first, when from Babylonia came Cyaxeres to wrest from Media imperial power. Periods of partial eclipse, when Babylonia was either a province of Assyria or an independent kingdom through suffrance of the greater kingdom, do not obscure entirely the continuous history of the country from the time of the early Cushite kings to the great reigns of Cyaxeres and Nebuchadnezer. Direct heirs to the learning and scientific achievements of the Chaldeans, the Babylonians advanced in scientific knowledge, and their wisdom and learning are celebrated by the Jewish prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah and Daniel. However, they were not only astronomers, but mingled that real science with astrology. They were always great in commerce and their country was a land of traffic and Babylon "a city of merchants." The name Babylonian has always stood for extravagance and luxury, and with good reason. In comparison with their mode of life the Babylonians looked upon the people of Persia and Greece as barbarians.

As in the history of Assyria, we find in that of Babylonia a long list of conquering kings, at first enterprising and warlike, restorers of the glories of ancient cities and repairers of stupendous works, as well as architects and builders of wondrous new structures, outvieing all that had gone before. Then in their turn came the periods of the disintegrating influences of unbridled power and sensuous indulgence, until at the gates of Babylon the conquering hosts of Cyrus the Persian brought to Babylonia the bitterness of defeat, and the position of a tributary province

of the fifth monarchy, Persia. We know that a wonderful and stormy period of the history of Asia followed the accession of the Persians, and not until the Macedonian phalanxes of Alexander the Great laid the known world at his feet was the paramount ascendancy of Persia in Asia successfully disputed. Not only because they lived nearer the equator but also because they were partly Ethiopian in origin the Persians were darker than the Assyrians or Babylonians.

The remains of Persopolis and other great Persian cities indicate that while following in the main the principles of Assyrian and Babylonian art, they possessed original conceptions, and especially in decorative features their art was not only different, but often superior, especially in the designs and colors in the decorations of the stately palaces.

Of the lesser kingdoms of Asia which at various times became subject nations to the principal kingdoms, but whose connection was often one of alliance more than of subjection, were Lydia, Syria, Phoenicia,

REPRESENTATIVE SOUTHERN LITERATURE

BY ELIZABETH L. STOCKING

IT has sometimes been said that the South produced little literature of value before the war. When we really look into the matter, however, we find this statement to be incorrect. Washington, Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson were all Virginians, and each one, although more noted as a statesman, was a writer. Francis Scott Key, who composed "The Star-Spangled Banner," came from Maryland; Edgar Allan Poe, "The Prince of American Literature," according to Victor Hugo, was a southerner, and lived between 1809 and 1849.

In reading the lives of the southerners who have written since 1860, we note again and again the effect of the Civil War on their lives. Paul Hamilton Hayne, who has sometimes been called the "Poet Laureate of the South," the son of wealthy, cultured parents, lost his property at the time of the war, and it is perhaps due to this fact that he devoted himself to literary work. The great conflict inspired Henry Timrod, another poet and close friend of Hayne, in a series of war poems to strike "a higher and finer note than had ever yet escaped his lyre;" but later, when Sherman with his army marched into South Carolina, Timrod was reduced to poverty and almost to despair. Sidney Lanier, the greatest poet the South has produced, was broken in health during his service in the army, and the remainder of his brief life was a struggle with disease. And so we might go on showing the effect of the war, often disastrous, sometimes inspiring, on the lives of southern writers. Most of them have died young, due, no doubt, in some cases to the hardships of the war.

We also find among southern writers a strong love for their own particular state or locality, just as we should expect to be

the case among people who have always stood for state rights, and among whom there are greater variations between the different states than in the North. They delight to picture scenes and people distinctive of their home. Thus we find James Lane Allen writing of the Kentucky cardinal, Kentucky women and Kentucky horses; Charles Egbert Craddock (Mary Noailles Murfree) tells us of the Tennessee mountaineers, among whom she lived; George W. Cable writes of the Creoles who lived in his native city of New Orleans; Thomas Nelson Page depicts the Virginian negro, and Joel Chandler Harris, the negro from Georgia.

Although this clinging to locality is found perhaps with the majority of southern authors, giving a peculiar charm to their writings, it is quite absent from the productions of one of the greatest—Edgar Allen Poe. One could scarcely tell from reading his works whether he came from Maine or California, Minnesota or Louisiana. I doubt whether there is much in his stories or poems which would even mark him as an American, from any state whatsoever. This may be because he was a genius and genius has no country—it belongs to the world; or on the other hand, it may be because his home was not confined to any one state.

In this year of the hundredth anniversary since his birth, much has been written of him, both in praise and blame. It seems to be quite universally agreed by his later biographers that he was woefully misrepresented by his first biographer who had a personal grudge against him. His weird, fantastic stories were not, as it was then claimed, the result of fancies while under the influence of liquor or morphine. Drink he did, unfortunately, but it was when driven to desperation by trouble and poverty.

His poem of "The Bells" is one of the most musical in the English language; as we read, we can hear them all—the tinnabulation of the silver sleigh-bells, the rapture of the happy wedding-bells, the shrieking of the loud alarum bells, and the tolling of the sad funeral bells—our mood changes from gaiety at first to sadness and solemnity at the close.

What is more dainty and sweet than the little poem "Annabel Lee," a tribute to his child-wife who died so young?

“The angels, not half so happy in heaven,
Went envying her and me—
Yes!—that was the reason (as all men know,
In this kingdom by the sea)
That the wind came out of the cloud by night,
Chilling and killing my Annabel Lee.”

Best known of all is his poem “The Raven” written when he was in despair at the mortal sickness of his wife. There is a sadness in all the poems, but “The Raven” is the saddest of all. It is typical of Poe’s life,—the black raven of poverty and despondency was never far from him.

Poe has come to be considered the master of the short story so far as technique is concerned. The first sentence of one of his stories grips the attention, and from that forward, every phrase—every word leads up to the climax. Many of his stories deal with horrors. It has been said of them: “The sunshine is not the sunshine of the fields, for it comes through dense foliage or colored glass. The wind blows from caverns and vaulted tombs. The color on the cheeks is hectic, the mirth hysterical. Everywhere are grief, madness, disease and death.” Another writer, from terror to beauty and sublimity; there is a magic touch speaking more in praise, says: “There is a fascination ranging which removes all his scenes into the enchanted realm of the supernatural and invests them with a sacred awe.”

We will now turn from Poe, who was a representative writer living in the South, to Thomas Nelson Page and Joel Chandler Harris, writers representative of the South. They have pictured for us as perhaps no other writers ever did, the negro character,—the type of “befo’ de war” ducky, which is fast disappearing from the land. Thomas Nelson Page, in his stories, brings out the relations existing between the good master and his faithful slaves: Joel Chandler Harris, in his “Uncle Remus” tales, narrates the legends and folklore of the negro.

“Marse Chan,” one of the best known of Thomas Nelson Page’s stories, is supposed to be related of a young southerner, by his former devoted slave. He describes the “ole marster” coming out onto the porch with a “smile wus’n a ’possum,” his

little new-born son in his arms, and all the slaves gathering about to greet "de young marster." From among them, he picked out Sam, then a boy, and putting the baby into his arms, said: "I'm going to give you to your young Marse Channing." "An' from dat time I was tooken in de house to be Marse Channin's body-servant."

The adjoining estate belonged to Col. Chamberlin, and he had a little daughter Anne to whom young "Marse Chan" as he grew into boyhood, was devoted. The children were constantly together. Their fathers, too, were close friends until pitted against each other politically, and then a coolness arose between them which increased until they got to disagreeing about their slaves and their boundary-lines. The young people, however, remained friends and "Marse Chan he use to love de ve'y groun' she walked on. Heh! His face 'twould light up whenever she come into chu'ch or anywhere, jes' like de sun hed come th'oo a chink on it sudden'y." One time after Marse Chan had grown into a young man, Col. Chamberlin spoke insultingly of his father. The boy resented it and the colonel challenged him to a duel. Marse Chan took his faithful servant Sam with him to the rendezvous, and as they rode together, he said:

"Sam, you and I were boys together, weren't we?"

"Yes, Marse Chan, dat we wuz."

"You have been very faithful to me, and I have seen to it that you are well provided for. You want to marry Judy, I know, and you'll be able to buy her if you want to."

When the signal came to fire, the colonel aimed directly at Marse Chan, his bullet passing through the young man's hat, but Marse Chan shot his pistol in the air, because he could not bear to injure Anne's father, and said to him: "I make you a present to your family, sir!"

The colonel, however, would not forgive him, and the next time Marse Chan met Miss Anne, she passed him with her head in the air.

"I nuver see nuttin' like de look dat come on Marse Chan's face when she pahss 'im like dat. He gi' de sorrel a pull dat foteh 'im back settin' down in de sap' on he haunches. He ve'y lips wuz white."

Then, Marse Chan' enlisted for the war, taking Sam along with him. Before he went, he had one interview with Anne, telling her that he had loved her ever since she was a baby, and asking if he came back from the war whether she wouldn't try to think of him as she used to do when she was a little girl. But she turned her head away and replied: "I don't love you." "(Jes' dem th'ee wuds!) De wuds fall right slow—like dirt falls out a spade on a coffin when yo's buryin' anybody, an sey, 'uth unto uth.' "

Marse Chan went to the war, and when there was anything particularly dangerous to be done, he always volunteered. "In camp he use' to be so sorrerful he'd hardly open he mouf. But jes' le' 'im git into danger, an' he use' to be like old times—jolly an' laughin' like when he wuz a boy. He use' to tek me wid 'im whenever he could. He didn't mine bullets, no more'n he did so many draps o' rain. But I use' to be pow'ful skeered sometimes."

Sam wrote to Judy, telling how Marse Chan had knocked a man over for speaking contemptuously of Colonel Chamberlin, and that he was dying for love of Miss Anne. Judy, who was Miss Anne's maid, got her mistress to read the letter for her, Miss Anne told her father about Marse Chan's defense of his name, and when she turned away blushing, Col. Chamberlin said to her: "Anne, do you want him?"

"An' she sez, 'Yes,' an' put her head down on he shoulder an' begin to cry."

One day a letter came for Marse Chan. When he read it, "ef he face didn' shine like a angel's." The next day there was a great battle and Marse Chan was killed leading a brave charge up a hill.

"I pick 'im up in my arms wid de fleg still in he han's, an' toted 'im back jes like I did dat day when he wuz a baby, an' ole marster gin 'im to me in my arms, an' sey he could trus' me, an' tell me to tek keer on 'im long ez he lived."

"Well, we buried Marse Chan dyah in de ole grabeyard, wid de flag wrapped roun' 'im. Miss Anne she nuver went home to stay arfter dat; she stay wid ole marster an' ole missis ez long ez dey lived."

This story of "Marse Chan" and the one called "Meh Lady"

are always mentioned as being among the best written by Thomas Nelson Page. "Meh Lady" brings out still more strongly the self-sacrifice and devotion of a former slave, in this case to his mistress, after the war had deprived her of all her property, and most of the other negroes had left her. It was one of the palliations of slavery—this relation which sometimes sprang up between the slaves and their masters, but the fact that the darker side depicted in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and other writings could and did exist, showed the innate evil of the practice.

In the *Uncle Remus* stories of Joel Chandler Harris, we find the folk-lore of the negro, many of them having originated in his native Africa. One writer wonders what the effect of these stories where Brer Rabbit is constantly overcoming his enemies by deceit and cunning would have upon the mind of a susceptible child, but he concludes that "Brer Rabbit's deceit is so much more amiable than Brer Fox's that it is comparatively moral to sympathize with it." We cannot help wondering whether in the mind of the negro, as he told these stories on the southern plantations, the tyrannical Brer Fox did not represent the white man, and Brer Rabbit the negro who must circumvent him by cunning.

Perhaps the most familiar of these stories is "The Tar Baby," but there are others equally graphic and almost as well-known. There is the story of "The Moon in the Mill-pond" when Brer Rabbit and "Brer Tarrypin" got up a fishing party and a plot. Brer Bear, Brer Fox and Brer Wolf were all present besides two ladies,—Miss Meadows and Miss Mott. When Brer Rabbit was about to throw his hook into the water, he suddenly stopped, dropped his pole and stood scratching his head and looking down into the pond. The others questioned him as to what was the trouble, and he answered: "Accidents got ter happen unter we all, des same ez dey is unter yuther folks, en dey aint nuthin' much de marter 'ceppin' dat de moon done drap in de water." So they all looked into the water and "dar lay de moon a-swingin' an' a-swayin' at de bottom er de pon'."

Brer Rabbit told them it was no use trying to fish until they got the moon out, and that he would go and borrow a seine to do so. While he was gone, Brer Tarrypin informed the others that

he had heard that "dem wat fine de moon in de water en fetch 'im out, lakwise dey ull fetch out a pot er money." When Brer Rabbit returned with the seine and began taking off his coat preparatory to wading in, they declared they weren't going to let "dry-foot man lak Brer Rabbit go in de water." "Brer Fox, he tuck holt er one staff er de sane, Brer Wolf he tuck holt er yuther staff an Brer B'ar he wade 'long behine fer ter lif' de sane 'cross logs en snags."

They hauled and they hauled but no moon. They waded further and further from the bank. "Water run in Brer Fox year, he shake he head; water run in Brer Wolf year, he shake he head; water run in Brer B'ar year, he shake he head." While they were shaking, they came to the place where the bottom shelved off, and all had a ducking. "Dey kick en splatter twel it look lak dey uz gwine ter slosh all de water outer de mill pon'." When they came out "go whar you would, dey wan't no wuss lookin' creeters dan dem." Brer Rabbit shouted at them: "I hear talk dat de moon'll bite at a hook ef you take fools fer baits, an I lay dat's de onliest way fer ter ketch 'er."

"Then Brer Rabbit en Brer Tarrypin, dey went home wid de gals."

As weird and "creepy" as any of Poe's tales is the ghost story related by Tildy in Uncle Remus's cabin. A woman had died, and when she was laid out, two big silver dollars belonging to her were put on her eyelids to keep them down. The man that buried her stole the dollars and put them in a tin box on his mantel shelf. In the night he heard the wind blow: "Bizzy-buzz, bizzy-buzz, buzz-zoo-o-o-o-o-o! Phew-fee-e-e-e and then something went "Clinkity, clink, clinkity clinkalinkle." He asked: "Hey! who stealin' my money?"

When there was no response he got up and looking into the box, found the money still there. After he lay down, he heard again,—"Clinkity, clinkalinkle." He investigated once more, and went back to bed, and so, several times. At last "look like he kin year sump'n say 'way off yander: 'Whar my money? Oh, gime my money!' Every time he closed the box, he would hear again "Clinkity, clinkalinkle" and the voice,—"Oh, gim me my money! I want my money!" Finally, he got up and put a flat-

iron on the box, piled all the chairs against the door, and hid himself in bed.

“Man shiver en shiver, win’ blow en blow, money rattle en rattle. ’Oman cry en cry. ‘Buzz-zoo-o-o-o-o!’ sez de win’; ‘Clinkalink!’ sez de box; ‘Oh, gim me my money!’ sez de ’oman; ‘O Lordy!’ sez de man.”

At last he saw the ghost of the woman come through the door. She groped nearer and nearer “tell bimeby she jum on de man en holler: ‘You got my money!’

With that, the story-teller gave a pounce upon one of the negroes which nearly frightened him to death, and thus reached the climax of her story.

We can well imagine a company of darkies gathered about a fire-place, in the evening, the whites of their eyes gleaming in the fire-light, their hair almost unkinking itself and standing upright in their horror at this tale.

And so, with a sigh of passing regret and a little shiver, we turn from the warm Southland back to our own Northern clime. A writer has said of Southern literature: “The Southern story-writers have done more than given us studies of new localities. We feel instinctively a different quality in their work. Contrasted with the productions of New England writers, we feel the richer coloring, the warmer blood and the quicker pulses. Put a work of Cable’s side by side with Howell’s and it is like the tropic warmth of the Gulf Stream after the chill of Northern waters.

RISE OF THE UNITED EMPIRE LOYALISTS

BY VISCOUNT DE FRONSAC

FOR the purpose of defending the crown and the provincial constitution against the illegal action of the London parliament, the republicans and loyalists were united. But apart from this the republicans conspired among themselves to revolutionize society, plunder the aristocracy and overturn the state. Without foreign aid they could not effect this. They had been told that France was desirous of revenge against England for the loss of Canada and Louisiana, and they began overtures to France at the very time that they were protesting their loyalty to Britain. Dr. Franklin, whom the French called "Bonhomme," said in 1773, "I never heard from any person the least expression of a wish for separation." In October, 1774, Washington wrote: "I am well satisfied that no such thing as independence is desired by any thinking man in America." And in April, 1775, Jefferson wrote: "I never heard a whisper of a disposition to separate from Great Britain," and "as for the form of the British government, it is the best yet, and I desire none better." This was to Sir John Randolph. At the same time John Adams published in Boston: "That there are any who pant after independence is the greatest slander in the province."

"It seems difficult to recognize with truthfulness, fairness and impartiality the intrigues and proposed terms of alliance between the leaders of Congress and the king of France. These intrigues commenced while the authors of them were disclaiming any wish or design to separate from England and their desire to be reconciled with the mother country by a recognition of their rights as they existed before, in 1763."

"As early as December, 1775 . . . a secret committee of correspondence of Congress wrote Arthur Lee, their agent in

London, and Charles Dumas, at the Hague, requesting them to ascertain the feeling of European Courts respecting America, enjoining them to 'great circumspection and secrecy.' "

"M. de Beauvoulis, agent for the French government, appeared in Philadelphia, held a secret conference with the secret committee and assured them that France was ready to aid the colonies on such conditions as might be considered equitable. These conferences were so secret that M. de Beauvoulis said that, 'the committee met him at an appointed place after dark, each going to it by a different road.' A few weeks later Silas Deane, by the secret committee, was appointed commercial agent to Europe to obtain supplies and to communicate to the French premier, Comte de Vergennes, the probable separation from Great Britain."¹

After once being known, is it possible that dependence can be put on a nation sprung from such material? Gen. Wolfe had written in his day: "The Americans are in general the dirtiest, most contemptible, cowardly dogs that you can conceive. There is no depending on 'em in action. They fall down dead in their own dirt and desert by battalions, officers and all. Such rascals as these are rather an encumbrance than a strength."

Washington, who had been used to better things in the society of the Fairfaxes, Brockinboroughs, Randolphs, Grymeses and other royalists of Virginia, wrote in Nov., 1775, about these new people of the democracy: "Such a dearth of public spirit and such a want of virtue, such stock-jobbing and fertility in all the low arts to obtain advantages of one kind or another I never saw before and pray God's mercy that I may never see again!"

At this time and up to 1778, the time when the London parliament ate humble pie and acknowledged that the provinces were not its constituencies, but were fiefs of the crown, with whose management it had no right to interfere, the major part of the royalists as well were united in opposition to it. The bravest and most resolute organized themselves as "minute men" under three articles: I. To defend the royal prerogative in the province. II. To defend the provincial constitution. III. To obey their own officers chosen by themselves to these ends. Colonists of all classes, royalists and republicans, sent delegates to a con-

1. Ryerson's "Loyalists of America," Vol. I, p. 513.

gress to form means of defense. Each colony provided for the enlistment of its own militia. And in many instances the militia of different colonies refused to leave the territory of their particular colony because they had been recruited merely to defend that territory. All officers below the rank of colonel were appointed by the provincial government, while the general officers were commissioned by congress.

But there were more republicans, who had an understanding among themselves, than royalists, in the Congress of 1775. They were arranged as follows:—The delegates of the northern colonies in the general congress at Philadelphia in 1775, were for separating from the empire. The delegates of the six southern colonies were for resisting the infringement of their charters by the action of the London parliament, but preferred to remain in the empire, and with a royal form of government. Pennsylvania, the thirteenth colony, had five delegates. Of these, two were for separating from the empire, two were for the empire and royalty, and the fifth man undecided.

The republicans saw their chance here. Disguising their intent they, under the plea of forming parliamentary rules to expedite affairs, urged three measures, which were adopted by all the delegates. These measures were:—I. That the congress should count votes by colonies. II. That the majority of the delegates of a colony should control the voice of that colony. III. That what a majority of the colonial voices thus constituted should decide to do, the others would be bound to follow.

Measures from this time forward went pretty much as the republicans directed, for the wavering of the fifth vote of Pennsylvania was intrigued for by them. When the motion was put that the colonies be declared free and independent states, the six southern colonies voted against the measure. The six northern colonies voted for it, and three of the five votes that Pennsylvania had, turned the balance by making that colony on the side of separation and democracy. Hence Pennsylvania is called the “Keystone State.” The vote then stood by colonies, seven for separation and democracy, and six for empire and royalty. The intrigue that gained the one vote of Pennsylvania that turned the balance in favour of separation, imposed on the

unwilling southern colonies the burden of assisting in a cause for which their delegates had been led to pledge their honour, before the ultimate purpose of that cause was revealed to them. It is true that the cavaliers who had fought for the Stuarts from the time of Charles I. in the middle of the seventeenth century to the time of Charles Edward, the "Pretender's" son, in the middle of the eighteenth, and had taken refuge in the colonies, bore no greater love for the house of Hanover, now seated on the British throne, than the Puritans, whose sires had crossed the ocean to found a government without priestcraft and kingcraft. The Scottish and Irish families from Ulster, who had come to the colonies to be freed from a parliamentary jurisdiction in Ireland that debarred them from public position and representation if they had not stood for parliament and were not of the Established Church, were also determined to resist the imposition of a parliamentary tyranny in the colonies. Some hoped for a restoration of the Stuarts to overcome the usurpation. Another class, the exiled knight-errants of Europe, like De Kalb, Kusi-osko, Pulaski, and De Elbe, saw in the formation of a new state the opportunity of winning feudal tenures by strengthening the sword of Washington. Finally, those whose families had won a way in the new world burned with the desire to resent the slights cast on their achievements and pretensions.

It is true that the colonists had charters from the crown, but they had created the power on which their governments rested, and they had made states where before there were deserts. In the heat of mutual recrimination many were borne beyond their cooler calculations, and were led by crafty democrats to come to a rupture with the home government instead of a reconciliation. That same year —1775—Lord Chatham brought forward a bill in parliament to reconcile the two parties by withdrawing parliamentary interference with colonial affairs, but it was defeated. The news of this defeat put the colonies at once under arms.

Immediately, the armed ports, mostly under surveillance of colonial authorities in their various territories, were occupied. Large forts and arsenals that were not securely guarded fell into the same hands without a struggle. Only one colony refused to act with the others in this matter, and that was the colony of

Georgia. Although a party existed there favorable to union with the other colonies, it did not develop an early strength, and after it did come to an expression it was speedily extinguished, while the loyal province of Florida, that had been acquired from Spain, poured her troops over the border, under command of General Prevost, and quelled all further uprisings until the final surrender of the province by Lord Cornwallis in the terms following on the surrender at Yorktown in 1782.

There were small conflicts here and there in all the colonies, as the colonial authorities proceeded to gather the means of defense, but none so serious as that at Concord and Lexington in Massachusetts. Powder, shot and arms had been collected in the neighborhood of Concord and Lexington, and the first serious effort made by the English troops to dispossess the locality of these stores brought on the beginning of the American Revolution.

Lord Percy's letters show the British side of this account, and, as the American side of the story is known to every school-boy, the British side will be novel and interesting, especially as Lord Percy was an eyewitness of the greater part of the fight, he having been sent with the relief corps from Boston to cover the retreat of the Concord and Lexington expedition.

It seems that Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, at the head of nearly eight hundred grenadiers, light infantry and marines, marched to Lexington and Concord, dispersed the few militia who were posted there, destroyed some of the military stores which had not been removed by the inhabitants to places of greater safety, and started on their return trip to Boston. But at this time bodies of armed men arrived from every quarter; the woods were full of them, so were housetops, barns, from which an incessant fire was kept up on the British force. The peril of this force was great, and General Gage sent Lord Percy with reinforcements to save them. The following is Percy's official account to General Gage:—

“Sir,—In obedience to your Excellency's orders, I marched yesterday (April 19), at 9 o'clock in the morning, with the First Brigade and two field pieces, in order to cover the retreat of the

grenadiers and light infantry on their return from the expedition to Concord.

“As all the houses were shut up, and there was not the appearance of a single inhabitant, I could get no intelligence concerning them till I had passed Menotomy (Brookline), where I was informed that the rebels had attacked his Majesty’s troops, who were retiring, overpowered by numbers, greatly exhausted and fatigued, and having expended almost all their ammunition. And about 2 o’clock I met them retiring through the town of Lexington.

“I ordered immediately the two field pieces to fire at the rebels, and drew up the brigade on a height. The shot from the cannon had the desired effect and stopped the rebels for a little time, who dispersed and endeavored to surround us, being very numerous. Now, as it began to grow pretty late, and we had 15 miles to retire and only our 36 rounds, I ordered the grenadiers and light infantry to move off first and covered them with my brigade, sending out very strong flanking parties, which was absolutely necessary, as there was not a stone wall or house, though before in appearance evacuated, from whence the rebels did not fire on us.

“So soon as they saw us begin to retire, they pressed very much on our rear guard, which for that reason I relieved every now and then. In this manner we retired for 15 miles under an incessant fire all around us till we arrived at Charlestown between 7 and 8 in the evening, very much fatigued with a march of about 30 miles and having expended almost all our ammunition. “We had the misfortune of losing a good many men in the retreat, though nothing like the number which from many circumstances I have reason to believe were killed of the rebels. His Majesty’s troops during the whole affair behaved with their usual intrepidity and spirit. Nor were they a little exasperated at the cruelty and barbarity of the rebels, who scalped and cut off the ears of some of the wounded men who fell into their hands. I am, etc.

(Signed)

“PERCY,

“Acting Brigadier-General.”

In another letter to General Harvey he says: “During the whole affair the rebels attacked us in a very scattered, irregular manner, but with perseverance and resolution, nor did they ever dare to form into any regular body. Indeed, they knew too well what was proper to do so. Whoever looks on them as an irregular mob will find himself much mistaken. They have men among them who know very well what they are about, having

been employed as rangers against the Indians and Canadians, and this country being much covered by wood and hilly, is very advantageous for their method of fighting.

“Nor are several of their men void of a spirit of enthusiasm, as we experienced yesterday, for many of them concealed themselves in houses and advanced to within 10 yards to fire at me and other officers, though they were morally certain of being put to death themselves in an instant. You may depend on it that, as the rebels have now had time to prepare, they are determined to go through with it, nor will the insurrection here turn out so despicable as it is imagined perhaps at home.”

It was at this time that some of the Puritan Yankees who dominated in the former “Land of Evangeline” met in a church in Nova Scotia to prepare an organization of sympathy and of aid for the democrats of the old colonies. They were filled with hatred for the French, whose land had been stolen from them and on which land they were now living. They were exasperated to think that the French noblesse, the French language and the Catholic religion were confirmed in constitutional rights by the Act of Quebec of 1774.

But while they were deliberating on their treasonable projects, there stalked in among them an old soldier in full uniform with loaded and bayoneted musket. He had been retired and had settled in the neighborhood and had come to the meeting to act his part as a feudatory of the crown. Proceeding up the aisle, in the midst of the astounded Yankees, he reached the speaker’s desk, which was vacated on his approach. Then turning about with his musket cocked and on guard, he demanded in a loud voice for the man to rise who was plotting treason to the crown and constitution. At the sound of that demand there was an immediate scramble for the door, from which the conspirators scattered in safety for their homes. And the old soldier in his scarlet uniform, on guard to defend the constitution and the law, remained the triumphant master of the situation.

The tenth of May is the anniversary of the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point by Colonel Allen, Colonel Arnold and Colonel Warner in the year 1775. They were the three “Black crows” of the northern border.

There remains yet a stone bastion and part of the walls of

this ancient colonial fortress, green grown with the moss and lichens of an hundred and fifty years. There is yet the outlines of a redoubt, stretching across the field where the Highlanders of Abercrombie's British army pressed forward, where Montcalm's intrepid French formed in line behind earthen defense, against which the British broke in vain. This fort which had been built by the Baron Dieskau in 1755, when Canada was prosperous beneath the ever-glorious golden lilies of France, was lifted up by the waters of Lake Champlain as the "gateway of Canada." From it there issued the few but valorous troops of France against the English possessions further south, penetrating at one time to Albany, which they burned. Towards it had marched by mountains, plain and shore the 16,000 veteran and provincial troops of Abercrombie of 1757. The next year the fort was abandoned by the French, and after Canada had passed to England by the Treaty of 1763, the fort was enlarged and strengthened by Lord Amherst, who built a road from it to Crown Point.

The British officials, with their usual carelessness, did not seem to think that this fort with its 200 cannon and immense quantities of supplies in 1775 would be an easy prey to the American colonists, for it was garrisoned by but 42 men commanded by Captain Delaplace and a lieutenant. Crown Point had but twelve men under a sergeant, and the fort by Lake George was occupied only by the caretaker and his wife. In 1773 General Haldimand, a Swiss mercenary in the pay of England, chief military authority in that part of the country, reported that there was no need of more than a nominal garrison. Because neither he thought, nor his fellows, that the American colonies would rebel against the Crown, however much they might "talk" rebellion.

Now there was one, John Brown, of Pittsfield, Mass., who had a secret mission to Montreal in March, 1775—where some English deserters were ready to join any attempt against the Crown that might happen. They were some of those who opened the gates of Montreal afterwards to Montgomery and furnished what is known as the First Canadian Regiment to Montgomery's invading army.

This Mr. Brown was astonished at the stupidity of the English in leaving such a feeble garrison over the "Gateway of Canada." He wrote to Samuel Adams and Dr. Joseph Warren, who were on the "committee of correspondence" of the colony, and the capture of Ticonderoga was planned. On the 20th of April, Benedict Arnold, on the way to Cambridge with a company of volunteers, also learned of the defenseless condition of the fort and of the great number of cannon and muskets and the abundance of warlike material there; and he started immediately with his company for the place.

At the same time the hunters, squatters on disputed land and the house-raiders and barn-burners of the Green Mountains, under their notorious leader, "Col." Ethen Allen, were forming plans for the capture of the same place. And while all this was going on about them, while companies were arming in every colony to fight against the British, the English officials with a stupidity that is amazing, took no heed.

The troops of Arnold met those of Allen on the road, and there arose immediately a dispute about the command, which resulted in their dividing the honors equally and both led. When they arrived at the fort, which was just "at the dawn of day," when the mist was rising like a thin ghost from a mighty shroud, the sleepy sentry did not perceive them until they were within the gate. He could not give the alarm by firing a shot, for in "that piping time of peace" he had not thought it necessary to load his gun. He rushed into the fort, followed by Arnold and Allen and their 300 men, who were obliged even then to shout and cheer before they succeeded in awakening the sleeping English garrison, who appeared soon in shirts and rubbed their eyes in amazement.

Allen enquired for their leader and they replied that he was abed. So Allen clambered up the stairway to the Captain's room, and, after a great pounding on the door, was successful in awakening him. When Captain Delaplace came out, he was attired like his soldiers, in a shirt, but he wore a greater mark of distinction in a night-cap, with a little silk tassel. He told Allen that he disapproved of such an early call and demanded to know his business. Allen replied that he had come to demand the

surrender of the fort; at the same time he waved an old cutlass which he carried and made other demonstrations to prove that he was in earnest. Captain Delaplace refused to look the matter seriously in the face, and he demanded by what authority. With another wave of his cutlass, Allen shouted, "In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress." Before this sacred alliance, to prove which Allen pointed to his 300 below, Captain Delaplace was forced to yield. At this moment, after all the glory had been gathered in, Colonel Warner arrived with another troop of armed men, and the remaining places, Crown Point and the fort of Lake George, were taken.

Thus, without any other disturbance than the awakening of the little garrison and the spoiling of the commandant's appetite for breakfast, the greatest arsenal of arms and ammunition outside of the citadel of Quebec was transferred on that day from the authority of the King of England to that of "The Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress" as proclaimed by "Colonel" Ethan Allen.

In the meantime Colonel George Washington had been appointed commander-in-chief of the united forces of all the colonies by the continental congress holding session in Philadelphia. Washington took command of the troops of the several colonies at Cambridge assembled, just before the battle of Bunker's Hill, June 17th, 1776. He found that most of the men assembled had had previous military experience under the British colonial authority against the French and Indians and knew therefore how to fire a gun to advantage. Their courage and energy had been fortified by monarchical institutions, of whose king, whose former troops they were, they were assembled to fight. They had arms and munitions in abundance, and cannon from the several small forts which they had captured in the interior.

But the ethical value of the men was of little account. The annals of that time offer a startling lesson to the present. "Desertions of twenty and thirty happened very frequently, many of whom fled to Maine and Vermont and were among the settlers of those states at that time." "One thousand men, the date of whose enlistment was lost, perjured themselves in a body. .

. . . in order to quit the ranks they had joined voluntarily." "Many enlisted, deserted and re-enlisted, under other recruiting officers, so as to get double bounty." "Some prowled about the country to rob and kill the unoffending and defenseless." General Knox wrote to Gerry that there were "men in commission who had been rewarded with rank without having any pretension to it except through cabal and intrigue." "Some of these were clamorous for more pay, while they drew large sums of public money under pretext of paying their men, but applied them to the support of their own extravagance; some went home on furlough and never returned; some violated their paroles and were threatened by Washington with being exposed in every newspaper in the land . . . and so numerous were the convictions that their names were sent to Congress in lists."

"Many of the surgeons," said Washington, "are very great rascals, often countenancing the men to sham complaints to avoid doing duty and receiving bribes for such certificates, for procuring such discharges or furloughs." In a letter to one of the governors, he asserted that the officers that that state had sent him were "generally of the lowest class of the people and led their men to plunder the inhabitants and into every kind of mischief. In another letter to General Lee, while he was at Cambridge, he describes the small sense of honor among the officers. To his brother, John Augustine Washington, he wrote that the officers nominated "were not fit to be bootblacks." This condition was not confined to the New England troops and their officers, but extended to other colonial officials. Washington in a letter to a member of Congress from Virginia, in 1778, declares "that 90 officers of the Virginia Line had conspired to resign and desert in a body."

Of the Generals, eighteen retired during the war; one for drunkenness, one to escape trial for drawing double pay, one as a deserter to the enemy, and the rest because of old age. In 1777, John Adams wrote: "I am weary to death of the wrangles between the military officers, high and low . . . they quarrel like cats and dogs . . . scrambling for higher rank and more pay like apes for nuts."

Such was their general condition when Washington was called

to the command at Cambridge, and in addition, they were looking forward to obtaining the plunder of the estates of those who were true to the crown. There were some, however, who were not influenced by so base motives, but acted from resentment and hatred of the royalists, and others—a few extreme idealists—who dreamed of establishing an utopian republic with a commingling of the equality of the Athenian democracy with the majesty of the Roman dominion and with the doctrine of the liberty of the French philosophers of the seventeenth century, an impossible creation likely to result as results the experiment of commingling fire with powder.

And so to Cambridge the various colonies directed the men enlisted in their cause until the number assembled there amounted to over fourteen thousand of all arms. Among them were the New Hampshire troops, who had effected the capture of Fort William Henry, and on the road was a great deal of ammunition, being drawn over the country roads in ox-carts. All these troops were to besiege the city of Boston, where lay encamped a portion of the British, while in the harbor was anchored some British men-of-war.

June seventeenth, the continental forces that had been ordered the day before to entrench themselves on Bunker's Hill, by mistake took up a position on Breed's Hill and erected a strong redoubt. By the dawning light of the seventeenth, the British saw the position of the Americans and opened a fire from their battleships. At noon they landed three thousand men in heavy marching order under the command of General Howe and advanced towards Breed's Hill, where the Americans lay entrenched. A few of the Americans who dwelt in Boston were loyal to the crown. Among them was a Mr. Willard who was serving under Lord Howe. He had a personal acquaintance with Colonel Prescott, who was commanding the colonial position. General Howe handed Willard the field-glass and asked him if he thought Prescott would fight. After a long gaze at the hard outlines of Prescott's face, Willard replied: "Yes sir, he will fight to the gates of hell." "Then," said Howe, "we will give him hell, itself," and forthwith he ordered a general advance.

Previous to this, General Howe had believed that the entire

body of Americans, although with grievances against the parliament, were too much attached to their motherland to do more than threaten a resistance. This was the general belief of all the high officials and dignitaries of the crown. This was why the first military operations of the British were conducted so slowly—in order to give the Americans time “to repent and return to their allegiance.”

As the order came for the troops to advance, the guns from the warships began to thunder on the American redoubts and pour red-hot shot into Charlestown, so that under cover of the smoke of the conflagration the troops might go up the hill somewhat hidden. As the British deployed into column of attack, partly concealed by the smoke of Charlestown, Howe ordered up his cannon to fire on the retrenchments. For some strange cause no cannon shot responded to the command. The reason for it was this: Mr. Lovell, the ordinance officer, was so much in love with the daughter of the schoolmaster of the regiment that he was confused about everything that day, and on this occasion, sent to the front twenty-four pound shot for twelve pound guns. The result was that the cannon were useless. A verse of the time commemorates this exploit in the following manner:—

“Our conductor, he got broke
For his misconduct sure, sir.
The shot he sent for twelve pound guns
Were made for twenty-four, sir.”

Sir William Howe, in a letter written subsequent to the attack on Breed's Hill, refers to this incident as the principal cause for the first British repulse. For the Americans were enabled by the lack of British artillery fire in front, to remain undisturbed behind their entrenchments and discharge their volleys at close range into the approaching ranks of the British. A second attack was repulsed in the same manner. But the third time the officers urged on the troops; the ships' batteries and field artillery renewed their protecting fire. It has been claimed that at this epoch the powder of the Americans gave out and they retired a space on their reserves. But it was their ability to hold

the place that was lacking and they fled as the British climbed the hill. The Connecticut troops left their muskets sticking through the fence-rails behind which they were drawn up and ran without firing a shot, while their commander, General Israel Putnam, swore like a mad-man as he ran after them and tried to rally them.

In the rear was a strong reserve of New Hampshire men; and the ox-carts, laden with powder and other munitions had arrived the very day of the British attack. Not only were the reserves supplied with powder enough for the battle, but they had enough remaining to fill the horns of Washington's entire army. The American forces retired to Prospect Hill and the British occupied Bunker's Hill. The loss of the British were one thousand two hundred killed and wounded. The Americans acknowledged five hundred killed and wounded and five cannon captured by the enemy.

But the metropolitan troops did not pursue their success and the colonial troops coming in all the time from distant colonies drew nearer and laid Boston under siege. Boston was cordoned by the republican army, and the cordon had been drawn closer since the battle of Bunker Hill. The British garrison, supported by a few loyalists, held the town, which had become a place of refuge for other loyalists who had resided in the vicinity, who had been true to the crown, even in the midst of armed opposition, preferring to abandon all rather than yield. Before April twenty, 1775, General Gage, the British commander, wrote the provincial congress, asking that these loyalists in the surrounding towns be permitted to enter Boston with their effects. April thirty, the provincial congress granted such permission, and stationed officers at the Neck of Boston and Charlestown to secure their unmolested entrance. At this time one of the protests against the republicans by some loyalists said: "You make the air resound with the cry of liberty, but subject those who differ with you to the most outrageous tyranny."

Among the loyalists who availed themselves of this permission was Lady Frankland, widow of Sir Charles H. Frankland. Her story is one of the romances of American history. Her maiden name was Agnes Surriage, and at the age of fifteen she

was living with her parents at Marblehead. According to the chronicles of the time, they were "poor but decent folk."

It was at this time that Sir Charles Frankland was collector of customs at Boston, an office more sought for than that of Governor, on account of the perquisites attached thereto, although the salary was only \$500 per annum. Sir Charles was born at Bengal, where his father was governor of the East Indian Company's possessions. His mother was the youngest and favorite daughter of the great Cromwell. At the age of twenty-five Frankland was appointed collector of Boston. His winning and generous manner made him a favorite in the "vice-regal" society of the town. He was a liberal patron of King's Chapel and of Harvard College.

But now comes to his meeting with Agnes Surriage. On a beautiful day in May, in 1742, Agnes was in the little front garden of her home in Marblehead, when Sir Charles drove by in his coach. Her dress was very short, for at that time she had outgrown it, and there was no more cloth in the house to piece it down. She had taken off her shoes and stockings, and her dress coming only to her knees showed the rarest and richest contour. Frankland, who had an artist's eye and soul, was not insensible to her beauty. In fact, he was struck dumb and tingled with admiration, as he paused at the garden gate, and began to converse with Agnes, who looked at him with the eyes of unabashed yet respectful familiarity. After Frankland had caressed her flowing hair and patted her lovely rounded arms, he gave her a half-crown with which to buy a pair of shoes. Then he departed, promising himself to see her again.

And the picture of Agnes did not leave his mind. Every day she came chasing through his thoughts, the sunbeams playing with her hair and the breezes blowing her dress away from her gracefully modelled limbs. He dreamed of her. So again, shortly thereafter, he found himself on the road to Marblehead, before the sweet, short-skirted Agnes. "Why did you not buy some shoes?" he said to Agnes, as he looked with warming pleasure at the yet bare and rosy limbs. "I did," replied Agnes, "but I keep them to wear Sundays." Then she gave him such a shy but witching glance that he could restrain himself no

longer. He clasped her in his arms and kissed her. Then he entered the house and demanded permission of her parents to take her to Boston with him, he promising to educate her. The permission was obtained very easily; the poor folk saw the advantage it would be to Agnes to be under the protection of so great a man, and Agnes travelled back in the Frankland coach, with armorial on panel, and coachman and outrider. Now Frankland was so much in love with Agnes that he could not let her remain at school. He built an elegant house at Hopkinton, twenty-five miles from Boston, and there, in the midst of a magnificent estate, and attended by twenty servants, he kept her as his very own. There were many loyalists in Hopkinton, and they had a jolly time, with love among the roses.

In 1754, Frankland visited England and took Agnes with him. The next year they were in Lisbon, at the time of the terrible earthquake. The day of this happening, Frankland and Agnes were riding through one of the streets of that city. A house fell on them, and they were buried beneath the ruins for the greater part of the day before they were rescued. At that time, Frankland resolved that if he ever got out he would correct all his misdeeds. The next day after his rescue he led Agnes to church, and they became man and wife. In 1756, they were welcomed again to Boston, where he bought, as a town house, the beautiful Clarke mansion, on Garden Court Street, next to Governor Hutchinson's. On the anniversary of the Lisbon earthquake, he would retire to a room of his Hopkinton house and put on the same clothes which he had worn on that day, and keep fast the whole day.

After another visit to Lisbon as consul-general, and again to Boston in 1763, he went to England, where he died in the city of Bath in 1768. The bereaved widow returned to Boston and retired to her Hopkinton house, where she was living when Boston was besieged by the republicans in 1775. All her gratitude and affection were locked up by the armed bands of the continental congress in Boston. And she was loyal.

In answer to her request that she might move to Boston, the committee of safety wrote her May 15th: "On application of Lady Frankland—voted, that she have liberty to pass into Bos-

ton with the following goods and articles for her voyage: 6 trunks, 1 chest, 3 beds and bedding, 6 wethers, 2 pigs, 1 small keg pickled tongues, some hay, 3 bags of corn and such other goods as she thinks proper." The following permit was granted: "To the colony guard—Permit Lady Frankland of Hopkinton, with her attendants, goods and the provisions above mentioned, to pass to Boston. By express order of committee of safety, Benjamin Church, chairman, headquarters, May 15th, 1775."

But the people of Hopkinton, because she was a royalist, prevented her leaving, stole her goods and abused her attendants, until she brought the matter before Congress. Congress agreed that: "Lady Frankland be permitted to pass to Boston with the following articles: 7 trunks, all the beds and furniture with them, all boxes and crates, a basket of chickens, a bag of corn, 2 barrels and a hamper, 2 horses and 2 chaises and all the articles in the chaises except arms and ammunition, 1 phaeton, some tongues, ham and veal, sundry small bundles, which are to be examined by a committee of congress."

May 19th, Col. Bond, with a guard of six men appointed to escort her to Boston, passed her through the lines, where a copy of the congressional resolution was shown. She lived in Boston during the siege at her house on Garden Court Street and departed with the British, March 17, 1776. She went to Bath, England, where she died in 1783.

IMPRESSIONS OF PEOPLE WE HAVE NOT SEEN

ALAN CHADWICK

PERHAPS it would be more exact to say ideas; but I will take the liberty to say what came into my head just this minute; it occurs to me there is some good reason for it.

Have you ever remarked that there is a frightful tyranny about portraits? They insist on making you see things that are opposed to your instinct, to your fancies and your beliefs; they show a man you know to be kind, generous, fatherly, as a coarse brute, with a broad nose, thick lips, and a bulldog forehead. You gaze with sad doubt on a countenance that always appeared pleasant, forced to recognize the fidelity of the likeness, but shocked at the indelicacy of an unwished for revelation, as if you had been compelled to enter unannounced into the family sitting room of a friend never suspected of temper and found him scolding his wife.

And then, the portrait of a lady you admire; what disappointment to learn that her nose is out of drawing, and her chin too short; that the eyes which always seemed to you so full of fire are set very near together, and that there is a sinister line on her brow! Good artists will not allow these defects to appear, of course, but here comes in a mysterious agency of ill chance to spoil their best intentions; let us whisper the secret—all pictures, however bad, show more of the real self of a person than is usually shown in the face itself! Life is animated deceit; we never are our real selves except when we are asleep. But a portrait catches some obscure trait about us that we have not the wit to hide or the presence of mind to think about, and presto! there it is on the paper, and other people will not fail to recognize it the first minute they see it. Rogues may well hate to have their photographs taken; not solely from the risk of future capture, but because more is detected about them, than was known before.

I think we can never completely rid ourselves, after studying a good likeness of a person, of the impressions then made upon us; the pictured head hangs in the air over the real countenance, modifying and perhaps contradicting what the smiling lips of the living acquaintance say to us. If I wanted to be keenly and critically aware of the innermost nature of some one about to be presented to me, I should like to make acquaintance with a good portrait of him first. Ten to one, I should change my ideas about him several times, in actual intercourse; and finally go back to my first impressions; those made by the picture!

But now to talk about impressions that are not made by portraits, but built up out of hear-say. A queer artist and a false fellow is Hear-say; he is such an extremist that he will only give us idealized sketches or characatures; he puts in fancy lines and makes broad marks that blur and blot truth. Who ever got a correct idea of the look of a person from a verbal description? But who ever failed to get a most distorted and absurd view of some person who had been much talked about and extravagantly praised? Down to the very details of eyes and hair and height, we get misled by the busy little faculty inside of our own minds whose affair it is to "make of airy nothings" a definite, materialized conception. Some time ago I recognized the malice of this busybody and now completely distrust all his suggestions, simply remarking,—whatever you say is sure to prove just the contrary. If I get an impression from you that the father of my friend is a bald, grey man, I know I am to see a youthful creature with flowing locks which are his pride. A promised beauty will certainly turn out a scarecrow; a countenance pictured as shining with intelligence, to be vacant as Slender, whispering unwelcome flattery to sweet Ann Page. Our fore-impressions are as untrustworthy as if they all belonged to George Eliot's mathematical dreamland, where "nothing is but what is not." And I don't know why it is so; does any psychologist? Does any newspaper reporter? I should be glad to talk over the matter with him, and find out whether, among all the great men he has been to interview, he has found one who verified and corresponded to his mental photograph, taken say, on the threshold of the reception room.

If there be any substitute for eyes, as a corrector of false impressions, it is the ear. Let me but hear a voice, and I will know the real man. But that is more as to character than form. Although the elephant must always talk in character, and the bear roar, yet the whine of the cat is very like that of a human being, and I should not undertake to swear that when a yawl spoils my night's rest, I might see a feline creature or my neighbor's baby, were I to be suddenly gifted with sight to peer through the walls. But the little imp of suggestion within us meddles with voices too. We seldom hear the tones we expected to hear before a new acquaintance has opened his mouth. And it is a curious thing that we are ordinarily disappointed. Our imp always flatters voices.

Before closing I must just allude to the deceptions of hand-writing. If there is a base cheat on earth,—with the exception of those teachers who advertise to imbue any simpleton with a speaking knowledge of a foreign language in three months!—it is the charlatan who will tell your fortune, sex, talent and all, from your handwriting. A Tennessee judge—and heaven knows they are acute!—expressed much disappointment on making my acquaintance after first seeing a letter of mine; he remarked that he had expected to find a man about ten feet tall! The reader may infer that I am little.

EDITORIAL

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THE action of the Florida Legislature in passing a bill making the state responsible for stolen property, and the adverse comment on that action in the North, emphasizes the temperamental difference between the two great sections of our people.

It also explains why almost all initiatives leading to our building up as a nation, have come from that sturdy, independent element which is never loth to accept responsibility; which eagerly claims it, paying so, the price of its creative energy. If, in the subtle strife between the genius of the South and the "push" of the Yankee the latter quality has come uppermost until it represents, in the eyes of the old world, if not in our own, the essence of "Americanism," it is because the Yankee ideal is self-hood, with a toleration of joint action with his neighbors for purposes of defense only. While it is in the character of the Southerner to lavish his power on schemes full of originality and splendor, but demanding for their fulfilment more opportunity than he can compass in his own person. The hour arrives when he is forced to seek outside aid to go on with his plans; his habit is to cut too large for individual action. Inevitably, out of the realization of a limited capacity to achieve what is excellent comes the irritable demand for assistance from government; the tendency to regard this as a paternalism with helpful functions, constituted to be leaned upon, and to come in and finish what personal

effort is inadequate to accomplish. Here is the weak spot in a temperament otherwise possessed of all the essentials of grandeur; it is the pride which must stretch tasks out beyond the limitations of ability, necessitating mortifying recoil and defeat at the very doors of success. Too much imagination and too little practice in confronting obstacles is the preliminary to that outcry for some authoritative protection which the South often makes, not seeing or believing that the homely old axiom, "Every tub must stand upon its own bottom" is a man-making doctrine, and the one which has inspired in the rival Yankee nature the power of doing great things. Because they have not "despised the day of small things," because they have developed muscle, nerve and endurance from the constant habit of self-reliance and self-responsibility, fathering the consequences of their failures and learning how to turn them into successes, believing with all their souls that self-direction is the only divine impulse, and all temptation to recline on other minds pernicious, the "Yankee" from a mere handful of despised pioneers has grown to be one of the most respected and feared nations on the globe. United with southern genius, northern energy might move the world. But the time for the unity is not yet come. The South, with all its divining power, has not grasped the doctrine of individuality. It loves to move in the mass, and to stop when tired. But the secret of greatness is not to be able to stop, because whirled on by an inward impulsion that no more knows fatigue or rest than the solar system. And that, similarly, evolves force from the fact of motion. Our South is still somewhat shackled with European habits of thought, enervated with the European temperament. It is a pity, for so much of grace and refinement, so much of the esthetic sentiment which we lack here, resides among our brilliant neighbors. The Yankee force which pushes ahead, the individuality which is aggressive, are necessarily little rough and coarse. Self-hood is selfish in its youthful days, and our maturity has not yet arrived. We must honestly admire and revere that attainment of repose and serenity which result from the longer civilization of older lands; but we cannot emulate it yet. The task of individual effort is at this moment our engrossing occu-

sake is not to be deemed an object, shall we not degenerate before long, into mere machines, replete with energy for "going ahead," for business "success;" but poor in that power of serene, high thinking, of social intercourse, of meditation upon what is true, good and beautiful, which only makes life worth the effort.

LITERATURE

THE STORY OF NEW NETHERLAND. The Dutch in America. By WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS. Houghton-Mifflin Company. 1909. Illustrated. Net price, \$1.25.

This is one of the books whose value grows upon us with the reading. There is a great deal of matter, and it is presented in a clear and graphic style. The author sets out with the statement that he intends to separate facts from fairy tales, and legends from history, and go back to the home of the Dutch people to study their true character. He sweeps away several current fallacies regarding Dutch names; makes clear the distinction between Netherland and the country of the Germans, and gives many excellent pictures of the early Pilgrim settlers of New Netherland. The reader has repeatedly impressed upon him that the Dutch colonist, instead of being "old, fat and stupid, living in a cloud of tobacco smoke," was young, thrifty and enterprising, often handsome and gallant, also. The Dutch women are finely painted, as intelligent, well educated and true helpmates to their husbands; as well as the model housewives we have been accustomed to believe them. Religious life is given considerable space, and we are interested to learn that more comfort and less strain existed in the old time churches than we have been wont to suppose. But a modern reader has his sympathy stirred by the casual allusion that "the ordinary sermon was from seventy-five to ninety minutes long, with occasional tendency to plethoric continuity." As American freedom grew out of a determination for religious liberty, too much stress cannot be laid on the necessity for understanding the ideas of the early settlers which led to separation from the mother countries. We too often think of but one mother country, and that England; but as the author says, "our country is not a New England or a New Britain, but a New Europe."

The book furnishes excellent supplementary-reading for class use, and is interesting from beginning to finish.

HISTORY OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY BY MRS. SCHUYLER VAN RENSSELAER—2 Volumes. Price, net, \$4.00. MacMillan Company, New York.

The city of New York, from an historical standpoint, has already been the subject of five hundred and fifty books and articles. The present work is based partly upon a study of them as well as of those documents to be found in the archives here and abroad that bear upon the subject. What Mrs. Van Rensselaer writes may therefore be considered as a last word. Such a thoroughness of effort as her work shows entitles it to be looked upon as an authority.

The history covers a period of eighty years from the settlement planted by the Dutch on Manhattan Island to the accession of William and Mary on the throne of England. We are promised two new volumes that will cover the later colonial and revolutionary periods down to 1789, the year Washington was inaugurated for the first time.

The East India Company was a leading factor in the early history of Manhattan. This corporation was organized at Amsterdam in 1602 solely for trading purposes. The great maritime problem of those days was to find a short water passage to the Orient. A London corporation was one of the early trading companies to attempt its solution. Henry or Henrie Hudson and not Hendrick Hudson was sent out for that purpose. The attempt was a failure. The Dutch company determined however to try for itself, and also engaged Hudson. They paid him the sum of \$320 for his outfit and the support of his family during his absence and the directors also agreed to pay his wife \$30 if he lost his life. He was to be further rewarded at their discretion if he found a good passage. Hudson sailed on April 4, 1609, entered the Narrows on September 11th and the next day went up the river that bears his name as far as Albany. While he did not discover the passage the many things he brought back and

his description of the country inspired the movement of colonization.

Pieter Evertsen Hulft, a director of The West India Company, took the first active step in that direction. He sent over three ships, two containing farming implements and seed, with swine, sheep and more than one hundred head of horses and cattle, some for breeding purposes, and the third with six complete families and some freemen, forty-five persons in all. These were the first permanent settlers of Manhattan Island.

The first white woman born in New Netherland was Sarah Rapelye. The date was June 9, 1625.

Peter Minuit was the first Governor. He was born in Wesel, then in the duchy of Cleves, of French Huguenot descent. It was Minuit who bought the island from the Indians. Things did not go smoothly in the colony however until Peter Stuyvesant succeeded to the governorship. He was fifty-five at the time, had been employed by the trading company in its operations in Brazil and lost a leg in an unsuccessful attack on a Portuguese stronghold on the island of St. Martin. He was upright and sober in his private life, intelligent in military and diplomatic affairs. He was impulsive by nature, but prudent in the face of difficulties and energetic and conscientious in the performance of his whole duty as he saw it. Stuyvesant though was an autocrat by conviction and an enemy on principle to all theory of the popular rights.

The Dutch lost the possession of the colony to England in 1664. Governor Nicolls was the first British head. It was under him that the government of the city was re-organized to consist of a Mayor, Aldermen and Sheriff. Thomas Willett was the first Mayor. Colonel Francis Lovelace was the successor of Governor Nicolls. He was a man of intelligence and amiability and tried hard to follow in the path of mingled conciliation and firm justice that his predecessor had marked out. He did much to improve the city and stimulate its trade.

The work closes with an interesting account of the stirring times revolving around the execution of Jacob Leisler, acting Lieutenant Governor, and Jacob Milborne, his son-in-law.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

AMERICANA's leading paper for September is entitled "A Notable Neighborhood," and is from the pen of Mr. William J. Roe. As fertile with pencil as with pen, the author has given us beautiful illustrations which form excellent accompaniment to his article. It is especially interesting at this time, when we are waiting for the October program which is to draw general attention to our grand old Hudson.

Philip Sheridan is one of the nation's favorite sons; a sort of "preux chevalier" of whom many stories are told. In "The Hero of the Valley," Mr. Frank H. Sweet draws on some unhackneyed anecdotes and material to furnish a good paper.

A dainty little article, with quaint illustrations, is that from Mr. Warriek James Price. He calls it "The Genesis of the Fourth Estate in Philadelphia."

Mr. Roberts' series on the "History of the Mormon Church" has already attracted wide attention. Another instalment here is given.

So much has been written on Washington city that it would almost seem that nothing more remains to be said as to its history; but Miss Mary C. Ringwalt has contrived to cull some pretty thoughts from the old field, and has wittily portrayed the day of beginning in "Our National Capital."

Another chapter of the Count de Frانسac's "United Empire Loyalists" will please those of our readers who have been interested in following out the rather strenuous views of this author.

The most curious church in our country is that which sometimes calls itself Unitarian, and sometimes Episcopalian. It is well treated in the illustrated paper of Mr. Henry Waterman, who calls his article "A Famous American Church."

Mrs. Sallie R. McLean is one of the women writers who have made a deep study of serious questions, and her important

series on "The History of Slavery" deserves and has received, so far, wide attention. She deals in this number with slavery in those burning eastern lands where tyranny is the outgrowth of the soil, and where liberty is scarcely dreamed of.

Everything relating to our Indians has the peculiar interest that attaches to a fading race. Before three more generations have lived and died the old type of America's Red Men must have passed completely into the realm of tradition. All that we can preserve is precious, and we must thank Mrs. Leonora Sill Ashton for giving us a view of the Indian relation with a Britain, perhaps but little known to us now, in her paper on "Sir William Johnson."

We confess to having been particularly fascinated by the title of a paper presented under the musical sound of "When Europe's Kings Wooed California." We trust that our readers will find as pleasant as we did this article by Mr. Al H. Martin.

Our September number ends up with a fine paper by Mr. L. E. Schwartz, entitled "American Freedom's First Test." A title to arouse expectation and keep the attention of the reader to its end.

Now, there remains one thing to say; that a certain department we desire to establish is still "in the air" solely on account of an odd misunderstanding that has grown up regarding it. The TWILIGHT HOUR DEPARTMENT is a contributors' Club; not a page of reverie and poetic effusions. We intend it rather as a page of controversy and comment, than anything else, and we thought to give readers herein a pleasant opportunity to express in a curt, incisive way, those particularly individual sentiments and ideas which some of us long often to utter, but suppress because we do not care to draw general attention to our personal idiosyncracies. The Club is an anonymous free court; a masked ball where each one may have his fling without fear of committing himself. To the prudent editor alone the name of writers may be revealed, and whoever desires to enter into discussion of anything contained in AMERICANA, or any subject pertinent to it, has full liberty to send in his contributions.

